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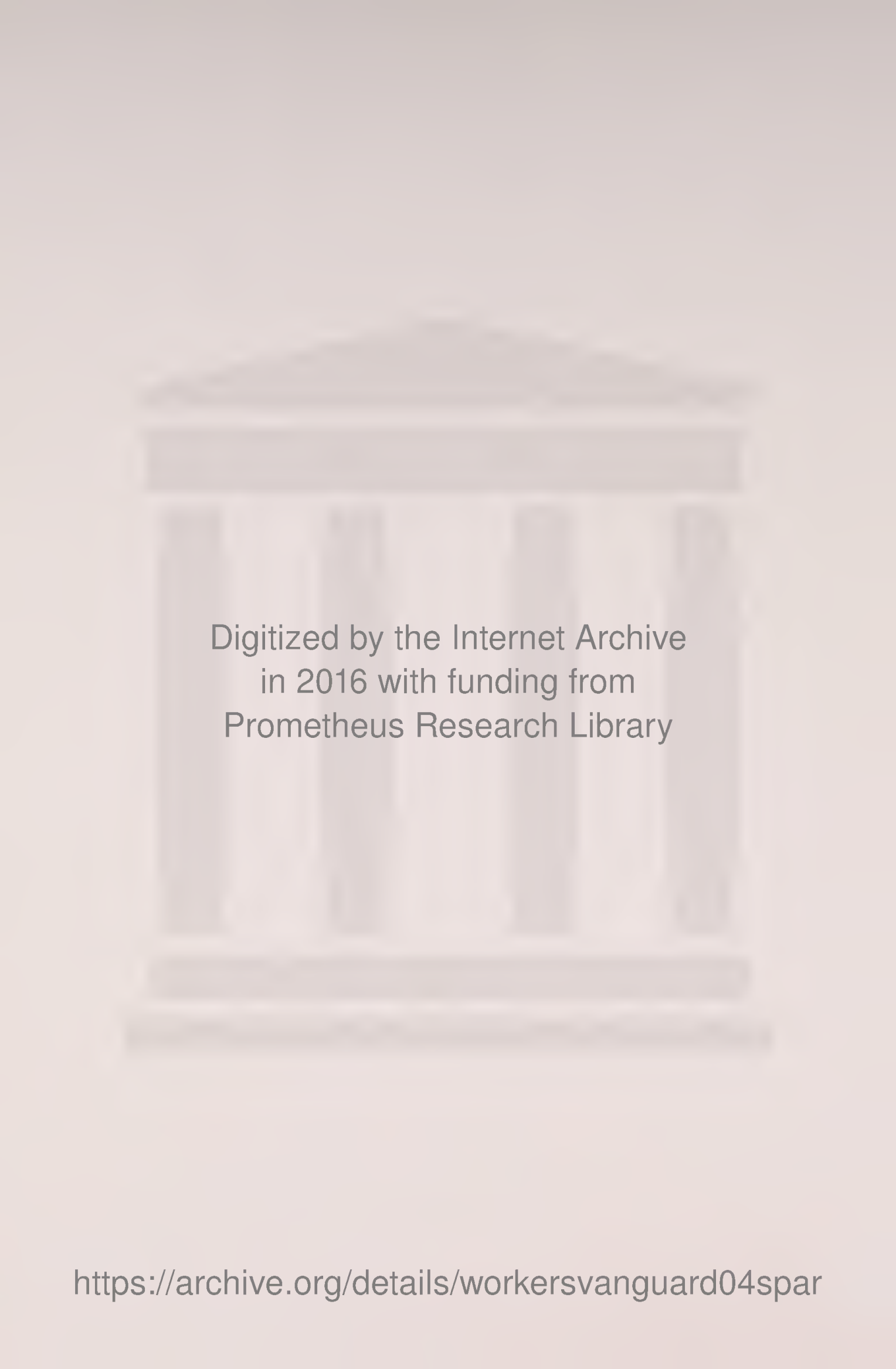
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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 90 — 2 January 1976

Economic Outlook Bleak

Explosive Struggles Ahead!

WV Photo

Angry workers converge on speakers platform to shout down Hubert Humphrey at April 26 AFL-CIO "March for Jobs" in Washington.

At the conclusion of November's economic summit meeting in Rambouillet, France, which brought together the heads of government of the world's six most powerful capitalist nations, U.S. president Ford declared optimistically, "As the result of the work we have started, the people of our countries can look forward to more jobs, less inflation and a greater sense of economic security." But back home, after a few months of relatively strong recovery in mid-1975, government statistics were telling of a renewed downturn in what is already the worst depression since the 1930's.

For the last two months the official Commerce Department index of leading indicators has fallen. Capital investment and housing construction remain at slump levels. And the prestigious University of Michigan survey of consumer sentiment indicates that far more people are today skeptical about a strong recovery than earlier this year. Otto Eckstein, a member of the Council of Economic Advisors under Lyndon Johnson, expressed the increasing pessimism of bourgeois economists: "It's still a recovery, but the forward momentum seems to be fading" (*Business Week*, 24 November).

Not only are the prospects for the future gloomy, but conditions facing working people remain intolerable. While the unemployment rate has edged down since the bottom of the depression, it still remains well above 8 percent, higher today than during any year since the late 1930's. After real earnings of American workers have already fallen in 1973, 1974 and now 1975, inflation has once more accelerated sharply and threatens to send real wages plummeting again.

An Inventory Cycle...

In the course of the capitalist business cycle, with the profit rate declining, a point is reached when the owners of the means of production are no longer able to realize the expected value and surplus value embodied in saleable commodities. Contrary to standard textbooks on the virtues of the free market system, when this "overproduction" occurs, capitalists do not immediately cut prices (and profits) in order to sell and reproduce their existing level of output. Rather, at this point an explosion occurs, an economic crisis in which they cut production, laying off workers, and work down inventories while seeking to maintain prices that will yield a normal rate of profit. Thus changes in inventory levels are the most volatile element of a typical capitalist conjuncture.

The several months of economic upswing in the U.S. last year were partly based on an accumulation of inventory stocks. But this was in response to temporary factors and *not* indicative of an improvement in the longer-term outlook. When the Arab oil boycott burst the 1972-73 boom two years ago, inventory levels were abnormally low. Thus during the early months of the depression certain sectors (e.g., steel) deliberately built up their stocks. In addition, corporate managers generally underestimated the severity of the depression and failed to cut back production as rapidly as sales were

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Wally McNamee/Newsweek

Gerald Ford

Janet Fries

Sara Jane Moore

Karen Vismara/Pledge

Lynette Fromme

Free Squeaky, Sally! Jail Gerald Ford!

In the Middle Ages a lord who killed his serf for no reason went free while a serf who stole his lord's firewood could be hanged. The bourgeois revolution, it is claimed, established formal juridical equality. But the presidency of the world's mightiest imperialist state appears to entail more legal "equality" than is granted to ordinary mortals.

In 1965, in response to the Kennedy assassination, a special law was passed superseding ordinary legislation concerning assault, attempted murder and murder. Attacks against the president were made an especially serious crime carrying an almost mandatory life sentence. Though he be deprived of throne and crown, the president enjoys some of the majesty of medieval absolutism.

Accused of attempting to assassinate President Ford, Lynette Alice "Squeaky" Fromme has been given a life sentence, while Sara Jane "Sally" Moore's guilty plea leaves her facing 15 years to life. "Squeaky" is a member of the Manson cult, which combines bleeding-heart verbiage about saving whales with a perspective of precipitating genocidal "helter skelter" race war. "Sally," who has a 26-year history of mental illness, was a paid FBI informer as well as a do-gooder and leftish "groupie."

As we pointed out in "The Politics of Crazy" (*WV* No. 78, 26 September 1975), the actions of these people are motivated by mental disorientation, to which their often contradictory political explanations are subordinate. They are not, from a working-class standpoint, defensible cases. Instead, they are mental cases. "Sally" is a socially dangerous, hysterical police informer; "Squeaky" is

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Kissinger's Latest Near East Gambit

U.S. Explores "PLO Option"

DECEMBER 28 — In order to please Israel, the consummately nationalist U.S.-backed state created through forcible dispersal and continued oppression of the Palestinian people, imperialist loudmouth and American ambassador to the United Nations Patrick Daniel Moynihan may continue to sneer at the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as that "amorphous terrorist organization." But to get Syrian agreement to a six-month extension of the 1,192-man UN "Disengagement Observer Force" in the Golan Heights, Moynihan agreed to a UN Security Council meeting on January 12 "to continue the debate on the Middle East problem including the Palestinian question" at which the PLO would be represented. And to get Egyptian agreement to an extension of UN forces in the Sinai, the U.S. had to strong-arm the Israelis into ceding some oil wells and strategic passes in the desert.

The Sinai "disengagement" is the product of U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger's "step by step" diplomacy, or "a piece of land [someone else's] for a piece of peace" as it was called by bourgeois pundits. According to the petty-bourgeois radical *Guardian* of 24 December:

> "Syria's carefully timed move of tying renewal of the UN mandate to this further legitimization of the PLO was a brilliant diplomatic maneuver. It effectively undercut Kissinger's 'step-by-step' strategy of trying to divide the Arab countries and to separate the Palestinian question from the other outstanding question in the Middle East: the return of those territories seized by Israel from Egypt, Syria and Jordan in the 1967 war. It also served as a dramatic refutation to Egypt's 'go it alone' strategy that resulted in the ignominious Sinai withdrawal agreement which Kissinger has so assiduously negotiated between Egypt and Israel in September."

Nonetheless Egypt at least got oil and the passes while the "piece" of diplomatic recognition granted the PLO was invitation to a debate in which the U.S. has veto power over any decisions actually reached. Nonetheless the Sinai disengagement and the fact that Moynihan did not accede to the Israeli desire for a U.S. veto of the PLO invitation represents a shift in U.S. policy toward the Near East and the PLO in particular.

The rabidly right-wing Israeli daily *Yadiot Aharonot* responded to the Security Council decision by calling for the expulsion of the UN forces and "plac[ing] the Israeli forces on alert for what may transpire." But after a six-hour meeting the Israeli Cabinet announced it would accept the six-month extension of UN forces, while boycotting the January 12 Security Council "debate." To propitiate those zealots in the Zionist establishment whose views are reflected in *Yadiot Aharonot* the Israeli government announced it would permit additional Zionist "settlements" in the Golan. There are already 18 such "settlements," each one representing an act of naked territorial annexation.

Zionist Atrocity

To further please the Zionist hawks, perhaps even beyond their uglier dreams, on December 2 Israel launched a massive aerial terror attack against Palestinian refugee camps in southern and northern Lebanon. In this vicious provocation, the worst in the sordid seven-year history of such attacks, 109 refugees were massacred, two-thirds of them women and children. Zionism, like all nationalism, is racism.

Back at the glass menagerie of despots and hypocrites, the Israeli-inflicted bloodbath was duly denounced. A UN Security Council debate was convened on the raids; against the opposition of the U.S. the PLO was invited to participate. On December 8 the U.S. vetoed a resolution condemning the raids, but even Moynihan was forced to state during the debate that the U.S. government could "neither condone or excuse" the attacks.

Even the major Israeli bourgeois daily *Ha'aretz* moaned that the raids "merely fueled the present anti-Israeli campaign in the works." Major General Aharon Yariv, former chief of Israeli intelligence and "Arab expert," called the attack "self-defeating." "I would have to say it was a mistake," said Yariv, then in Washington to beg for more military hardware from Congress (*Newsweek*, 15 December).

Although sometimes embarrassed by the use to which Israel puts American arms, Congress will see to it that Major General Yariv does not return home empty-handed. The Israeli state continues to be useful to U.S. rulers in dividing the Arab masses and diverting them from the class struggle against their own exploiters into a *jihad* against Zionism. As long as Israel contributes to the political stability of the reactionary sheiks and colonels—who are either agents of imperialism or are temporarily holding out for a better price—then U.S. imperialism will see to the security of Israel. But the increased diplomatic isolation of Israel, reflected symbolically in the UN General Assembly's empty anti-Zionist resolutions (and, more importantly, in the fivefold increase in the price of oil!), makes Israel something of a liability in the cold calculations of finance capital.

Contributing to the growing rift between Israel and its imperialist patron is the increased U.S. willingness to consider the "PLO option," especially if that option were translated into a Bantustan-like "mini-state" in the Jordanian West Bank. The major imperialist powers have learned that neo-colonial "self-government" is cheaper and more stable than direct military occupation, and in the West Bank it is U.S. coffers which pay the bills of Israeli occupation. Such a mini-state would be either a vassal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan or a client of the feudal petroleum sheiks of the Arabian peninsula to which the PLO is already mortgaged.

PLO

Bombed-out Palestinian refugee district in Beirut.

It came as no surprise that the PLO condemned as a U.S.-Zionist plot the recent kidnappings of OPEC ministers in Vienna by the "Arm of the Arab Revolution." The PLO, dependent as it is on the OPEC offertory (the "alms of the revolution"), must be concerned not to bite the hand that feeds it. The future of a PLO-governed West Bank is graphically portrayed in today's front-page *New York Times* photo of PLO leader Yasir Arafat in Damascus consoling ARAMCO's Saudi King Khalid for any anxiety His Highness may have felt over the fate of his Harvard-educated oil minister.

"Solving" the Refugee Problem

Additionally, a PLO reservation in the West Bank could serve as a dumping ground for the Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon who contribute to the instability of those fragile, reactionary regimes. Although in the 1970 "Black September" civil war Jordanian King Hussein's army, the legacy of British imperialism's Arab Legion, murdered 10,000 Palestinians and crushed their nationalist commando movement, the Hashemite ruler has by no means quelled opposition to his regime among the Palestinians who make up a majority of Jordan's population. Previous to the 1974 Rabat conference of the Arab League which proclaimed the PLO the "sole legitimate authority" of the Palestinian people, Hussein stood for complete re-annexation of the West Bank (originally annexed by his grandfather Abdullah in the 1948 war). After Rabat, Hussein acquiesced to the idea of a vassal mini-state in the West Bank where Palestinians opposed to Hashemite absolutism could have token self-rule.

More pressing is the fate of the 300,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Although they are stateless and deprived of all citizenship rights, the Palestinians are still seen as a threat by the Maronite Christian elite. The relative privilege of the Maronite Christian population in Lebanon is based on the unwritten 1943 "National Pact" which distributed government posts and funds in post-independence Lebanon between Christians and Muslims in a ratio of six to five. This deal between the religious and clan leaders of the various religious sects also established that the Maronites, the largest single sect, would get the post of presidency (which included the power to appoint all ministers including the prime minister and to dissolve parliament) and the army chief of staff. However there is now a Muslim majori-

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Sygma/Claude Salhani

Phalangist snipers in Beirut.

CORRECTION

December 20, 1975

To the Editor:

Your account of the paranoid anti-communist frenzy whipped up by Olga Madar at the national CLUW conference in Detroit [*WV* 89, 19 December] was accurate except for the report of the incident which took place at the picket line organized by the Committee for a Militant UAW to protest the "Breakfast with Bella Abzug." The kicking of demonstrators and leaflet-snatching you described was done not by Olga Madar but by the CLUW press secretary who was desperate to stop the demonstration before reporters inside the breakfast could get wind of it. I was standing by the dining room door handing out leaflets when Madar came out blustering about getting together a flying wedge to crash the line. She was not able to kick the demonstrators, mainly because she got to the door too late and was being held there by her henchmen who were telling her to calm down because they had already called the Cobo Hall guards.

Lisa Diamond
Militant Solidarity Caucus
UAW Local 906, Mahwah, N.J.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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IWP "Unemployed Conference"

Therapy Cult Crawls After Dr. Spock, Dinko

The Barnum and Bailey founding convention of the "Nationwide Unemployed League" (NUL) held in New York on December 27-28 embarrassed many of its own members by declaring political support for both Andy Dinko, "oppositionist" clown of the National Maritime Union (NMU), and Dr. Benjamin Spock, vice-presidential candidate of the People's Party.

The conference, which was dominated by the International Workers Party (IWP), a psychotherapy cult on the lunatic fringe of the left which split from the ultra-paranoid Labor Committee of Lyn Marcus, drew only slightly more than 100 participants, including supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), the Labor Party League and the New-Left leftover Red Balloon, along with a few community organizers and trade unionists.

WV Photo

Andy Dinko

The IWP's cynical attempt to pass off Andy Dinko—a character who ran for the NMU presidency in 1973 on a program of bringing cops and courts into the union, with a campaign spiced up by mariachi bands and free booze liberally dispensed from his "Dinkmobile"—as a serious union militant clearly reveals the organization's alienation from the labor movement.

As Gene Herson of the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) pointed out in the meeting, Dinko's trade-union "opposition" had consisted of gutter-level, sensationalist allegations directed at union officials, particularly charges of various sexual adventures, and a series of ostentatious court suits directed not only at the union bureaucracy but at opposition groups such as the Militant-Solidarity Caucus. Herson cited cartoons published by Dinko which used stars of David to identify Jewish union officials, Dinko's physical violence directed at other oppositionists, and his public statements that the rank and file would have to drive communists out of the union.

The IWP argues feebly that the old Dinko has been "transformed." This miraculous transformation, supposedly consummated at a demonstration called by Dinko's Rank and File Committee and the New York Unemployed Council (a component of the NUL) on December 24 outside the New York NMU hall, occurred *only five days after* Dinko had distributed a leaflet boosting one of his court suits and *on the same day* that one of his supporters brought a cop into the union hall and demanded the arrest of a union officer for using obscene language. Although a joint Dinko-Unemployed Council bulletin did criticize Dinko's past reliance on the courts, he has never *in principle* repudiated this practice (nor the rest of his anti-union, flag-waving, red-baiting history), much less raised anything remotely resembling the NUL "program" in the NMU.

Throughout the conference the IWP thoroughly isolated itself from its "partners" by heavy-handed bureaucratic techniques. The IWP-dominated presiding committee refused the RSL permission to motivate its alternative program before the convention and allotted a grand total of 24 minutes for floor discussion on the proposed program and constitution! The last straw (or what *would* have been the last straw if any of the participating organizations had an ounce of political integrity) came near the end of the conference, when it was announced that although the presiding committee had never discussed inviting Benjamin Spock to address the body—and although representatives of other non-member organizations, such as the Spartacist League, were denied speaking rights—Spock was to be offered the podium.

The subsequent voting to admit Spock and to endorse the presidential campaign of the People's Party, a petty-bourgeois party descended from the Peace and Freedom Party, was deeply split. Only the IWP voted to support Spock's candidacy, even though it characterized him as petty-bourgeois (to which Spock retorted that he was *bourgeois*)!

The Dinko and People's Party incidents demonstrate that the program adopted by the NUL, though well-larded with radical-sounding demands—for defense of plant occupations, expanded trade with the "workers states," support for all working-class and national liberation struggles against U.S. imperialism, etc.—is only a tissue-paper covering for economism.

Last March when the SL announced that it would not at that time participate with the IWP in organizing a national unemployed league, it cited several political differences between the two groups, not the least of which was the fact that the IWP viewed such a league as a get-rich-quick alternative to programmatically based struggle within the unions against the labor bureaucracy which passively acquiesces to mass layoffs and refuses to organize the unemployed. The SL also criticized the IWP's unwillingness to concretize abstract slogans like "full productive employment" with demands for militant class-struggle, such as a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, nationalization of industry without compensation, factory occupations against layoffs and unemployed committees linked to the trade unions.

These fatal flaws remain, but they have presented no barrier to other self-proclaimed revolutionary organizations. The Red Balloon and the Labor Party League remained in NUL to the end. The RSL, while denouncing the IWP for favoring "the reorganization of capitalism along more efficient lines," nonetheless participated on the presiding committee of the conference (finally departing only during the election of officers), thus earning the dubious distinction of trying to set up an organization whose major component it viewed as "defenders of capitalism"!

As for the IWP, its organizational high-handedness and political atrocities will probably deprive it ultimately of the support of even the most hardened opportunist formations in the NUL. Perhaps this will serve as a rude awakening for the IWP membership, which has too long remained isolated from the realities of the class struggle. Many IWPers were completely ignorant of Dinko's pathetic political history at the moment when their leadership was declaring political solidarity with him. The IWP leadership's cynical cohabitation with such erratic compromised elements—intended to bring the NUL a mass audience in a hurry—will only further repel any serious militants who come into contact with this crackpot reformist sandbox. ■

Boycott Alberto-Culver Products!

WV Photo

Supporters of striking Capitol Packaging workers demonstrate at Sears and Roebuck in downtown Chicago, December 20, calling on shoppers to boycott products of the Alberto-Culver Corporation, which owns Capitol. OCAW Local 7-507 is now entering its fifth month on strike with the barest minimum of support from the International union leadership and a meager $25 per worker in weekly strike benefits. Violence has broken out on the picket lines as the Local's black vice president was run down and killed by a scab trucker. The courts let the driver off with a token fine and have since banned mass picketing.

The consumer boycott was originally called by OCAW leaders, but predictably they did nothing to build it. With the approval of the official local union strike committee, a recently formed Strike Support Committee—which brings together unionists from other Chicago-area plants and several left organizations, including the Spartacist League—organized the December 20 picket to publicize the strike. Marching in solidarity with Capitol strikers were members of the UAW Local 6 Labor Struggle Caucus, whose signs called for victory to the Capitol strike and urged transportation workers to refuse to handle ("hot-cargo") Alberto-Culver products.

Frenzied Thug Attack in Berlin

West German Maoists Squirm Over Chinese Support to NATO

When, after years of phony left posturing, China's "Great Helmsman" threw the rudder hard right last year to hail West Europe as a bulwark against the "two superpowers" (the U.S. and USSR), some continental Maoists were understandably embarrassed. Especially in West Germany—where German militarism remains an emotionally charged issue and it is the bourgeois right wing (from Christian Democrat Franz Josef Strauss to the neo-Nazi *Nationalzeitung*) that seeks an anti-Soviet alliance with China—Peking's support for strengthening NATO forces has elicited reactions ranging from embarrassed silence to partial disavowal of Chinese foreign policy by erstwhile Mao loyalists.

But the sizable right-Maoist groups—the KPD (Communist Party of Germany, not to be confused with the pro-Moscow DKP, the German Communist Party) and the KPD/ML—have unashamedly endorsed this latest in a long series of betrayals flowing from the Chinese brand of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, going so far as to hold pro-NATO demonstrations. KPD/ML head Ernst Aust even brought a court suit against West German defense minister Georg Leber, charging Leber with "neglecting" Germany's military "preparedness"; Aust demanded that the army be strengthened to ward off the "social-imperialist" Russians and East Germans!

Faced with internal disgruntlement, the Maoists need to rally their ranks. To harden their members against Trotskyist criticisms of China's pro-German imperialist policies, they have now sought to draw lines in blood. On November 6, under the slogan "Anyone who attacks the People's Republic of China attacks all peoples," the KPD and KPD/ML (and their student groups, the KSV and KSB/ML respectively) tried to break up a West Berlin public meeting called by the fake-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM), German section of the United Secretariat (USec).

Armed with iron bars, wooden clubs and stones, about 250 Maoist supporters attacked a united-front defense squad of about 80 formed by the GIM, the centrist Spartacusbund (SpB) and the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, Trotskyist League of Germany, section of the international Spartacist tendency) about half an hour before the meeting was scheduled to begin. Five people, including at least one Maoist, were hospitalized. Despite the size of the attacking force, as the public began arriving they joined with the defense guard, eventually driving the Maoist thugs out of the Technical University building where the meeting was held.

USec Opportunists Tail Stalinism

Breaking with their policy of deliberately ignoring the TLD in their press, both the GIM and Spartacusbund grudgingly acknowledged the TLD's defense of the meeting, as did the USec (*Intercontinental Press*, 8 December). The GIM and SpB now hope to capitalize on the widespread disenchantment with Mao, but at least one Maoist group has preferred to direct its "polemics" against the TLD, which openly calls for a proletarian political revolution in China to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. In contrast, the fake-Trotskyist centrists have endlessly vacillated on Mao, cuddling up to the popularity of "Third Worldist" moods in the European left milieu.

The USec revisionists have for years refused to expose Chinese foreign policy as the product of a conservative, nationalist bureaucracy which sees its survival contingent on deals with imperialism rather than international proletarian extension of the revolution. Instead, the USec has characterized the Chinese and Vietnamese Stalinists as "centrists," lending credence to Mao's attempts to be more verbally "leftist" than his Russian counterparts. They cannot explain what lies behind Chinese policies without exposing their own bankruptcy.

The Trotskyists of the TLD have devoted a special issue of their public organ, *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, to refuting the Maoists' "arguments." The TLD links Mao's egregious line toward NATO with the Trotskyist analysis of China as a burcaucratically deformed workers state, and calls for unconditional military defense of all the deformed workers states against imperialism combined with the struggle to oust their parasitic, sellout ruling cliques and install proletarian rule through soviets. In particular it stresses the continuity of the policies of the "Great Organizer of Defeats" (Stalin) and those of the Great Chairman of Betrayals (Mao), a connection which USec majorityites (as well as Healyites and the French OCI) have always denied.

The TLD is increasingly seen by Maoists as the only serious Trotskyist organization in West Germany. A KSB/ML wall poster at Berlin's Free University in early December singled out the TLD to attack Trotskyism over precisely those questions on which the USec and SpB capitulate: the call for political revolution in China, opposition to all popular fronts, Portugal. This same wall poster made a "self-criticism" of the gangster attack on the GIM meeting as "wrong" and "unsuccessful."

The KSB/ML did not renounce the Stalinist tradition of bureaucratic suppression of workers democracy (particularly against opponents to their left), but it noted that "many democratic-minded fellow students" considered Trotskyists as part of the left and admitted that the November 6 incident brought about widespread solidarity with the victims of the Maoist attack. Another group, the semi-Maoist Communist League/North (KB/Nord), which criticizes Chinese foreign policy, was forced to state that it supported "*in principle* the right of the Trotskyists to state their opinions" and even admitted the theoretical possibility of defending this right against attack by the Maoist "fatherland defenders" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 12 December).

In contrast to the TLD, the GIM's main political response to the Maoists (in a special Berlin supplement to its paper *Was Tun*) still views the Chinese as in some way progressive with respect to the Russians. It proclaims "support" to the Maoists where they are "a step ahead of the Russians" (namely on "the integration of politics and the economy"!), while "criticizing the policy of the Chinese CP leadership where it is incorrect," in particular its "catastrophic foreign policy." This partial critique is less severe than the criticisms raised by some of the semi-Maoist organizations!

The GIM is particularly incensed at the Maoist charge (in an 18 November KSV leaflet) that Trotskyists criticize the Vietnamese NLF as "nationalist" and oriented toward an alliance with "its own bourgeoisie." Far from criticizing the NLF as "counterrevolutionary," says the GIM, the "Fourth International" (i.e., the USec) has praised the "revolutionary practice" of the NLF. Except for the USec's presumption to represent the continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International, this is correct. It is the *international Spartacist tendency* that has consistently denounced the counterrevolutionary popular-frontist policies of the Vietnamese Stalinists.

As for the call for political revolution in the Soviet Union, this is mentioned in the *Was Tun* supplement only as a "historical" demand of the Trotskyist movement. The GIM pleads with "all comrades who are prepared to make a self-criticism" (of the attack on the GIM meeting) to "construct together the revolutionary party on the ruins of this disastrous split within the left." For the USec, the Maoists are part of the "new mass vanguard" which will make the revolution in spite of itself; thus even defenders of NATO who assault GIM meetings are treated as prodigal sons.

The Spartacusbund pursues a similar policy. Limiting itself to denouncing some of China's more extravagant sellouts, the SpB "reply" to the Maoists ("Was wollen die Trotzkisten wirklich?"; undated broadsheet of the SpB's "left" Berlin local) does not call for political revolution in either the USSR or China.

Defend Workers Democracy!

The Mao-Stalinist gangster attack created such a furor that the KPD and KPD/ML found themselves temporarily isolated within the Berlin left milieu. Two leading radical bookstores which normally carry all left papers temporarily refused to carry their press. And an "Action Committee Against the *Berufsverbot*" (the law depriving suspected radicals of state employment), which includes significant numbers of unorganized radicals, expelled the Maoists and announced it would not work with them in the future.

Although the GIM and SpB opposed Technical University authorities' attempts to bar the KPD and KPD/ML from obtaining meeting rooms on campus, as the beginning of further attacks on the left, they failed to fight the efforts emanating from within the radical movement to read the Maoists

JOINT STATEMENT IN DEFENSE OF WORKERS DEMOCRACY

In response to the attack by the KPD and the KPD/ML on the GIM meeting of 6 November 1975 in Berlin, the undersigned organizations state that free and open political discussion and debate are a vital question for the socialist and workers movement. Only the confrontation between opposing political positions in serious debate guarantees that the correct political position will be spread.

The undersigned organizations state their readiness to defend the possibility of a democratic confrontation among socialist tendencies through united actions—defense of meetings, demonstrations, literature tables, paper sales, etc. We call on all organizations on the left and in the workers movement to sign this statement.

We emphasize that working-class organizations must fight against every attack by the bourgeois state which aims at cutting off the democratic rights of socialist organizations or at destroying them. In this sense the meeting-room ban against the KPD (or KSV) and the KPD/ML imposed by the Technical University must be fought against, as an attack on the organized left.

The undersigned organizations commit themselves to common technical discussions concerning mutual defense against reinforced state repression.

Berlin, 18 November 1975

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out of the left. The GIM supported the exclusion from the "Action Committee." Only the TLD correctly linked the need for political struggle to the unconditional defense of workers democracy.

The TLD has good reason to be skeptical of the GIM, which yells long and loud about workers democracy but only when convenient. To take but one example, Sybille Plogstedt—a GIM supporter who fled from East Germany, apparently without learning much about the anti-revolutionary import of political suppression—has refused to allow comrades of the TLD to speak in discussion periods at GIM public meetings (*Kommunistische Korrespondenz* No. 3, June 1974). The TLD co-signed a statement with the SpB and GIM while calling on these organizations themselves "to really stand up for the principles of workers democracy, that is, for example, for the GIM to revise its attitude in the 'Committee Against the *Berufsverbot*'...."

The struggle to build a world party capable of leading the working class to power—the struggle to reforge the Fourth International—is above all a struggle for coherent Trotskyist policies and program. In their frenetic search for short-cuts, the revisionists oscillate between conciliating Stalinism politically in order to get "close" to the Maoists and blunting the defense of the democratic rights of these same organizations when they are out of favor in the left milieu. The politics of expediency are a cynical betrayal of Trotskyism and a crime against subjectively revolutionary elements among the Maoists who, shaken by Mao's NATO line, are beginning to look for the answers which only Trotskyism can provide. ■

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Sostre Pardoned

Free Joanne Little, Carter and Artis!

DECEMBER 29—During the last month, four victims of judicial frame-ups have received national attention as their supporters demanded immediate freedom for Martin Sostre, Rubin Carter, John Artis and Joanne Little. Although there had been reports of executive clemency for the first three in annual Christmas pardons—and Little's lawyers mistakenly expected her bail to be routinely extended during appeal of an earlier conviction—only Sostre is due to be released soon. Protests and urgent appeals must continue to raise a clamor for the release of the others as well!

Daily World

Martin Sostre

Martin Sostre's seven-year fight for freedom has finally ended in victory. Imprisoned since 1968 on a police drug frame-up, he has been granted clemency by New York governor Hugh Carey. Supporters of Sostre had feared that Carey would grant only partial clemency: dismissing the time remaining on his sentence for the drug rap but not a more recent one-to-four-year term for allegedly assaulting guards when Sostre protested the humiliating and painful rectal examinations regularly inflicted on prisoners. Sostre's plight united many clergymen, prison reform groups, writers, lawyers, left and defense organizations—who demanded that Carey grant full clemency to Sostre.

Throughout his years in prison—more than half of them spent in solitary confinement—Sostre relentlessly petitioned for new trials for himself and also won important democratic steps for prisoners: the right to sue for damages when arbitrarily placed in solitary and to receive radical literature, among others. He also successfully challenged the validity of all-white parole boards. For his activities in jail, Sostre became a target for prison guard harassment. Last June a court determined that Sostre's life was endangered if he remained in state prison and he was transferred to a New York City federal jail.

That Sostre is finally free after his unjust conviction is a long-overdue victory. That he was imprisoned at all—and consistently denied new trials, despite the recanted testimony of the prosecution's main witness—is a damning indictment of bourgeois justice.

Mark Sennett

Rubin Carter

Joanne Little

N.J. Governor Byrne Stalls on Clemency for Carter and Artis

Supporters of Ruhin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis have been demanding that New Jersey governor Brendan Byrne grant clemency to these two innocent men charged with a 1966 barroom murder of three whites in Paterson, N.J. After eight years behind bars, these victims of a police frame-up and cover-up continue to assert their innocence. As in the Sostre case, here, too, prosecution witnesses have admitted to lying in order to have their own sentences for burglary softened, and to collect an offered $10,500 "reward" for identifying Carter and Artis as the two gunmen.

Although in the past requests for a retrial were denied, a hearing will now be held January 12 to decide whether a new trial is warranted. But despite all the revelations of irregularities—including withheld police evidence that Carter and Artis passed a police lie detector test on the night of their arrest—and despite ever-widening protest against their unjust imprisonment, so far no action has been taken by the New Jersey governor to grant clemency. Now a new witness—whose testimony was earlier rejected as wholly unreliable—has been surfaced to claim that Carter and Artis were accessories to the 1967 shooting. Enough of this ridiculous manufactured "evidence"! The Partisan Defense Committee urges *WV* readers to immediately telegram Byrne to demand that he stop the stalling and grant clemency for Carter and Artis. Send telegrams to Governor Brendan Byrne, State House, Trenton, New Jersey. For further information on this case, contact: Hurricane Defense Committee, 565 Fifth Avenue, Room 721, New York, NY 10017.

Joanne Little Jailed Again

In North Carolina, Joanne Little once more faces trial and has now been denied bail while a 1974 breaking-and-entering conviction is appealed. It is this charge which first placed her in jail, where she was sexually assaulted by her jailer who was killed in the ensuing struggle. Although bail was granted during and after her widely publicized trial on the murder charge, the state court of appeals has given no reason for its recent, apparently unprecedented, denial. Little has been sent to a North Carolina state women's prison and her lawyers are considering appealing the bail denial to the state supreme court or to a federal judge who can release her. Joanne Little must not be abandoned by her many supporters—urgent protests must demand that she be immediately released and the charges dropped! ■

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Nazi Scandal Blocks Coalition Government in Austria

VIENNA—Scarcely a week after parliamentary elections were held this fall, all Austria was agog as Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal accused Friedrich Peter, leader of the extreme right-wing Freedom Party (FPÖ), of having been an officer in an SS Death Battalion during World War II. The normally sedate tenor of national politics in this insular central European state was shattered as the head of government, Socialist chancellor Bruno Kreisky, vehemently defended Peter and insinuated that Wiesenthal, head of the Jewish Documentation Center, had collaborated with the Gestapo. Wiesenthal shot back with a court suit against Kreisky alleging defamation of character.

For the next two months the Vienna press was dominated by fallout from these sensational charges and countercharges. But when libel hearings against the press were opened on December 3, neither of the principals showed up in court. By the next day Wiesenthal had withdrawn his suit and Kreisky declared the matter finished.

What was involved in this dispute which sent so many sparks flying before it was adroitly swept under the rug? Peter had long admitted being a member of the Waffen SS, elite shock troops supposedly representing the cream of Teutonic manhood. Now Wiesenthal charged that Peter had joined the SS voluntarily; and not in 1941, as the FPÖ leader claimed, but on 9 November 1938. At that time the Waffen SS did not yet exist and Heinrich Himmler's *Schutzstaffel* was a private Nazi army specializing in "night and fog" terror operations. The date is doubly significant for that very night was the infamous *Kristallnacht*, when synagogues and Jewish businesses throughout Germany and Austria were destroyed and scores of Jews slaughtered by the SS. It is hard to imagine that the new recruit would have been left out of this well-organized pogrom.

Moreover, the regiment to which Peter belonged during 1941-42—the 10th Regiment of the 1st SS Infantry Brigade—was active not in the front lines but in "mopping-up operations" aimed at liquidating opposition to the Hitler regime in occupied areas. Peter's zeal was such that in short order and without any front-line experience he was singled out for officer training. This was normally impossible in the Waffen SS except in cases of "extraordinary accomplishments as a soldier and leader."

What these "extraordinary accomplishments" would amount to can be gathered from an official "War Diary" found in Czechoslovakia which dispassionately lists, day by day, the numbers of Jews, gypsies, civilians aiding the Red Army, and partisans whom the SS was systematically assassinating. Peter's unit was credited with more than 10,000 executions on Russian territory. And although the FPÖ leader disputes the authenticity of the "War Diary," it has been admitted as evidence by West German courts in trials of former Nazis.

Interned after the war by the Americans for his SS membership, Peter was released in 1947 and joined the Socialist Teachers Association of Upper Austria. But this apparent change of political course did not prevent him from writing for *Wiking-Ruf* ("Call of the Vikings"), the organ of ex-SS members in West Germany. In one article he declared, "I am not one of those people who claim to have been pressed or forced into service, but admit today as well that I joined the SS voluntarily" (quoted in *Volksstimme* [Vienna], 30 November 1975).

Kreisky Defends the "Elected Representative of the People"

These revelations about Peter's unsavory (to say the least) past not only raised quite a few eyebrows but drove Chancellor Kreisky to an impassioned defense of the FPÖ leader as a man who had been "repeatedly elected a representative of the people." Stating that he did not want to hear any more of this "ancient history," Kreisky impugned Wiesenthal's veracity, accusing the latter and his supporters of being a "sort of political Mafia." When Wiesenthal countered with his court suit, the Socialist Party (SPÖ) chairman unleashed a barrage of hysterical attacks, more or less directly accusing Wiesenthal of having been a Nazi agent: "For someone from the Jewish community to have survived the General Government [in Poland under German occupation] is an extraordinary piece of luck" (quoted in *Kleine Zeitung*, 22 October).

At a press conference on November 10 Kreisky was even more explicit: "I can understand that he [Wiesenthal] wanted to save his life then, but he does not have the moral authority to point an accusing finger at others.... My opinion was and is that he was an agent.... He has no right to mix in Austrian politics. This man must disappear." Kreisky, who is also of Jewish ancestry, added: "I had a different relationship with the Gestapo than he had." Asked if he was accusing Wiesenthal of being a Gestapo agent, he replied: "I claim that in the time I am speaking of he lived openly, not underground, and was not persecuted. That speaks for itself. There were many other Nazi agencies besides the Gestapo." Kreisky based his statements on unspecified "secret documents" available to him as federal chancellor.

Abandoning his carefully cultivated image as a diplomatic man of distinction, Kreisky pugnaciously announced to the astounded public that he welcomed the suit and had been waiting for just such an occasion to expose Wiesenthal's activities. He was prepared to renounce his parliamentary immunity and insisted on a test in the courts. In a flourish of bravado he vowed, "either my colleagues release me from my immunity or I shall resign my seat in Parliament. This Wiesenthal affair is one case I am determined to carry through to the end" (*Kurier*, 18 November).

But Kreisky was quite aware that his SPÖ colleagues would never permit him to endanger their lucrative ministerial and bureaucratic posts by placing the head of government on trial in such an explosive case. Abandoning the notion of a court test, a few days later the chancellor hit upon the idea of a parliamentary committee of investigation, in which he could conveniently appear as prosecutor rather than defendant. But even this was too much for the SPÖ's Parliamentary Club, which suggested that no committee would be needed if the suit were simply withdrawn. With powerful interests now determined to clamp down on the embarrassing dispute, Wiesenthal quickly knuckled under. Thereupon Kreisky declared, "for me this takes care of the affair."

The Frustrated Coalition

The explanation for the unexpectedly rapid and tranquil denouement of this high political drama played out with grandiloquent gestures is not, as the Viennese media have suggested, some peculiarly Austrian genius for "Durchwursteln" (muddling through). Rather, the sudden fizzling out of the cause célèbre came about as one party to the dispute had attained his ends and the other realized his cause was unsalvagable. On both sides it was far more than a personal vendetta or individual reputations that were at stake.

For Kreisky, FPÖ boss Peter was an important political ally. Expecting a

Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky

Seundhofer

Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal

loss in the October elections, the Socialist leader had broached the idea of a "small coalition" should the SPÖ lose its absolute majority. This was already foretold in joint foreign trips by the FPÖ and SPÖ leaders, and in a "trial coalition" in one locality. The West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (17 November) reported that Peter "would have become vice-chancellor" had the Socialists lost their parliamentary majority. Even on election-day evening, in his television victory speech, Kreisky announced his intentions to bring "personalities out of other political camps"—i.e., Peter—into the government.

For Wiesenthal, known to be close to the leading Austrian capitalist party, the People's Party (ÖVP), it was a question of blocking the entry of the FPÖ into the government. The bulk of the bourgeoisie felt the tiny Freedom Party lacked the social weight to control the Socialists and preferred a coalition with the ÖVP. (Such a "concentration government" had ruled the country from 1947 to 1956.) The Jewish petty bourgeoisie, in turn, could not be indifferent to the prospect of the FPÖ, a haven for unregenerate old Nazis, sitting in the cabinet.

In the October elections the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists (ÖBL), a sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, called for no support to the Socialist candidates since the SPÖ was obviously preparing a class-collaborationist coalition (see *WV*, No. 81, 17 October). However, this was contested by the local extension of the centrist German Spartacusbund, which ridiculed the idea that the SPÖ was angling for an alliance with the FPÖ, citing Kreisky's statements that he was seeking an absolute majority and dismissing the local "trial coalition" as

Former SS officer Friedrich Peter

irrelevant (*Spartacus* [Vienna], September 1975). Kreisky's victory speech and particularly his violent reaction to Wiesenthal's revelations are further proof that the SPÖ did indeed intend to set up a "small coalition."

Wiesenthal's gambit worked. Since Kreisky was trying to pass off the FPÖ as the equivalent of the West German Free Democrats, and as Peter was generally supposed to be leading a "liberal" wing of his party, the revelation of the ugly grimace of the SS skull and crossbones lurking behind the mask of a smiling family man had tremendous impact. Finally seeing that he was beaten, at a November 27 press conference the Socialist chancellor drew back from his coalition talk. While admitting that he had discussed the matter with Peter—of course, only privately—Kreisky claimed to have told the FPÖ leader that the Freedom Party "is too conservative and only its young members are liberal."

Stalinists Defend Austria's "Reputation"

An interesting sidelight to the Kreisky-Wiesenthal affair was the despicable role played by the small Communist Party (KPÖ). The party's central organ, *Volksstimme* (1 November), quoted KPÖ chairman Franz Muhri's lament: "SS-Peter Damages Austria's Reputation"! The article goes on to denounce the FPÖ mainly for its "denial of the existence of an Austrian nation and the programmatic adherence of this

continued on page 10

Hassan II Makes Deal With Juan Carlos I

Morocco Invades Spanish Sahara

In a note of historical irony, the final weeks of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's life were marked by a resumption of colonial unrest in the same region where he began his murderous career. Franco first came to public attention by suppressing the Rif tribal uprisings in the 1920's, later using Spanish Morocco as the jumping-off point for the 1936 officers' revolt which brought him to power. As the aging dictator lay dying in Pardo palace last fall, disputes flared up over Madrid's largest remaining African possession, the Spanish Sahara. In recent days this sandy wasteland again appeared in the world press as troops from neighboring Morocco and Mauritania moved in to replace departing Spanish forces. The invaders were resisted by guerrillas of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia. Hamra and Rio de Oro (Polisario Front).

Spanish Sahara is sparsely inhabited, with only two or three small towns and a total population of 40,000 to 80,000, overwhelmingly nomadic and tribal in composition. The area is a remote corner of the vast Sahara desert with, as Sayid El Ouali, secretary-general of the Polisario Front, put it, "no factories, no roads, no schools, no money" (*Le Monde*, 14-15 December). Aside from a few oases along trading routes, the territory held little interest for surrounding states until large phosphate deposits were discovered in the 1960's.

With the liquidation of the last remaining colonial holdings in the 1970's, several such extremely backward, remote and amorphous areas have been put up for grabs (the most recent being Portuguese Timor), and it is hardly surprising that their more advanced neighbors move in to grab the booty.

Morocco is concerned to gain control of Saharan phosphate mines, particularly since the Alouite monarchy already provides 35 percent of the world production of this important mineral, whose price has recently quintupled (*Jeune Afrique*, 14 November). Algeria is additionally interested in obtaining an outlet to the Atlantic which would make its rich iron ore reserves in the isolated Tindouf area commercially exploitable.

The "Green March"

The October-November "Saharan crisis" was an entirely stage-managed affair designed to pave the way for a neo-colonialist partition of the territory to the mutual benefit of Morocco and Mauritania, while preserving Spanish economic interests and freezing out Algeria. Moroccan king Hassan II assembled an "army" of 350,000 volunteers (unarmed, of course) for a national crusade, a "Green March" into Spanish Sahara. But after marching only six miles across the border without meeting any opposition from Spanish forces (who had conveniently withdrawn), the Koran-carrying crusaders were suddenly stopped and then sent home on royal command.

The outcome of this maneuver was the tripartite agreement signed by Morocco, Mauritania and Spain on November 14. In his first major act of state, Spanish prince (now king) Juan Carlos had flown to the Spanish Sahara in order to assure military officers that the "honor" of the Spanish army would be preserved in any accord. Now his government agreed to leave the Sahara by the end of February. Secret arrangements were made for joint exploitation of the phosphate and a pretense will be made of "respect[ing] the freely expressed aspirations of the Saharan populations" (as called for in a UN resolution) by staging a referendum *after* administration has already been taken over by Mauritania and Morocco.

One of Hassan II's main arguments in persuading Juan Carlos I of their common interests was the need to keep out the supposedly "revolutionary" Algerians. Washington, which considers Algeria a Soviet pawn, certainly played its role in arranging this power play. But unfortunately for the pair of kings, Boumediene pulled out his ace and demanded to be cut in. After Algeria threatened to cut off its vital oil to Spain, Madrid decided to play its cards more diplomatically. Nonetheless it has proceeded to withdraw Spanish troops even faster than foreseen in the tripartite agreement (the last are due to leave in a few days), and Morocco and Mauritania have quickly moved their armies in.

The Polisario Front

Algeria's much stronger military forces are poised to strike, and could easily overrun the disputed territory. However, for the moment the reported fighting has been carried out exclusively by the Polisario Front. Matching rifles against tanks, the Front has been driven from the towns and the villages. As of December 23 it held only the border post of Mahbes, next to Algeria, and in the south Mauritanian troops succeeded in driving Polisario guerrillas from the fishing port of La Güera with heavy casualties on both sides (*New York Times*, 27 December).

L'Express

Beginning of Moroccan "green march" into Spanish Sahara last October.

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of the Saharan population now supports the Polisario insurgents. This was admitted by Spanish military authorities, and at the first reports of an impending Moroccan invasion they cordoned off the "native quarters" of the colonial capital, El Aiun, with barbed wire, conducting entry and exit searches in order to prevent any pro-independence actions. When the Moroccan army occupied northern villages in early December, virtually the entire population fled, the women and elderly to refugee camps and the men to the guerrillas.

The Front was founded in 1973, but has its origins earlier, in a Sahara Liberation Movement founded during the late 1960's by Saharan ex-students who had studied in Morocco and Spain. At first supported by Mauritania, then by Libya, it now relies extensively on its Algerian backers. But armed only with automatic rifles and a few machine guns and mortars, the Polisario is no match for the more than 12,000 Moroccan troops now in the Spanish Sahara. It will only come to power in the baggage cars of the Algerian army, if at all.

In the Saharan dispute the first responsibility of revolutionary Marxists is to demand the immediate withdrawal of Spanish forces, as well as Spanish withdrawal from the nearby Canary Islands and the Mediterranean enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in northern Morocco. Without pretending that the Erguibat, Teenan and smaller tribes represent a nation—being at best an embryo at the very earliest stages of formation—communists recognize the right of the Saharan population to self-determination, and therefore demand the removal of all foreign armies from the territory.

Clearly our attitude would be different if a revolutionary workers state were present, and one can only regret that the Soviet Union could not absorb, for example, a revolutionary Afghanistan, Inner Mongolia or Sinkiang during the early years of the Russian Revolution. On the basis of workers rule in the key proletarian centers the framework could be established for the harmonious national development of the various peoples and more advanced tribes in the remote reaches as in the Soviet central Asian republics or Mongolia. In contrast, forced annexations under capitalism simply create or perpetuate national oppression, including the most barbaric genocidal massacres.

In response to controversy over the Sahara question, however, the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) of Santiago Carrillo has put forward a position fully capitulating to the national chauvinism of its own bourgeoisie. Carrillo & Co. do *not* call for immediate withdrawal of Spanish troops, and tacitly go along with the Francoist government's tripartite deal to hand power over to the Moroccans and Mauritania. In an article intended to appeal to disgruntled army officers, the PCE denounces the Francoist regime "for its incapacity ... to defend the interests and the dignity of Spain particularly in this Saharan affair." It calls only for an orderly Spanish withdrawal, "freely contributing, transferring power to a provisional government or authority which would organize a popular plebiscite" (*Mundo Obrero*, 18 November). This in no way differs from Juan Carlos' willingness to hold a "consultation" under the auspices of Moroccan tanks, and it is certainly not self-determination.

The Communist League of Spain (LCE, linked to the reformist minority of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat) calls for self-determination for the Sahara and demands the withdrawal of Spanish troops while opposing the tripartite pact (*Combate*, 22 November). However, the Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain (PORE, section of the Vargaite LIRQI) actually opposes the right of self-determination of the populations of what it terms "Moroccan Sahara." It portrays Hassan's "Green March" as a concession to the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Moroccan working masses, only criticizing the king's lack of determination to pursue his crusade (*Aurora*, 17 November).

This is totally inverted. Hassan dispatched the impoverished masses to sleep among the sand dunes and minefields as an escape valve to diffuse the social pressure building up with the return of thousands of unemployed Moroccan workers from Europe. The "Green March" was in no sense a blow against colonialism, but simply a ploy to obtain a greater share of the spoils when the Spanish army exits. Perhaps the PORE, via LIRQI's Moroccan section, has succumbed to the "critical support" from various Moroccan nationalist opposition groups to Hassan's phony crusade.

Our recognition of the right of the Saharan population to self-determination does not imply any political support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists, who simply seek to pick up a few crumbs from the imperialists by administering a neo-colonial bourgeois state.

The Polisario Front is now heavily dependent upon Algeria, which is as uninterested in permitting Saharan independence as are all the other vultures circling over the desert territory. The Algerians called for *maintaining the presence of Spanish troops* (just changing their helmets for the blue insignia of UN "peacekeeping forces"), and for a joint administration, including Spain, with all the surrounding states! In the event of a military confrontation between Morocco and Algeria over the Spanish Sahara, the victory of either will subordinate the right of self-determination of the Saharan populations, and Trotskyists would call for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, just as in the 1963-64 Morocco-Algerian border war.

In the earlier conflict, the revisionist "United Secretariat" called for an Algerian victory, because at the time it was pushing the illusion that the nationalist regime of Ahmed Ben Bella was a "workers and peasants government," and hailed the non-existent Algerian "socialist revolution" (*World Outlook*, 25 October 1963). Just as the task of revolutionary Trotskyists at that time was to unmask the "revolutionary" pretensions of the Ben Bella regime, so today the interests of the impoverished tribal and peasant populations of the Saharan desert will only be served by a policy of no support to the nationalist demagogy of any of the states, and the forging of revolutionary Trotskyist parties based on the urban proletariats of Morocco and Algeria, with the internationalist perspective of a socialist federation of the Maghreb (Northwest Africa). ■

Unemployment lines in Detroit. Inner city jobless rate is estimated at 40 percent in the U.S. auto capital.

Detroit News

Depression Ravages Detroit

DETROIT, December 27—The giant Goodyear Tire signs that tower over Detroit freeways, continually ticking off the count of new car production, have slowed considerably since the U.S. auto industry began its long tailspin in the early months of 1974. This city, the center of the industry, was hit earlier and cut deeper by the current depression than any other American metropolitan area. Last February the jobless rate in the region soared to 16.4 percent, and despite the much-heralded economic upturn the official rate is still running above 13 percent. Among black workers in the inner city, unemployment is estimated at an astronomical 40 percent!

A look at the decaying social conditions in Detroit, particularly the intersection of the economic depression with the explosive racial question, tells a great deal about the human meaning of these statistics. When the depression landed, Detroit was already in an advanced state of decomposition. In the past quarter century, the city's population has dropped from 1.9 million to 1.3 million. "White flight" to the suburbs, fires and highway construction have left vast areas of the city virtually abandoned. Since 1960 more homes have been destroyed than built.

Public transportation is woefully inadequate, among the worst in the nation according to a recent survey. A rapid transit system has long been blocked by opposition from the auto companies. Transportation to the suburbs, where much business and industry have fled in recent years, is virtually non-existent.

The foul stench of capitalist crisis permeates every aspect of life. Twenty-five percent of Detroit's population lives below the federally recognized poverty line. Long lines of laid-off workers queue up daily at the offices of the Michigan Employment Security Commission to collect unemployment checks averaging $65.61 a week (with a maximum of $106). The supplemental unemployment benefits, which represent a thin economic cushion for unemployed auto workers, ran out this spring at both Chrysler and General Motors. (Chrysler resumed payments in late September, but the fund is still extremely low.) Rumors of hiring at a plant spread quickly, and within hours employment offices are packed wall-to-wall with applicants.

Despite the pickup in sales, major auto makers have announced that total employment in the industry will come nowhere near the peak it reached in 1973. Since then the auto labor force has been slashed by nearly 100,000 and most of this year's scheduled production increases will be met through speed-up and automation as many plants are retooled for smaller models. Chrysler, largest employer in the city, is now in the process of carrying out thousands of new layoffs. The sharp drop in the official number of laid-off auto workers from 275,000 in February to 68,000 in November is not simply the result of expanded production. When auto workers' seniority and recall rights expire, they are simply dropped from the company rolls. Thus, the auto industry and its capital, Detroit, face permanent structural job losses of huge proportions.

Bob Scott

Detroit ghetto explodes in anger after killing of black youth last August.

Massive Social Decay

The economic crisis is also felt in the decline and disappearance of municipal government services. Ghetto streets, already pock-marked by overgrown lots and boarded-up houses (some 10,000 of them owned by the federal government), will deteriorate further as the result of several hundred layoffs in the fire department.

Preventive repairs and maintenance on 650 city-owned buildings were nearly eliminated. Despite garbage-strewn streets, last year the city went without its usual summer force of 100 extra street sweepers. Alleys are repaired only when they become totally impassable.

While ever-increasing numbers of unemployed youth were out on the streets, the city recreation department furloughed 264 employees for a month, did not open a number of municipal swimming pools and postponed the opening of golf courses for a month.

The few cultural amenities in Detroit have fallen under the ax as well. This summer the Detroit Institute of Arts was closed for several weeks for lack of operating funds. Today its collection is only open on a rotating basis, room by room. The city library has severely cut back its hours, virtually eliminating evening hours when working people, including many part-time students, have their only chance to use it., Two historical museums are closing.

The limited opportunity of black youth to get a college education is imperiled by attacks on Wayne State University (WSU), whose largely black student body of 38,000 is almost entirely drawn from the immediate Detroit area. With a meager endowment and less affluent alumni, WSU is far more vulnerable to the severe budget cuts imposed upon it by the state than the wealthier and more prestigious schools like Michigan State. Despite budget cuts which have already forced the layoff of 500 university employees and a tuition increase of 10 percent last June, the university administration claims that it is near bankruptcy. The WSU board of governors recently voted to close Monteith College, an experimental program with several hundred students.

"Progressive" Young Slashes Jobs, Services

Faced with this bottomless social decay, concentrated in the lumpenized ghetto areas, it is little wonder that, following the killing last summer of a young black by a racist bar owner, black youth reacted against this outrage with two nights of fighting against the police who released the killer. However, the disturbances were contained as liberal black mayor Coleman Young quickly mobilized every black cop in the city and activated his numerous personal friends and supporters in black community organizations to prevent a repeat of the 1967 riots when much of the city went up in flames.

In a city dominated by small-town, back-slapping politics, Young maintains his hold on the black population largely through close personal ties to reformist elements in the community. But Young's popularity among blacks (and hence his usefulness to the bourgeoisie) is likely to go the way of black mayors in Newark and Gary as depression-ravaged Detroit is further immiserated by the brutal impact of auto layoffs (with their spillover into rubber, glass and other feeder industries) and the long-term stagnation caused by industrial and small business relocation, a decaying housing stock and a shrinking tax base.

Young, elected by a narrow margin in 1973, a few months before the auto industry came unglued, has already effected a city austerity program to rival even New York's. Conservative Republican senator Robert Griffin recently made the comparison explicit, holding up Young, a Democrat and self-styled advocate of economic progress, as the very model of fiscal responsibility:

> "During the current crises, Griffin said, New York has reduced its payroll by 31,000, or about 10 percent. During the same period Detroit has cut its payroll by 20 percent.
>
> "New York has agreed to cut its $12.3 billion budget by about 1.6 percent, Griffin said. But that is 'nowhere near' the 8 percent budget cut made by Detroit, he pointed out.
>
> "'Frankly,' Griffin told his colleagues, 'I find it hard to take [NYC] Mayor Beame seriously when he pleads we can do no more'."
>
> *Detroit News*, 6 November

Detroit lost $11 million in income taxes alone during fiscal year 1974-75. Compelled by state law to maintain a balanced budget, Young began laying off thousands of municipal employees and cutting vital social services. Another 3,800 city workers are paid directly out of federal funds and could easily lose their jobs as the result of Ford's budget-cutting policies.

The Fruits of Labor Reformism

The agony of Detroit's poor and working people is a standing indictment not only of the bankruptcy of black liberals but also of the inability of the labor bureaucracy's class collaboration to defend the workers. No other big city political machine has been as effectively and totally dominated by the unions as the Detroit Democratic Party has been by the United Auto Workers. It is no accident that Coleman Young is himself a former auto worker.

While successfully backing liberal candidates for city and state office, passing "open housing" and other reform measures, the UAW officials entrenched in the Democratic Party and committed to capitalist property rights could do nothing to prevent the erosion of the city economy through plant obsolescence and relocations. Instead of forming an independent workers party to crack the power of the auto companies, they offered tax breaks and other incentives in an unsuccessful effort to

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Struggles Ahead

(continued from page 1)

falling. The result was that between October 1973 and January 1975 inventory holdings actually jumped 26 percent (U.S. Department of Commerce, *Business Conditions Digest*, November 1975).

In the winter of 1974-75, businesses began a massive inventory liquidation which accounted for the sharp *second* downturn of the depression. This process of drawing down inventories bottomed out and reversed itself slightly in the summer/fall of 1975. Another once-over factor leading to higher inventory accumulation last summer was stockpiling of steel in anticipation of the October price increase. Thus the present recovery is based on an inventory cycle resulting from purely short-term phenomena.

...and an Export Drive

A second factor contributing to the recovery was a sharp improvement in the U.S. balance of trade. In the summer/fall of 1974, the U.S. was running a $3.1 billion trade deficit. During last winter, imports were slashed (partly through curbs on foreign oil), while export levels were maintained in the face of falling world trade. So during 1975 the U.S. managed to produce its greatest balance of trade surplus in years.

How was this remarkable turnabout accomplished? Very simple: by a classic "beggar-thy-neighbor" trade policy widely used during the 1930's, competitive monetary devaluation. The Treasury Department manipulated exchange rates so that American exports became cheaper in foreign markets, while foreign imports were higher priced within the U.S. During the fall/winter of 1974-75, the value of the U.S. dollar fell against every major world currency, including the British pound and Italian lira. Between September 1974 and January 1975, the dollar's value declined 14 percent against the West German mark and 20 percent against the French franc (*Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September 1975).

This sharp competitive devaluation was successful. Between last March and September, the U.S. achieved a balance of trade surplus of $14.2 billion (annual rate). Moreover, this surplus accounted for over 30 percent of the increase in national income during that period. But one nation's balance of trade surplus must be other nations' deficits. So the American recovery, which was touted to pull the world economy out of the mire of depression, actually kept West Europe's head under water longer.

Although the Rambouillet economic summit generally confined itself to a ho-hum recognition that the world capitalist economy is in bad shape, West German chancellor Schmidt and French president Giscard d'Estaing did try to put the arm on Washington to stop its competitive devaluations and return to stable exchange rates. While Ford made a meaningless verbal concession on this point promising to close the barn door after stealing the horses the *New York Times* (18 November) accurately summarized the meeting's outcome: "None of the countries involved made any substantial concession on what it judged its own current interest for the sake of the combined interest."

Investment and Housing Slump

The factors producing the recovery this past summer and fall are entirely ephemeral –an inventory cycle and a trade surplus achieved through exchange rate manipulation. Every serious bourgeois economist recognizes that unless the recovery feeds into a capital investment and/or housing construction boom, it must collapse.

The prospects for a strong increase in new plant and equipment are virtually nil, given the enormous existing excess capacity. Fixed capital investment naturally fell during the depression and *continued to fall* during the first months of the recovery. Between late 1973 and the third quarter of 1975, capital spending fell 17 percent. Government estimates are that this decline has been arrested in the fourth quarter.

The latest Commerce Department survey indicates that businessmen plan to increase capital spending in current dollars by roughly 2.5 percent during the first half of 1976 (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 December). However, the prices of capital goods and construction costs will increase at least 2.5 percent during this period and probably more. In other words, investment in plant and equipment is likely to remain constant or fall in the next months.

The housing picture is not much better. Housing construction did pick up somewhat during the 1975 recovery, but it remains weak by historic standards. During October the number of building permits issued, the best index of future construction, declined noticeably. The reasons are not hard to find: interests are at historically high levels (9 to 10 percent) in an industry which is acutely sensitive to credit terms. These rates, in turn, reflect the pessimistic caution of bankers concerning the future of the economy and the tight money policy of the Federal Reserve Board under Arthur Burns, supposedly designed to keep inflation in check.

Mass Unemployment Continues, Inflation Accelerates

During its first months, the recovery seemed to be whittling down unemployment. Between May and September the unemployment rate fell from 9.2 to 8.3 percent. However, in October the rate jumped back to 8.6 percent. And while it fell again in November, this means the effect of the upturn on unemployment has been nil for the last few months.

The unemployment rate is actually a shadowy statistic, since it doesn't reflect those who have stopped looking for work and are therefore out of the active labor market. A more significant statistic is that of employment. Between May and October 1975, the number of wage and salary earners employed increased from 76.5 million to 77.5 million, or *1.3* percent; during the same period, the average workweek lengthened from 38.9 to 39.8 hours, or *2.3* percent. In other words, the increased demand for labor power required by the recovery of production has been achieved primarily through a lengthening of the workweek, rather than by new hires and recalls from layoff. Thus there are now thousands of plants on overtime while a significant fraction of these firms' labor force remains laid-off.

From the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, the most disturbing aspect of the recovery has been the immediate and rapid acceleration of inflation. The wholesale price index, which had declined slightly in the winter of 1974-75, jumped 7.8 percent from April to October. In the last few months consumer prices have reflected the same pressure. In August the consumer price index increased by only 2.4 percent on an annual basis; by November the annual rate was running at 8.4 percent (*New York Times*, 21 December). Federal Reserve head Burns expressed dismay at the current situation: "If an unemployment rate of 8 or 9 percent is insufficient to bring inflation to a halt, then our economy is no longer working as we once supposed" (*New York Times*, 16 December).

It is indeed unusual for inflationary pressure to show itself in the early months of recovery from a deep depression. Labor is cheap and abundant and there are no production bottlenecks; productivity should increase rapidly. Certainly the present accelerated inflation cannot be blamed on rising labor costs. Real labor compensation per hour has remained unchanged throughout the recovery, and is well *below* the level attained during the 1972-73 boom. Moreover, labor productivity has increased smartly, so that unit costs are falling.

What is the cause of the accelerating inflation? It is mainly an attempt by capital, particularly in the monopolistic sectors, to increase profit margins. During the first nine months of 1975, the share of profits in national income rose from 8.2 to 10.0 percent, while the share of wages and salaries fell from 76.1 to 73.5 percent, quite a significant shift by historic standards. In addition, rising prices are the other side of the U.S. balance of trade surplus. A lower-valued dollar means that all imports are more costly in the U.S. market, and this country's imports are heavily weighted by key intermediate products such as oil and iron ore.

Charleston Daily Mail

Wildcatting West Virginia coal miners march in Charleston demanding the right to strike.

NYC and the Political Economy of Fiscal Austerity

The near bankruptcy of New York City—and the fiscal difficulties of numerous states and municipalities—should not be seen as a fluke only accidentally related to the world depression. Nor should Ford's eleventh-hour "rescue" be seen as a guarantee that a state or big city government will not default in the next period. The ruling-class forces pushing for a radical cutback in government spending—those favoring letting New York go broke—are by no means restricted to right-wing ideological dogmatists à la Milton Friedman. Harold Wilson's Labour government in Britain is today carrying out an austerity program that makes Ford look like a spendthrift liberal, a program expressly designed to transfer labor and finance from the state bureaucracy to private capital. Increasingly, powerful sections of the bourgeoisie, motivated by sound objective reasons, favor this type of fiscal austerity.

During the post-war period, state employment in the U.S., Britain and Italy (but not in West Germany or Japan) has expanded very rapidly, for differing reasons each having an important political component. As the present depression reveals such a poor return on private capital, important sections of the bourgeoisie view the large government bureaucratic expenditures as no longer tolerable.

They see the state sector as heavily parasitic resulting from the pressure of vested interests that now must be fought. For example, the inflated Italian state bureaucracy is the key to the Christian Democrats' patronage system, an important factor keeping that party in office without a coalition with the Communist Party. For the past few years, Italy's most powerful industrialist, Giovanni Agnelli of Fiat, has campaigned to slash the state bureaucracy, knowing that this might mean having to take the Communists into a coalition.

The Expansion of Local/State Government Employment

From 1946 to 1974, state and local government employment in the U.S. increased from 3.3 to 11.6 million, concentrated in the big cities (U.S. Department of Labor, *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975*). This rate of increase far exceeded that for federal government employment or any other major sector of the economy. The explosion in the size of the local government bureaucracy over the past

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Struggles Ahead

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30 years can be accounted for by three main factors.

One reason for the absence of great class struggles in the U.S. is the widespread belief that everyone's children can enter the middle class. There is considerable political pressure for easy access to college education which is seen as the way out of the working class. During the past generation, the U.S. educational system has produced an enormous population of liberal arts graduates with no real productive skills. It was seen as too socially dangerous to allow a large fraction of college graduates to be unemployed, as is the case in Latin America, or to drift into working-class jobs. So there has been a tendency to absorb college graduates into the state bureaucracy, expanding it unnecessarily and requiring Bachelor of Arts degrees for jobs that can be handled by any literate person who knows simple arithmetic.

Second, big city government employment is central to the ethnic-centered patronage system upon which the Democratic Party rests. The importance of Democratic Party city government for upward mobility of the Irish is a well-known fact of American social history. The civil rights movement, followed by the ghetto rebellions of the mid-1960's convinced the ruling class of the need to recruit black bureaucrats to handle the violently discontented ghetto masses. Since it was politically impossible to replace white government employees with blacks, the total state bureaucracy was greatly expanded in the mid-late 1960's, a phenomenon symbolized by the "poverty pimp."

The U.S. differs from all other advanced capitalist countries by its huge lumpen and semi-lumpen population, largely black and Spanish-speaking. The West European equivalent of the Southern black, Mexican and Puerto Rican peasant immigrants to the U.S. inner cities is foreign workers who are sent back to the Balkans or North Africa when there are no jobs for them. A major function of the relatively large local government bureaucracy in the U.S. — from cops to welfare workers — is to keep the black and Latin lumpen population under control. Thus, the policy of fiscal austerity directly relates to the nature and intensity of racial oppression in this society. Those ruling-class elements who favor a radical cutback in big city government expenditure are willing to risk ghetto violence on the scale of Watts, Detroit and Newark in the mid-1960's, for the sake of augmenting private capital in the longer term.

There is no way in which the labor and finance now expended through the state bureaucracy can be smoothly transformed into private capital. Fiscal austerity must have a *depressive* effect in the short term. Any layoffs reduce consumption demand, which has a cumulative impact. Furthermore, given the U.S. federalized system, a systematic policy of fiscal austerity is likely to lead to state and city defaults or loan rescheduling which will disrupt the entire financial system, even including solvent elements.

It is only in the longer run that reduced taxes would generate higher private investment and lower government borrowing would induce easier credit generally. To the classic ways in which a depression restores the rate of profit and the conditions for expanded reproduction contemporary capitalism has added another: fiscal austerity, a radical reduction in government employment and social services.

Sharp Class Battles Ahead

The sufferings of the working people during a period of depression will not be alleviated in the coming months. At best, a slow recovery will have some small impact on mass unemployment. Just as likely is an economic downturn again by spring. In either case, accelerating inflation will continue to cut living standards, while an important section of the ruling class is seeking to further depress the economy by major cutbacks in government employment and basic social services. Only a real wage offensive undertaken by the trade unions can reverse this bleak prognosis.

The American bourgeoisie has been able to weather the past period of economic instability largely through the faithful services of the labor bureaucracy. These lackeys of capital have stifled any militant response to the mounting miseries which an outmoded social system foists off on the working people. Suppressed and betrayed by the Meany-Woodcock union tops, divided by racist demagogues like Wallace and Hicks, the American workers have suffered two years of depression in relative passivity.

But this situation cannot and will not continue. The ruling class itself is becoming increasingly nervous about the labor bureaucrats' ability to check the working class in the face of prolonged economic dislocation, inflation and unemployment. Recent legislation submitted to Congress, like the S-1 bill, is designed to give the state augmented powers to crack down on the left, a precaution against the outbreak of sharp social struggles.

A key to unlocking the suppressed potential for class battles remains the race question. The growth of racist, ultra-rightist fringe groups is an ominous portent indicating once again the danger that the petty bourgeoisie and more backward elements of the working class can be duped into turning their frustration against blacks. Yet the self-evident poverty of the black and Spanish-speaking populations makes them less convincing scapegoats than Jews in pre-World War II Germany.

That the Meany/Woodcock bureaucracy can maintain its brittle stranglehold over the mass organizations of the working class is testimony to the weakness and political wretchedness of the American left, which prostrates itself before the labor traitors as the latter grovel before the ruling class. The manifest disgruntlement of the workers cannot be indefinitely restrained, neither by an ossified and isolated union bureaucracy nor by bourgeois rulers who are widely discredited and despised among all layers of society.

The objective blows which continue to rain down on the heads of working people will compel renewed outbursts of dissidence and militancy. Strike struggles and fissures in the union bureaucracy will break out. The task of the communist vanguard is to prevent these outbreaks from being dissipated in isolated actions or channeled into new reformist movements. Rather, the elemental struggles of the proletariat must be directed toward cutting the working class loose from the capitalists' sinking ship, through building an independent workers party to lead the fight for a workers government which alone can stop the endless cycle of depressions, by expropriating the bourgeoisie and laying the basis for a rationally planned economy of production for use, not profit. ■

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Detroit...

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keep jobs in the city.

The pro-capitalist bureaucrats could do nothing to prevent "white flight" to the suburbs and racial polarization within the city itself because they have no program except a few more dollars in federal aid or higher taxes to fight the root economic causes of racial antagonisms within the working class: substandard housing, poor education, disappearing jobs, declining social services, etc. Instinctively feeling the difficulties of common struggle when hamstrung by a conservative union leadership, and prey to the vicious racial demagogy of right-wing bourgeois politicians, many white workers see themselves pitted against blacks for a share of the decreasing economic pie.

Daily World

Detroit mayor Coleman Young

However, the history of turbulent struggles that built the industrial unions in the 1930's testifies to the possibilities of working-class unity. An indication of the enormous strength of auto workers and the speed at which militant labor action can galvanize the pervasive social antagonisms into a working-class offensive was given by the wave of wildcat strikes that swept Detroit plants in the summer of 1973. The massive black proletariat concentrated there — smarting under the lashes of both racial and class oppression, enjoying fewer illusions in the UAW leadership and American society in general — gave a brief display of the potential militancy underlying the apparent surface passivity.

These workers and the many like them throughout the American proletariat will spearhead future assaults on the bastions of capitalist class rule. But future victories, and the ultimate destruction of American capitalism with all its racist and reactionary filth, will not be won by the likes of Leonard Woodcock or George Meany. For this task the workers will require a revolutionary leadership uncompromisingly dedicated to their class interests and those of all the oppressed. ■

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Nazi Scandal...

(continued from page 6)

party to a 'community of the German people and of German culture'." Although there were tactical differences with Kreisky (the KPÖ called on Peter to leave public life, the SPÖ leader called on Wiesenthal to do so), both social democrats and Stalinists agreed that the dispute damaged the democratic reputation of *bourgeois* Austria.

The KPÖ's sterling defense of the honor of a rump state carved out of the old Hapsburg empire by Wilsonian diplomacy naturally led it to echo Kreisky's call for burying "this ancient history." In a contribution by its editor-in-chief, the 15 October *Volksstimme* stated, "It is today a matter of indifference whether someone was a Nazi or belonged to the SS in his youth.... we Communists are totally against 'dishing up these old tales'." When a disgruntled reader wrote in objecting that the SS was an "organization of murderers" (*Volksstimme*, 26 November), the KPÖ organ responded with platitudes about the need to "rehabilitate former criminals."

The bourgeois workers parties, Stalinist and social-democratic alike, have shown once again that their disgusting solicitude for the reputation of the exploiters is equalled only by their unconcern for the needs of the working people. ■

Squeaky...

(continued from page 1)

perhaps a homicidal maniac. But these are matters of psychiatric, rather than criminal, concern.

We have no interest in seeing "Squeaky" and "Sally" punished for their bizarre and pointless acts directed against imperialist chief Ford. It is Ford who is *the* criminal. Ford who is spearheading the capitalist assault on the living standards of the working class and the poor, who has whipped up ferocious racist attacks with his anti-busing demagogy, who is trying to cover up CIA assassination plots and domestic spying. For his crimes against the U.S. and international working class, from the Vietnam war to the imperialist power play in Angola, Ford should be imprisoned. But this genuine act of justice awaits the class rule of the victorious proletariat. Free "Squeaky"! Free "Sally"! Jail Gerald Ford! ■

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British Chrysler

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combat the sprawling international monopolies. False panaceas like import controls pushed by their respective bureaucracies serve only to pit British against American workers, Japanese against German.

Phony Workers Participation Scheme

The British union leadership is championing another fraudulent "solution" to economic catastrophe: "workers participation" in management decisions. Long a standby of European social democracy, workers participation has reached its heights in German "co-determination" schemes where workers' representatives sit on management committees at the factory and board of directors level. Faced with the iron laws governing capitalist enterprise, such participation cannot give the workers control over production but only serves to implicate them in responsibility for cost-cutting productivity drives.

To ease the bitter pill of speed-up and rationalization, workers "participation" was offered by Chrysler management in Britain after a pay strike at the Stoke plant earlier this year. Sweetening the medicine with outright bribery, Chrysler offered two £50 lump payments to every employee for consideration and acceptance of the plan. What workers participation at Chrysler will mean in the wake of the government's hail-out is already being shown at the British Leyland Motor Corporation.

The Wilson government rescued this largest private employer in Britain with a projected £1000 million bail-out last spring, accompanied by a participation scheme. Wilson stated his intentions in an address to the Confederation of British Industries last May: "We have made clear that in the massive investment assistance to British Leyland the performance of the corporation will be strictly monitored and co-operation in terms of both industrial peace and manning and productivity problems will be an essential part of that performance" (cited in *Workers Press*, 22 November).

Lord Ryder, head of the National Enterprise Board established to administer the aid, rapidly translated Wilson's "monitoring" into direct threats. He recently warned that unless there were sharp increases in productivity he would shut off the cash flow, throwing tens of thousands of Leyland workers into the streets. On top of this, management is saying that its nearly 160,000-strong workforce must be cut to 120,000 to make the corporation profitable.

The role of the worker participation committees is simply to ensnarl the trade unions in complicity with speed-up and layoffs. The expressed goal of the committees is to assist in "more efficient production." Moreover, the committees have no power, management retains the final decision on all matters, no votes are allowed, and there is a minority of workers' representatives on them. (The Ryder plan gratuitously assigns foremen, superintendents, work-study men and plant cops to the "trade-union" side of the committees.) Their class-collaborationist intent being so clear on the British left, only the CP has managed to see in them "a step toward workers control." Numerous reports indicate that it was Stalinist influence that swung acceptance of workers participation at a two-day joint stewards meeting at the Leyland Cowley plant.

Fake Trotskyists Join Speed-Up Committees

With the transparency of the attacks at Leyland and Chrysler, it has been easy for most of Britain's self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" groups to denounce workers participation and strike a militant posture. Many counter-posed factory occupations, workers control of production and the nationalization of Chrysler to the Labour Party's schemes. But literary orthodoxy quickly gave way to opportunist appetite as the "participation" committees went from proposals to reality.

The International Socialists (I.S.), notorious for its economist "rank and filism," has played an opportunist and thoroughly cynical role. *Socialist Press*, newspaper of the Workers Socialist League (WSL), has revealed that while the I.S. formally opposes the workers participation committees, the I.S.-supported "rank-and-file" paper *Leyland Worker* supports running candidates for them!

Similarly, the I.S.'s *Socialist Worker* recently reported on an I.S.-backed "Rank and File Carworkers Conference" without once mentioning the speed-up committees. Yet the WSL reported that the main speaker, Albion Motors steward Willie Fay, stated that he voted *for* participation at his plant and urged all militants to get on the committees. According to the WSL, other I.S. supporters seconded his remarks and only one, from the Rover-Triumph plant whose workers—more perceptive than the I.S.—voted down workers participation a few days later, remarked that perhaps it might be "a bit too soon to go in" (*Socialist Press*, 26 November).

Even more hypocritical are the political bandits of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). For months Healy's daily rag *Workers Press* has railed against the participation committees as something akin to fascist corporatism. Only after the WSL exposed in late November that a prominent WRP supporter at the Leyland Cowley plant, Tom White, had run for and been elected "provisional deputy" (alternate) to the committee there, did the WRP finally acknowledge his campaign. A self-indicting article in the 2 December *Workers Press* admitted that White had initially voted against participation and declined nomination, but then gave in to "pressure" from other stewards who favored participation! There could hardly be more concrete testimony to the opportunism which lies beneath the WRP's infamous organizational sectarianism.

Trotskyists do not, under all circumstances, oppose running for committees which include management representatives. Participation in standing committees with management, for example, may sometimes be necessary to negotiate workers' demands or grievances. At another level, Trotsky discussed the possible opportunities in situations where weak, bonapartist governments in industrially backward countries offer the workers representation in the management of nationalized industries. Such tactical possibilities are not foreclosed within an overall strategy of the independent political and organizational mobilization of the proletariat. But entry into powerless consultative committees whose only purpose is to share joint responsibility for speed-up and layoffs ("productivity bargaining" as the *Economist* politely calls it) is an unprincipled act not in the least justified by momentary shifts in consciousness of more backward workers.

The Fight Against the British Labour Party

The WSL, largely composed of ex-members of Healy's tyrannical organization, has correctly exposed its opponents' two-faced capitulation to Labour's participation schemes. But its orthodox position on this question appears to be in large measure a direct reflection of the shop-floor militancy of British trade unionists. Describing the significant degree of hostility and distrust with which the Ryder plan was met at several Leyland plants, the WSL chides the WRP:

> "This is the reality of the mass movement. But Healy, starting from surface impressions—the votes of 31 trade union bureaucrats at the Ad Hoc Committee, and 128 stewards at one manipulated stewards meeting—finds himself in *opposition* to that mass movement."
>
> *Socialist Press*, 26 November

The WSL's principled position against the speed-up committees stands in sharp contrast to its opportunist stand on the Labour Party. Catering to the illusions which many militant workers have toward the *Tribune* group, the WSL repeats the old Healyite slogan "Make the Lefts Fight!" At the same time, it attacks the WRP from the right for its decision to run candidates against the Labour Party in last year's elections. This propagandistic tilt toward the Benn-Mikardo wing expresses an inability to project the building of a mass *revolutionary* workers party in opposition to the BLP and a tendency (deeply rooted in the history of the British proletariat) to become an organic faction within the Labour Party.

Wilson's party is a bourgeois workers party whose leadership is completely committed to the capitalist system. The Labour hail-out of Leyland and now Chrysler demonstrates the reformist BLP's reluctance to make any encroachments on capitalist property, even abandoning its own limited reformist program of nationalizing failing firms.

While it is perfectly appropriate to advance the call for workers control and the expropriation of Chrysler in the context of Labour in power, it is also crucial, as Trotsky explained in the *Transitional Program*, to tell the British working class that it must rely on its own revolutionary strength, and to link these slogans with the necessity of a working-class seizure of power, which can *never* be accomplished through the BLP. Neither the Wilsonite wing nor the *Tribune* "lefts," busily engaged in an orgy of chauvinism, will break with the decaying capitalist order. Only the creation of a workers government, based on workers councils and led by a British Trotskyist party, section of a reborn Fourth International, can accomplish the revolutionary transformation of British society. ■

"PLO Option"...

(continued from page 2)

ty in Lebanon, with the most downtrodden and oppressed sect, the Shi'ite Muslims, being probably the most numerous. Therefore even Sunni Muslim bourgeois leaders like the present prime minister, Rashid Karami, oppose direct universal suffrage. To enfranchise the Palestinians—or merely to take a new census of the Lebanese population—would require a social revolution.

The Maronite stormtrooper Phalange calls for the expulsion of the Palestinians and has engaged in vicious terrorist attacks on the refugee population. The current civil war was precipitated by a Phalange massacre of a busload of unarmed Palestinians. The war has resulted in 6,000 fatalities thus far (out of a total population, including refugees, estimated at 3.3 million). Beirut, after Tokyo the most densely populated city in the world and containing half the Lebanese population, has been devastated through intercommunal fighting. In addition to simple sadism, one aim of the Phalange is to effect forced population transfers creating a homogeneous Maronite political entity. No doubt these Christian Zionists would not be sorry to see the Palestinians in Lebanon voluntarily pack up and leave for a West Bank mini-state.

U.S. Considers the "PLO Option"

In a statement delivered to Congress in November, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Harold Saunders said: "The issue is not whether Palestinian interests should be expressed in a final settlement but how" (*Newsweek*, 15 December). The 9 December *New York Times* reports that Kissinger, in a secret message to Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, sought to get Israel to drop its boycott of the January 12 Security Council debate. There is no doubt that the U.S. is considering the "PLO option," especially since the Rabat conference, and the prospect of a mini-state "solution." But the U.S. cannot simply force Israel to publicly talk with the PLO, much less withdraw from the West Bank, as some Israeli "doves" and left-wing Zionists propose. The Zionist state is entirely dependent for its existence on simultaneously presenting itself to the Hebrew-speaking people as their protector and maintaining a policy of geographical expansionism.

In addition to the 18 Zionist settlements in the Golan Heights, Israel has constructed 37 in the West Bank, and there are plans to build some 20 more. Even the "doves" demand as a precondition to negotiations that the PLO "recognize the existence of Israel" (i.e., recognize the inviolability of at least the pre-June 1967 borders) and renounce terrorism. Even Arafat, the pliant consort of sheiks, French foreign ministers and American congressmen, could not agree to that without losing control of the PLO.

The Ford administration cannot openly pressure the Zionists and the PLO to "recognize" each other without undercutting both Rabin and Arafat. Nonetheless, the significant rightward accommodation of Arafat combined with the increased diplomatic isolation of Israel has placed the "Palestinian question" on the agenda for both the UN Security Council and the American bourgeoisie.

The national rights of the Palestinians will receive no victorious resolution through the diplomatic maneuvers of the Syrian Ba'athist regime or the Security Council debates. A West Bank mini-state that would be either a vassal of the Hashemites or a client of the oil sheiks will not end the national oppression of the Palestinians. The Palestinian right to self-determination poses point-blank the need for socialist revolution throughout the Levant—in Lebanon, Israel, Jordan and Syria—and can only be realized through a common struggle of the working people of the Near East, overcoming all the existing "confessional," religious and national barriers which today stand in the way of proletarian unity and foster the repeated rounds of nationalist genocide. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Labour Government Bails Out U.S. Monopoly

Expropriate British Chrysler!

DECEMBER 28 – Doggedly persisting in various stop-gap patchwork schemes to shore up British capitalism (the weakest economy among advanced capitalist countries today) at the expense of his working-class supporters, Prime Minister Harold Wilson successfully beat down opposition from his own Labour Party ranks and pushed through a massive government subsidy for the failing U.K. subsidiary of the Chrysler Corporation. While the Tory opposition in parliament advocated letting the company go under in order to rationalize glutted auto production, and Labour's rank and file demanded a government takeover, Wilson opted to bribe Chrysler into keeping its plants open by offering up to £162.5 million (about US $340 million) in loans and aid.

Eager to appease Britain's blue-blooded ruling class and international finance capital, the Labour Party leadership has lately approached the question of nationalizations with a temerity that would place it well to the right even of Christian Democratic parties on the continent. It was reported that Chrysler (facing enormous severance payments and other liabilities in case of a shutdown) was actually willing to hand the entire operation over to the government without cost (*New York Times*, 24 November), but Wilson refused!

Saddled with mounting unemployment (over 1.25 million already) and the highest inflation rate in Western Europe (25.6 percent this year), the reformist British Labour Party (BLP) has taken a sharp right turn in recent months. The Wilson government has adopted an austerity program as viciously anti-working-class as Richard Nixon's 1971 New Economic Policy. With the support of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucracy, Labour has imposed a ceiling of £6 per week on wage increases, initiated a national speed-up drive and begun slashing social services. The Labour "new industrial strategy" announced on November 5 will siphon government funds from social welfare programs to bolster the competitive position of the country's more "profitable" sectors of industry.

Wilson's Tight-Rope Act

In the short run, the decision to salvage Chrysler is in sharp contradiction to this economic "game plan." The teetering, American-owned company hardly falls into the category of strong British firms targeted for subsidies. The conservative *Economist* noted in its 8 November issue:

> "If the government truly believes in investing in success, Chrysler is the last place it should choose to put money. Over the last decade Chrysler/Rootes has lost £43.8 m[illion], while Vauxhall [General Motors' British subsidiary] lost £300,000 and Ford made £215.4 m[illion]."

The reversal of policy over Chrysler provoked sharp criticisms from Wilson's opponents within the Labour Party, and his new Industry Secretary, Eric Varley, threatened to resign in protest. The temper of the dispute can be gauged by the London *Times*' publication of a letter denouncing the deal which was written in mid-December by the late Labour Member of Parliament (M.P.) Maurice Edelman as he lay on his deathbed.

But, while Wilson feared to alienate his capitalist masters by any further extension of government ownership, he was equally fearful of the potential political consequences of the shutdown. Chrysler's most unprofitable plant is at Linwood near Glasgow. The Labour Party, which lost its one-vote majority in Commons with Edelman's death, has been steadily losing seats to the Scottish National Party. The closing of the Linwood plant would quickly become a major issue in the nationalists' drive to dislodge Labour support in Scotland and could well topple the government.

In addition, the 25,000 auto workers facing layoffs threatened militant resistance to the move. The Linwood workers demanded that the government nationalize their plant and voted to occupy it if closure threatened. Shop stewards at the Coventry engine plant voted on December 1 to prepare for a plant seizure, and Ryton workers empowered their stewards to take "all necessary action" to stop the shutdown.

Red Weekly

Mass meeting of Chrysler workers at Coventry in November.

Wilson understands how fragile is the social peace imposed upon the workers by their class-collaborationist misleaders. The Labour Party must maneuver carefully, or its combative trade-union base will explode despite the best efforts of the TUC bureaucracy to maintain labor discipline. Even with the several hundred million dollar giveaway to the U.S. company, the union tops have their hands full trying to soft-pedal the projected loss of 9,000 jobs at Chrysler as the result of cost-cutting consolidation.

Labour's Protectionist Frenzy

With a significant financial commitment to Chrysler, the government will be under renewed pressure to impose import controls to safeguard the investment. Controls for a number of feeble industries have been discussed at the cabinet level for months, but Wilson has stalled, counseled by major capitalist spokesmen who rightly fear retaliation by competitors in the Common Market, the United States and Japan.

Britain's enormous balance of payments deficit is the corollary of a staggering economy, burdened by low labor productivity and obsolescent plant equipment and facing an increasingly cut-throat imperialist market. International competition is thrashing British industry on its own turf: imported cars now account for 40 percent of the British market (compared to about 20 percent in the U.S.) and Chrysler's share of sales has been driven down from 12 percent to under 7.

The most vociferous clamor for import controls has come from the Labour "lefts" grouped around the newspaper *Tribune*. Spokesmen like former Minister of Industry Eric Heffer and M.P. Ian Mikardo have joined the chauvinist chorus which includes the TUC leadership. Predictably, the crassly opportunist British Communist Party (CP) has toadied to this line, hailing the TUC's call for import restrictions as "long overdue" and a "matter of urgency."

Most dangerous, this protectionist campaign is having an impact on rank-and-file workers. A recent meeting of Clydeside shipyard and factory stewards pledged support to the Chrysler workers while also calling for import controls. And a general meeting of Vauxhall stewards on November 23 demanded the exclusion of foreign-built GM cars in the Vauxhall range.

Import controls are not an answer to anarchic capitalist competition but a sign of its intensification. Trade restrictions serve only to bolster capitalist prices and profits while exporting unemployment. They are a tactic in an escalating trade war which, in the absence of international proletarian revolution, will lead to World War III. For the trade-union and BLP "lefts" to line up British workers behind their "own" capitalist rulers only deepens the divisions that sap the proletariat's international strength.

The union bureaucracy in all the industrial capitalist countries serves as labor lieutenants for each national ruling class. When the world auto market collapsed in 1974 and hundreds of thousands of American auto workers were laid off, Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), reversed the union's traditional support for free trade and called for import quotas. The UAW pressed Congress to investigate the "dumping" practices of foreign automakers and initiated a virulently nationalistic "Buy an American Car" campaign, complete with bumper stickers, billboards and radio ads.

The UAW's turn to protectionism was prepared by years of grossly anti-internationalist practices. Despite common membership in the International Metalworkers Federation, the UAW bureaucracy has never lifted a finger to help auto workers in Europe or Japan. In 1963, when the workers of UAW Local 600 offered money to the stewards at the British Ford complex at Dagenham to aid their organizing a union of auto and ancillary trade workers, Walter Reuther threatened the Detroit workers with an injunction. During the 1971 British Ford strike, the company was able to successfully route shipments of crankshafts to the Cologne, Germany, plant through its Windsor, Ontario, plant, with the full knowledge of union leaders.

Only by linking arms in the struggle for parity in wages and working conditions through coordinated labor action can the workers of different countries

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Ford Facts

British unions' calls for import controls will only hurt labor in the long run, spurring similar moves in other countries, such as UAW's "Buy American" campaign shown above.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 91 — 9 January 1976

Ignite Workers Revolution to Topple Francoism!

Spain: Powder Keg of Europe

Stalinists Sabotage General Strike for Amnesty

JANUARY 6—"Of course, it's going to be the same, isn't it?... Spain is Spain, after all. Why should it change?" For the last 40 days, ever since the death of the aging dictator Franco, virtually the entire Spanish ruling class has been muttering the same anxieties as a well-heeled expatriate resident whispered to a companion during gala New Year's festivities in the Costa del Sol resort town of Marbella.

While jet-setters, tycoons and generals are nervously trying to reassure themselves, the volcano they sit atop has been rumbling away. Every city and whole regions are seething with massive social discontent. A clandestine "junta democrática" is publicly proclaimed in the Basque country; demonstrations calling for amnesty for political prisoners multiply throughout the country. So long as there isn't a major explosion the rudderless government is content to do nothing but issue empty promises of future change. But the explosion is coming, and when Spain blows the tremors will shake all Europe.

Indulto Insulto

The first focus of popular agitation has been the demand for freeing

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L'Express

The Guardia Civil, Spain's hated internal security police.

CIA Hitman Hit in Athens

No Tears for Richard Welch, Imperialist Assassin

JANUARY 6—Before there was even time to pack up the body of the assassinated CIA station chief in its flag-draped aluminum casket for shipment from Athens to Washington, a wolf-pack of CIA publicists had begun to spin the legend of their slaughtered lamb, Richard Welch. The press was filled with stories of Welch, the "amiable" family man with "the manners of a tweedy college professor" shot down on the way home from a Christmas party by three masked assassins on December 23. Dripping crocodile tears in his own eggnog, President Ford announced that he was "shocked and horrified by the terrorist murder" and that "the hearts of all Americans go out" to the family, etc.

Ford quickly ordered a hero's burial at Arlington Cemetery in an attempt to create national ritual mourning for Welch. The CIA, whose usual practice is not to publicly admit one of their own was indeed one of their own—even after death, and even when everyone already knows it—broke that practice in this case. CIA Director Colby claimed Welch as the official station chief in Greece. At the January 6 funeral he joined President Ford front row center.

Why Kill Richard Welch?

A CIA booster, David Phillips, asked as though it were a rhetorical question: "Why would anyone want to kill a charming and witty man like Richard Welch?"

Why? An example of the Welch "wit" illustrates a possible motive. In an interview only an hour before his death with *New York Times* reporter Steven Roberts, this "charming and witty man" jokingly took credit for his sinister role in the long and blood-stained history of communal slaughter in Cyprus:

> "When the subject of Cyprus came up, Mr. Welch mentioned that he had served on the island in the early 1960's, during the first round of fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. 'I started the whole thing,' he joked."
>
> *New York Times*, 24 December 1975

The Turkish Cypriot victimes of Nikos Sampson and General George Grivas' CIA-financed right-wing terrorists could answer Phillips' question. Tens of thousands of Greek and Turkish refugees who have lived in the miserable makeshift camps of uprooted populations since the CIA-backed 1974 national guard revolt on Cyprus—and those whose families, friends and comrades lie in mass graves on the island—could figure out, "Why would anyone want to kill a charming and witty man like Richard Welch?"

The workers of Greece know why somebody might want to kill the local chief of a counterinsurgency operation estimated at 60 full-time agents. Bitter memories of the 1967 CIA-guided coup by the colonels are still fresh, and the sadistic torture of hundreds of prisoners a festering provocation. The imperialist henchmen of the CIA bankrolled coup leader George Papadopoulos as far back as 1952 and braintrusted his murderous regime as well as that of his successor, Demetrios Ioannides. The

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Wendy Yoshimura Out on Bail

SAN FRANCISCO—Wendy Yoshimura, arrested with Patricia Hearst in September, is now free on $25,000 bail after being held at Santa Rita prison farm on charges of possession of explosives and destructive material found in a garage which the prosecution claims was rented by her. (This "cache" is alleged to have a connection with the 1972 attempted bombing of an empty ROTC building by three men.) Under considerable pressure from the Japanese-American community in California, Judge Lionel Wilson finally agreed to reduce the bail from $100,000, a deliberately prohibitive amount Yoshimura could not hope to raise.

Most of the Japanese-Americans who have contributed to Yoshimura's defense are politically conservative and their support is not so much a testimony to shared political views as to common experiences as victims of racist oppression in this country, and in particular of the concentration camps set up by Roosevelt to intern Japanese-Americans during World War II. Yoshimura was born at Manzanar, one of those so-called "re-location" centers. Then her U.S.-born father was pressured into giving up his American citizenship and returning to Japan to work as a translator for the U.S. Army.

One contributor to the Yoshimura defense committee wrote: "I send the enclosed in memory of my parents who died in a concentration camp." Another said: "I am doing this because of the injustice my father endured—five and a half years in concentration camp on a phony charge." A third: "While I have no philosophic kinship with Miss Yoshimura, there is kinship. We were both born at Manzanar" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 December).

From 1941 to 1944, over 100,000 Japanese-Americans were rounded up and forced into these camps. With their homes, land, stores and other personal property taken from them and sold by the government, they were, as Edison Uno, head of the Wendy Yoshimura Fair Trial Committee said, "Raped of their constitutional and civil rights....Without charges, without trials, without guilt, we became victims of a long history of anti-Oriental hate and distrust."

The "re-location" camps were closed (although several are maintained in readiness for use against reds, black militants, "undesirable aliens," etc., in a "national emergency") but this racism and the institutionalized disparity in justice for rich and poor continues. Over the last three months, Wendy Yoshimura's experiences in custody have been quite different from those of her "ex-roommate" Patricia Hearst. She has no famous lawyers to defend her and no baskets of yellow roses were allowed into the compound. Not only was she refused permission to embrace her parents, Yoshimura could not even talk to them except through a wire barrier.

It was precisely in recognition of such differential treatment—the results of class-biased "justice" meted out in the racist bourgeois courts—that the Fair Trial Committee was set up—so that Yoshimura should not "end up as the scape-goat in the misadventure and saga of Patricia Hearst." According to Uno, support for her among Japanese-Americans is due largely to their awareness of the difference between Wendy Yoshimura "the nobody and Patricia Hearst, with an apparently endless reservoir of money, power and influence."

While Yoshimura is alleged to be a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army, based on her arrest with Hearst and the supposed discovery of her fingerprints at a Pennsylvania farmhouse where SLA fugitives may have stayed, no charges have been brought against her stemming from any SLA activity. The alleged crime of which she is accused, the possession of explosives used to blow up an ROTC building is far different from the kind of activity for

Wendy Yoshimura being arraigned in Oakland last September. While heiress Patty Hearst received embraces and roses from family, Yoshimura was held on prison farm, separated from her parents by wire barrier. Bitter memories in the Japanese-American community of their own incarceration in the brutally racist "re-location" camps evoked a flood of funds and support which has resulted in Yoshimura's release on bail.

which the SLA has taken credit. Marxists oppose individual terrorism as a generally self-defeating tactic, ineffectual at best. Imperialism and the oppression of class society can be overthrown only by the masses of workers in a socialist revolution, not by symbolic protests by despairing individuals. But, although bombing an ROTC building would be a totally impotent act, it would be aimed at an institution of American imperialism with the purpose of striking a blow for the oppressed and therefore be defensible. In contrast, the wanton killing of a black school superintendent, the SLA's first public action, is a pointless crime, an act of strictly personalistic vengeance. The SLA is *not* part of the left, but a degenerate, irrational and cultist terrorist gang, and is totally indefensible.

Last fall we wrote, "Among the recently arrested SLAers only Wendy Yoshimura can be defended from a class perspective" ("The Politics of Crazy," *WV* No. 78, 26 September 1975). Although she is finally out on bail, the battle is far from over. Socialist militants must demand that the charges against Yoshimura be dropped immediately! Contributions to Yoshimura's defense can be sent to: Wendy Yoshimura Fair Trial Fund, 912 F Street, Fresno, California 93706.■

35,000 building-trades unionists marched through Norristown, Pa., protesting court injunction against picketing a non-union construction site in June 1972.

Meany, Ford Quarrel Over Construction Picketing

JANUARY 4—For the past quarter century a major goal of the building trades unions has been the restoration of so-called "common situs" picketing. In 1951 the Supreme Court ruled illegal, under secondary boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley law, a picket line set up to protest à Denver non-union contractor's paying his employees less than union craftsmen were receiving on the same construction. Ever since, the unions have sought to win back the right to picket, and shut down, an entire construction site even when they had a dispute with only a single subcontractor.

In December, Congress passed a bill that would have restored a version of "common situs" picketing. In actuality, the piece of legislation that emerged after months of back-room horsetrading between Congress, the White House and AFL-CIO tops was designed more to curb the frequently rebellious building trades locals than to extend the right to strike. But last week, in response to pressure from right-wing and employer groups, President Ford vetoed the exhaustively negotiated measure.

Ford had indicated last summer his willingness to sign a bill legalizing common situs picketing if certain conditions were met. A provision requiring locals to give 10-day strike notice, and to obtain written authorization from their parent national union before employing such picketing powers, was then duly written into the bill. The legislation also exempted (for a period of up to two years) construction begun before November 15, and totally excluded a significant amount of residential construction.

When the bill passed Congress, AFL-CIO bureaucrats volunteered additional assurances to Ford to induce him into signing it. The union chieftains promised that no international union would authorize a local to employ common situs picketing unless it received prior approval from the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO. They also asserted that no such authorization would be given before July 1, safely after large numbers of contracts expire this spring.

What made the bill absolutely unsupportable by militant unionists, however, was its incorporation of a new virtually corporatist collective bargaining structure for the construction industry. Originally designed as a separate piece of legislation by Secretary of Labor John Dunlop, the measure was the product of his long collaboration with builders and international union officials in devising new ways to curb the wage militancy of building trades locals. He initiated the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, which preceded and became a model for the wage control machinery Nixon later set up for the entire economy in 1971. (The year before, "uncontrolled" construction wage settlements had averaged 17 percent; by 1973 they had fallen to only 5.3 percent despite escalating inflation.)

Inclusion of the Dunlop bill was the other condition Ford had demanded. This proposal would establish a Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Committee, consisting of ten members each from management and labor and up to three "neutrals," including the Secretary of Labor. With organized labor thus assured of a minority role, the committee would be empowered to impose a 30-day cooling-off period before a strike could be called. Alternatively, the committee could remove contract disputes from the local level and require that any settlement be approved by the national union. The Meanyite union tops openly bragged that this strikebreaking legislation "was jointly developed by labor and management representatives and has the full support of both groups" (*AFL-CIO News*, 20 December).

The Dunlop proposal was designed to relieve union leaders of a rather

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unpleasant situation. While most of the American labor movement has been quiescent, construction work stoppages last year kept workers idle longer than in any year since 1962. And union officials are nervously awaiting the approach of spring, when contracts covering 800,000 construction workers expire.

Building trades unemployment, which during the current depression has been more than double the average for all workers, is another problem in the industry. The high unemployment levels have provided an impetus for non-union contractors, who benefit by circumventing the higher wage rates and stricter working conditions imposed by the unions. Open-shop builders now control from 50 to 60 percent of total construction; the National Constructors Association, whose 48 unionized companies are among the largest in the industry, estimates that it lost $7.2 billion worth of work to non-union competition during 1971-73 alone.

Firmly wedded to their narrow, job-trusting policies and unwilling to extend the gains of unionized workers to the growing ranks of the unorganized, the building trades officials are caught between the wage demands of the membership and their fears that new demands on the bosses will jeopardize an already decreasing number of union jobs. The traditional structure of the building trades, which allots considerable bargaining authority to the locals, only exacerbates this problem. While this antiquated structure impedes effective nationwide, and even city-wide, coordination of labor actions, it also makes it difficult for the international union leaderships to uniformly apply strikebreaking measures.

The problem, moans Thomas Murphy, president of the Bricklayers, is that while some locals in an area might agree to hold down their demands, "in the next county the employers may give somebody else a big increase. It makes everybody look like clowns" (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 April). So now the union hacks are trying to get a government/employer-dominated committee with legal powers to prevent strikes.

The combined picketing-collective bargaining legislation was vetoed by President Ford on January 2. Under pressure from employer organizations like the National Right to Work Committee and conservative Republicans who opposed the new picketing guidelines, Ford reneged on his promise to sign the measure. This prompted Dunlop, Ford's key liaison with the AFL-CIO, to announce that he was considering resigning his position.

While the opposition of "open shop" groups to expanded picketing rights is only to be expected, they have a curious bedfellow. The once militantly leftist Black Panther Party opposed legalizing common situs picketing on the anti-working-class premise that what's good for the construction unions is bad for black workers. The 6 October issue of *Black Panther* newspaper uncritically prints a statement authored by Reed Larson, executive vice president of the reactionary National Right to Work Committee! The introduction to Larson's article asserts, "Larson warns of impending legislation that would destroy job opportunities for thousands of black construction workers who have been denied entry into trade unions."

Though perhaps less crudely than the Panthers, almost every organization on the American left has supported various union-busting schemes disguised as efforts to promote racial equality, most notably the "Philadelphia Plan" for the building trades, concocted by Nixon advisors and construction magnates to mobilize the black community against organized labor; and scabbing in the NYC teachers' strike, in the name of "community control" of the schools (a scheme promoted by the Ford Foundation in the hope of curbing the growing

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Letters

26 December 1975

Iowa City

Comrade Editor,

...In your last paper, *Workers Vanguard* No. 89, 19 December 1975, there was an article, "Abolish NYC Red Squad!" As I read it there seemed to be at least two errors in it, one of which seems to merit a correction. The more minor of the errors occurred in the section headed "Hounded for Ten Years." You seem to imply that the police agent was overzealous to the point of pettiness. From the logical point of view the amount of surveillance would (or should) depend on the desired ends. If the NYPD wanted a good personality file on the militant, the agent's work in fact seems sloppy and inadequate, not overzealous and petty.

A much more important problem, as I see it, was the last paragraph of the article. Here in summing up and drawing conclusions you state "...the key task is to build a political struggle, especially mobilizing the ranks of labor, to abolish the capitalist secret police...." This is in fact a reformist solution; you are implying that with some undefined type of "political struggle" which "especially" mobilizes "the ranks of labor"—the Democratic Party perhaps, you mention nothing incompatible with it, especially its liberal wing—the "capitalist secret police" can be abolished! In past articles in past numbers of *WV* you have held that only the smashing of bourgeois power, a workers government—not some vague mobilization—could in fact smash bourgeois political or secret police. I think that the position you stated previously is correct: the need for a workers government (led by a Marxist party)—as opposed to the one in the article under discussion.... If *WV* is going to continue to show the correct way forward, reformist solutions cannot be substituted for real solutions. I hope to see a retraction of this bad political formulation soon.

Comradely,
L.S.

WV replies: Apparently Comrade L.S. has misread the sentence cited in the above letter to imply that the article in question put forward a bourgeois reform perspective. The sentence comes in the concluding paragraph, which clearly counterposes to the legalistic perspective of seeking to impede the CIA/FBI through court suits (such as the Socialist Workers Party's "socialist Watersuit") a class-struggle perspective of mobilizing the independent power of the unions ("the ranks of labor") against the forces of capitalist repression.

We have repeatedly emphasized that only the establishment of a workers government which overturns capitalist property relations can smash the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie, including its "covert" agencies. But this does not mean that revolutionaries must refrain from raising partial demands directed at hindering the murderous work of the class enemy's hired guns, thugs and spies. Our aim in formulating such demands must be to provide a focus for mass struggle which goes beyond face-lifting reforms to directly challenge the capitalist system.

In the case of the CIA and FBI, Congressional liberals have called for such measures as an end to assassinations of heads of states, illegal bugging and domestic CIA activities, for financial accountability to Congress and, at the extreme, elimination of covert operations. Beyond the liberals' suggested minor reforms (some of which are supportable in themselves) we have demanded the opening of all "classified" CIA/FBI/Pentagon documents and files, and the prosecution of government criminals thus exposed. And unlike the reformist SWP, whose presidential candidate Peter Camejo called last spring for the elimination of simply "illegal" CIA/FBI activities, we call also for the abolition of the secret police/spy agencies of imperialism through a struggle for working-class political mobilization to smash capitalist rule.

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5 January

To the Editor:

The article "Panthers Rot in Prison Hellholes" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 88 [5 December 1975] mentions the killing of Black Panthers Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins by members of the right-wing cultural nationalist US organization in Los Angeles. As the article pointed out, the Panthers were the primary target of a massive government campaign of disruption, provocation, infiltration and outright murder. At one point the FBI saw the opportunity of using the cultural nationalists against the Panthers, who were attracting many subjectively revolutionary militants. Now information has come to light detailing the sinister role played by the FBI in the L.A. incident.

When Huggins and Carter were shot down on 17 January 1969, following a heated confrontation with US members during a Black Student Union meeting on the UCLA campus, it was simply seen as the culmination of a bitter and sometimes violent two-year feud between the organizations. Until the Black Panther Party (BPP) began organizing in early 1967, US was the most influential black nationalist group in the Watts ghetto. Its leader, Maulana Ron Karenga (who has subsequently proclaimed himself a Marxist-Leninist) characterized US as "a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture." Karenga opposed any talk of revolutionary struggle until black people had achieved "cultural unity" and ridiculed the BPP for "playing" at revolution.

For their part, the Panthers were contemptuous of US for sporting dashikis and African names while consorting with white city politicians. Although standing qualitatively to the left of US, the Panthers had no scruples against employing violence against opponents in the black movement or on the left. Thus confrontations between the right-wing US, which was widely considered to enjoy at least toleration from the notoriously racist L.A. cops, and the BPP appeared to some to take on the contours of simple turf warfare.

Huggins and Carter were killed after a dispute within the UCLA Black Student Union over recommending a candidate for the $20,000 a year post of director of the Afro-American Studies Center. The recent information indicates that while US members may have pulled the triggers, in effect their guns had been loaded and aimed by the FBI.

The *Los Angeles Times* of 26 November carried an item describing an FBI memorandum recently examined by the Senate Intelligence Committee which contained orders from the late, unlamented J. Edgar Hoover for a secret intervention into the black nationalists' rivalries. In November 1968, Hoover issued these instructions:

> "To fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences, as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed against the BPP.
> "Commencing Dec. 2, 1968, and every two-week period thereafter, each office is instructed to submit a letter under this caption containing counterintelligence measures aimed against the BPP. The biweekly letter should also contain accomplishments obtained during the previous two-week period under captioned program."

Relations between US and the Panthers were described as "taking on the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisals." Less than two months after the start of this campaign of active provocation (similar to many of the New York red squad's atrocities described in *WV* No. 89 [19 December]), Huggins and Carter were gunned down.

As part of this campaign to intensify the dispute, the FBI distributed a number of cartoons, some attacking US and others directed against the Black Panther Party. One cartoon showed a man in a shirt that said "bootlicking Panther finks," directing a bunch of pigs wearing battle helmets and police badges to an office labeled "Los Angeles US Hdqtrs." Another cartoon depicted Karenga with a pencil in one hand and a piece of paper entitled "things to do today" in the other. Checked off were the names of the two slain Panthers, Huggins and Carter, and below them were the names of two other BPP members.

When asked by a *Los Angeles Times* reporter about the cartoons, which were anonymously left at US and BPP offices during the night, Karenga said, "We always suspected they came from the police. We played into their precious hands and were tricked."

James Adams, associate director of the FBI, told the Senate Intelligence Committee that his agency "took every action at our command to prevent direct violence" and denied instigating the assassination. But even one of the staff members of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Arthur Jefferson, was forced to admit that "the Cointelpro operation may well have contributed to the killings" (*New York Times*, 5 January). Jefferson also said that four other Panthers were killed by US members after the UCLA confrontation. While liberals sitting in congressional committees may choose to swallow the FBI's disingenuous testimony, *WV* readers will certainly draw their own conclusions.

Comradely,
Richard Carling

WV replies: The continuing exposure of FBI/CIA "dirty tricks" should come as no surprise to Marxists. And while it will properly jar into heightened vigilance those on the left who may have placed their faith in legalism, the current spate of left-wing paranoia is equally impressionistic and dangerous. The incident under discussion is a good illustration of political inadequacy laying the groundwork for the nefarious intervention of the capitalist state's secret police. It was in large part the sporadic adventurism, glorification of lumpen violence and programmatic amorphousness of militant black groups which facilitated cop penetration and prepared a fertile field for provocation. The FBI/CIA's ability to successfully disrupt the left-wing movement can be minimized by an organization which devotes scrupulous attention to the political development and conscientious functioning of its membership while steering a clear course between mealy-mouthed "respectability" on the one hand and pointless verbal terrorism on the other.

PCI Hails Fiat Boss as Savior

Workers Occupy Innocenti-Leyland

Lotta Continua

MILANO—At 2 p.m. on November 26 at the firm of Innocenti-Leyland, five members of the factory council replaced the company guards. This began the first plant occupation against threatened closure by a major employer in Italy since the beginning of the current economic crisis.

A month earlier the Milanese auto manufacturer had raised two main demands: that the Italian government take responsibility for 1,500 unpostponable layoffs (out of a total workforce of 4,500) and the trade unions accept a 25 percent reduction of labor costs. Faced with repeated delays requested by authorities in Rome, the parent firm (British Leyland Motor Corporation, a U.K. state-owned enterprise) threw in the towel and declared its Italian subsidiary bankrupt. The overall job loss, including affected supplier and sales networks, could run as high as 15,000.

The Innocenti-Leyland affair must be seen in the context of a drastic cutback in Italian industrial production, down 12.4 percent compared to the corresponding period of 1974. The big "multi-nationals" are lopping off the more specialized lines of production (in the case of IBM, Phillips, Lepetit) or resorting to increasingly massive imports of raw materials from abroad (Nestlé, Unilever). Marginal operations are being disposed of to bolster the sagging rate of profit, while capital is repatriated to protect the core of overextended corporate empires.

But if the British Leyland management can simply shut their unprofitable Milano plant and retreat to their island, the Italian bourgeoisie is under pressure to put up a show of dealing with the threatened unemployment. This is particularly true in the political context of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) offensive to obtain a "historic compromise" with the ruling Christian Democrats. In addition, Innocenti-Leyland has now become the rallying point for large numbers of student radicals and the entire Milanese working class.

The basic outlines of the current Italian political situation can be seen in the responses to the extortionist demands put forward by Leyland—attempting to secure through tax funds advantages which national capital (Fiat, Pirelli, Montedison, etc.) obtains from political collaboration of the unions and the major reformist workers parties (Communist and Socialist). The "medium-term plan" on which the government and the PCI "opposition" concur simply amounts to ideological window dressing for the traditional policy of state subsidies to private monopolies.

The "plan" (to which the PCI's journal, *Rinascità*, has devoted two issues) is rationalization of production through massive layoffs, speed-up and the "battle against absenteeism." As always, it is the proletarian and petty-bourgeois masses, already hard hit by a fiscal system heavily weighted against wage income, who will assume the financial burden of the operation. This is the balance sheet of the Stalinists' "historic compromise" with capitalism.

The PCI Applauds Fiat

Repeatedly, leading union bureaucrats have defined the Innocenti case as "one of the touchstones of what the government's proposed strategy of reconversion of production should be" (Bruno Trentin, PCI secretary of the Metal Workers Industrial Federation). But what is *their* solution to the threatened unemployment of perhaps 15,000 workers?

All sorts of fantastical schemes have been aired. Talk of a possible offer by Honda to construct small-cylinder autos appears hardly credible. It seems that the Japanese put forward their bid

Rinascita

accompanied by a request for a large subsidy from the Italian government (there is talk of 100 billion lire, or more than US$160 million). Against this proposal a kind of holy alliance has been formed running from Fiat, which is opposed to entry of its Japanese competitors into the Italian market, to the unions, who want the capital to remain in the hands of...national capitalists!

In early December Fiat put forward its own suggestion: convert Innocenti to production of light buses. However, a Fiat takeover would have to be accompanied by heavy financial participation by the state, which for its part has maintained a prudent silence. The PCI's response was immediate and ecstatic. *L'Unità* of 4 December headlined its article: "The FLM(I) Considers Fiat Proposal on Innocenti 'Basis for a Solution'." (The FLM is an alliance of the metal workers unions of the three national labor federations, the CGIL, CISL and UIL.) In other words, three cheers for Fiat, which will rescue the factory!

An article in another issue of *L'Unità* remarked ironically that much as the author was reluctant, as a Communist, to do so, he had to say "thank you" to Fiat boss Agnelli, although he certainly couldn't thank the "compagno" (comrade) Harold Wilson of the British Labour government. It is certainly true that the nationalist, reformist, social-democratic Labour Party leaders do not shrink from throwing thousands of Innocenti-Leyland workers on the streets, especially since they do not vote in British elections, while bombastically denouncing the "mercantile" mentality of Chrysler (for threatening to close its U.K. plants). But this remark makes graphically clear the subordination of the equally pro-capitalist PCI to its "own" bourgeoisie.

Both social democrats and Stalinists make a pretense of government planning, the BLP with its "new industrial strategy" and the PCI with its "new development model," but in practice both are reduced to bribing and begging from the capitalists. Instead of thanking captain of industry Agnelli for looting the treasury of tax money extorted from the exploited masses, a revolutionary workers party would demand nationalization of the entire auto industry without compensation, lead organized labor in imposing workers control and fight for a workers government, which could provide full employment and undertake real state economic planning—not the PCI's phony "medium-term plan" or British reformists' equally fraudulent schemes—by expropriating the bourgeoisie as a class.

Isolating the Innocenti Workers

The political advantages for Fiat in this maneuver are evident: taking the opportunity to confirm its prestige as "progressive" leader in economic and political affairs, the giant monopoly simultaneously builds up credit with the unions. Fiat manager Umberto Agnelli is carrying on frequent private conversations with the PCI.

This year the economic crisis has coincided with an unstable political framework, both of the Christian Democrats and other bourgeois parties (from the fascist MSI to the Liberals [PLI] and Social Democrats [PSDI]) and of the center-left governmental formula itself. The Socialists and the PCI, which drew the most benefit from the 15 June 1975 elections, are waiting. (Agnelli: "If the PCI wanted to make a revolution today it could do so easily. But then it would not know according to which model it should govern the country, so it prefers to wait.") The PCI, in addition to an infinite capacity for "waiting" and being "thankful" to its exploiters, is ever ready to make the most abject concessions.

This is of central importance since the country is now in the middle of a contract negotiation period: more than 40 sectors, including the decisive metal and chemical workers, are involved in the triennial cycle of nationwide hargaining. The PCI's orientation is clearly to prevent the Innocenti case from becoming a rallying point for a vast mobilization which would unify the oppressed masses around the working class. But in order to turn this affair into a touchstone for its policy of class collaboration the PCI must isolate it from the employed workers and from other laid-off workers (at Pirelli, Montedison, Singer and numerous small and medium-sized companies which are especially hard-hit by the recession).

At a national conference of metal workers, held in Milano at the Teatro Lirico on November 16, the sentiment of the union bureaucrats was clearly to keep the contract talks separate from the broader social struggles currently going on in the country. They refused to let an unemployed delegation from Naples speak, they refused to receive a student delegation. Outside the theater the students shouted the demands of Lotta Continua (LC—Continuing Struggle): 35 hours a week and a 50,000 lire (US$85) across-the-board raise. There is no qualitative difference between these proposals and those of the union bureaucracy, which is asking for 36 hours a week and 30,000 lire.

Capitulating to the PCI

Among the various centrist and reformist groups, all of whom capitulate to the PCI's strategy of a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democracy, confusion reigns and the first organizational fissures are beginning to be felt. The PDUP-Manifesto (fusion of the Proletarian Unity Party with the Il Manifesto group) is playing out its trajectory as a left-reformist formation by diving into the most despicable betrayals. After having tailed after the PCI in all its programmatic pacts—even with declared bourgeois forces—in the municipal, provincial and regional councils, the PDUP distinguished itself in "normalizing" the student movement, fully aligned itself with China's position on Angola and favored control by the bureaucrats in drafting new union bargaining demands.

On Innocenti-Leyland the PDUP was unable to say anything, simply groveling before the labor tops in supporting the rationalization proposed by Fiat. The PDUP's return to the arms of the reformist bureaucrats has not, however, occurred without incident: the revolt by its Milano, Palermo and Cosenza federations, together with reported

opposition in Lazio, Umbria and Piemonte, is an indication of the internal hemorrhaging which this cowardly turn has brought on.

Among the centrist forces, Lotta Continua apparently has undertaken a left turn. At the October 29 demonstration at the Innocenti plant in Milano, its front ranks were attacked and six Innocenti workers who are supporters of LC were fired with consent of the factory council, controlled by the bureaucracy. On November 20 in Torino the union leadership wanted to make Lotta Continua pay for the hoos which the workers directed at Storti, secretary of the CISL and a Christian Democrat. In particular, PCI-linked bureaucrats pushed for the expulsion from the unions of factory delegates who support LC.

To the worker delegates of Lotta Continua who are experiencing the "democracy" of the bureaucrats, we extend our solidarity, accompanied, however, by the firmest criticism of their organization for having built confidence in those who today attempt to drive them from the unions. It was LC which

Fiat manager Umberto Agnelli

L'Espresso

led the capitulation to the Communist Party: it was the first to theoretically justify a sort of strategic united front with the PCI, insisting that placing the PCI in the government would necessarily create more favorable conditions for revolutionary struggle. Today this argument is revealing its centrist content even though the PCI is not yet in the government.

But it will not be the Pabloists of the "United Secretariat" (USec) who teach these lessons to Lotta Continua. After courting the "left" PCI bureaucracy for almost 20 years, even today they refuse to politically characterize the "historic compromise" as a popular front. Nor

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Livernois Five: Stop the Racist Frame-Up!

Unable to get a conviction from a hung jury on November 13, the state has ordered a retrial for three young black men charged with first-degree murder in the killing of a white motorist during the anti-police outburst that rocked the Livernois-Fenkell area of Detroit last summer. The new trial is scheduled to begin on January 21, but the three frame-up victims Raymond Peoples, James Henderson and Ronald Jordan—may never get out of jail alive if the cops have their way. On December 19, according to reports of the Livernois Five Defense Committee, Peoples was severely beaten in prison by 10 to 14 Wayne County deputies and had to be hospitalized. On December 27, a demonstration at Detroit police headquarters demanded the immediate release of the three prisoners as well as two juveniles now held on the same charges.

The three defendants have been framed up on charges of murdering Marion Pyszko, an innocent bystander. Blacks in the Livernois area were provoked by the killing of Obie Wynn by racist bar-owner and friend of the cops Andrew Chinarian. Chinarian was released in the custody of his lawyer (and only later required to post $25,000 bail). Police lieutenant, Ray Smith explained "I released the man because he's a bar owner, a business man, and a citizen of the area" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 July 1975). With Wynn dead and his racist killer on the streets, black youths in the vicinity of the corner of Livernois and Fenkell exploded in outrage. Cops in riot gear swarmed into the area and were pelted with stones and had their cars overturned. A city ravaged by depression and terrorized by cop "justice" briefly glimpsed the possibility of a repeat of the massive ghetto violence of 1967 in which troops occupied the city leaving 43 dead.

Black mayor Coleman Young, his "sensitized" plainclothesmen, community organizers and leaders went into the area to administer not the "justice" served up to a businessman and "citizen of the area," but the injustice regularly and brutally applied to the ghetto—a tear gas cop sweep of the area in which over 100 persons, most of them youth, were arrested and held for everything from destruction of property to murder.

Frame-Up Trial

The trial unfolded with the familiar pattern of a racist railroad job, complete with falsified police testimony, prosecution witnesses charged with the crime in order to coerce testimony, and some witnesses held for days by police in a series of motel rooms. Not *one* of the state's witnesses could make a positive identification involving any of the defendants in the killing of Pyszko. Two of the state's star witnesses admitted in their testimony that they were given the choice of being "witnesses" or "defendants." And the cops admitted that they used threats in order to get testimony.

Mayor Young and the cops were frantically trying to come up with somebody to charge with the crime, demanding "murder one," but it didn't seem to matter whether they got the actual killers of Pyszko or just any black youth. The racist modus operandi became clear as the trial wore on. Among the blacks indiscriminately picked up in the cop dragnet, some were arbitrarily designated as witnesses and others as "murderers":

> "A second 16-year old youth was scheduled to appear at police headquarters with his father Thursday night for questioning about the assault.
> "'He may be a witness, he may be a suspect,' said Homicide Sgt. Cameron Knowles.
> "'As best as we can determine, there might be 10 others involved; there might be 20'."
>
> *Detroit Free Press*, 1 August

The racist motivation here is all too clear—the police had rounded up a bunch of black youth and didn't much care if they were the ones who killed Pyszko; they must be guilty of something. And they were "guilty" of being black on the streets of Detroit.

The trial was a blatant frame-up. We demand: no retrial with more coerced witnesses, falsified testimony and tortured defendants. The charges must be dropped and all five must be immediately released. Free the Livernois Five!

RSL Defends Lumpen Rage

The case of the five blacks accused of the murder of Pyszko was taken up by the Revolutionary Socialist League under the banner of the Livernois Five Defense Committee (LFDC). But the RSL's interest in the case was not primarily the defense of victims of a capricious and racist state power. For this band of irresponsible opportunists, it was rather a chance to praise lumpen rage. Instead of sharply condemning the killing of Pyszko and indicting the racist frame-up character of the trial, the LFDC actually implies the guilt of the Livernois Five. In a leaflet that never condemns the murder, the LFDC simply attributes that act to "unemployed youths" and in effect excuses the killing as an understandable byproduct of the indignation of black youths against capitalist society.

This is how the LFDC "defends" the accused black youths: "The ruling class newspapers would have us believe that a punk street gang murdered Pyszko. This is a vicious lie. Unemployed youths are not the same as the low-life elements which leech off the working class community." What "unemployed youths" is the RSL talking about? The killers of an innocuous middle-aged white worker? Or the Livernois Five, jailed in a blatant racist frame-up? The prosecution wants working people to believe exactly what the RSL is implying!

The job of capitalist apologists and racist propagandists is precisely to willfully lump together black people who defend themselves against cop terror and incidents of senseless violence against whites. The racists seek precisely this kind of argument to weld white workers to the racist status quo in the belief that blacks' protests against the intolerable racial oppression of capitalist society are directed against them. Thus these fake socialists who refuse to support the busing of black school children have now made excuses for an atrocious killing which could be used as the basis for racist mobilization. And by their glorification of lumpen rage, the RSL and LFDC fall headlong into this dangerous trap. The RSL's rhetoric clearly implies that the Livernois Five did commit this crime.

The RSL and LFDC further confuse the issue by taking up "responsibility" for the killing of Pyszko, saying "We do not condone Pyszko's death. But the responsibility for it does not rest with the black youths." The RSL's newspaper, the *Torch* (15 November-14 December), reports that at a rally on October 26 Paul Aldridge speaking for the RSL took up the same theme: "Who is responsible for the death of Marion Pyszko? The black youths? Or the police for the racist treatment...."

Certainly capitalism produces justifiable anger, but it also produces indiscriminate killing, and the defenders of the oppressed must never blur the distinction the way the LFDC does in its propaganda. Nearly everything can be reduced to its social causes, but what is meant by the argument that an innocent bystander was beaten to death by capitalism? Capitalism just as surely produced Lt. Calley, but this in no way excuses his acts.

It must be understood that when the masses of black and white workers hold and administer state power, they will prosecute, not glorify, murderers. It is not "okay" to kill workers driving home from work even if the killers are oppressed. A workers' tribunal would punish such acts swiftly and severely. The racist capitalist courts, however, are not workers' tribunals, but arbitrarily frame up some black youths in the interest of the protection of property titles and profit.

Their Defense Policy and Ours

In a particularly shrill and slanderous article in this same issue of the *Torch*, "Spartacists Slur Livernois 5," the RSL attributes the Spartacist League refusal to join the LFDC to "racism." The article lies about what SL members have said about the case. The RSL invents the following quote, supposedly from the mouth of an SLer: "They're guilty, I read it in the newspaper." This is a total fabrication. No SLer ever said the

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Bureaucratic Rule Spawns Bourgeois Nationalism

Titoism in Trouble

U S Army

Tito's portrait hangs on Belgrade building in 1948.

In his annual report, released in late December, the head of Yugoslavia's police reported the arrests of some 200 opponents of the government. This is reportedly the greatest number in any year since the mid-1960's and indicates increasing political problems for the regime of Josip Broz Tito. In the fall, Tito had issued a stern warning, "I will not shrink from anything to neutralize the opposition, composed of a handful of Cominformists, liberals and nationalists" (*Le Monde*, 1 November).

Government statements have focused especially on the arrests of so-called "Cominformists" (an allusion to those Yugoslavs who sided with Stalin in the late 1940's Moscow/Belgrade split), but the large majority of the prisoners were, in fact, accused of being linked to "reactionary rightist and neo-fascist organizations." Among the 13 different categories of political detainees listed in the police minister's report were the Ustashi, a right-wing secessionist Croatian organization; the Chetniks, Serbian monarchists; "technocrats," incipiently pro-capitalist elements involved in the management of industry; and other anti-Communist or nationalist tendencies.

Although Tito's break with the Kremlin following the creation of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) in 1948 was protested by several high-ranking political and military leaders, including the armed forces chief of staff, this opposition was quickly suppressed. The Yugoslav regime prides itself on upholding the equality of its component nationalities in contrast to the bloody history of antagonisms among the south Slavic peoples in the inter-war period. Nevertheless, after more than a quarter century of Titoist rule, pro-Moscow tendencies in the bureaucracy continue to surface while right-wing nationalist groups still pose a threat of capitalist restoration in Yugoslavia. Why?

Tito Cracks Down

The government of Yugoslavia, which has long considered itself to be the most liberal and humane of the "Communist" regimes, has these past several years launched a campaign of repression in order to reassert the supremacy of the party in nearly every sphere of Yugoslav life, regimenting dissident intellectuals, nationalists and sections of the party leadership.

Symptomatic of the crackdown was the move in May 1974 to keep Tito president of the federal republic and commander-in-chief of the armed forces for an unlimited time. Tito had been set to retire in 1976 (at the age of 84) and relinquish power to a collective presidency. Instead, Tito will continue to preside over this collegial body in his capacity as president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). At present the "collective presidency" is a nine-man body made up of Tito and the presidents of Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous provinces.

In addition to making Tito president for life, a curb has been placed on the previous extreme federalism of the collective executive, whereby each federal president was permitted to veto any proposal considered to be harmful to his republic's vital interests. Now a two-thirds majority can pass a proposal.

At the Tenth Congress of the LCY held in May 1974 the Central Committee (CC) was restructured, with the army being elevated to the status of a seventh republic; that is, it was given 20 seats on the CC, the same as each of the six republics. And nearly a year later another step was taken—to establish a "federal council for defence of the constitutional order." Chaired by the veteran Titoist Vladimir Bakarić the council includes the party secretary, Stane Dolanc; the prime minister, Džemal Bijedić; and the federal ministers of defense, foreign affairs and the interior.

These moves toward a tightening of party control have been accompanied by a wave of repression aimed at the various political forces seen to threaten the Tito bureaucracy's rule.

Repression and purges are, to be sure, nothing new in Yugoslavia. Dissidents such as Mihajlo Mihajlov and Milovan Djilas have been jailed by the Tito regime not only for their criticisms of Yugoslav society, but even for their anti-Soviet writings. Thus Djilas in 1962 was sentenced to over eight years in prison for charges stemming from the publication of *Conversations With Stalin*. Mihajlov was imprisoned last year (following his third trial since 1966) on a charge of spreading "hostile propaganda" against the government. (The *New York Times* of 22 December reports that he is currently on a hunger strike to win release from solitary confinement and for other improved conditions.)

Between 1960 and 1970 alone over 500,000 persons were dropped from the LCY. (During the same period some 557,000 new members were taken into the party.) Most significant of the purges of this period was that of Aleksandar Ranković and his followers in the latter half of 1966. Ranković, in his capacity as head of the secret police and secretary of the LCY, was accused of organizing a secret faction to "re-Stalinize" Yugoslavia and to oppose Tito's policies of political and economic decentralization.

Yet compared to the USSR or the other deformed workers states, the Tito bureaucracy has for the last 10 years allowed an extraordinary amount of freedom to its citizens. Now a halt is being called. People who were previously allowed to write on subjects forbidden in any other deformed workers state or to organize cultural societies or groups independent of the party and the state are now being arrested in droves and charged with counterrevolution.

Tito the Hydra Slayer

The origins of the present swing on the part of the Tito government can be traced back to as early as 1968, when left-wing student demonstrators urged the regime to take a firmer stand against capitalist restorationist tendencies.

Subsequent repressions did not prevent a dissident intellectual movement from growing. There were jailings of student leaders from Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana who tried to organize a student association of the three universities. In May of 1971 left-wing Slovenian students were arrested demonstrating against French premier Pompidou. Journals such as *Praxis*, *Student* and *Kultura* subjected to sharp criticism some of the most cherished myths of the Tito regime.

The repression, however, did not take a sharp upturn until late 1971 when Tito was confronted with a more immediate threat, this time from the right. In December leaders of the Croatian Student Union—a collection of Croation nationalists, cultural nationalists, bureaucratic reformers, liberals and a few genuine leftists—organized a student strike at Zagreb university to back the demands of leading Croatian party members that the republic retain a larger share of its industrial surplus and foreign exchange earnings from tourism and remittances of Yugoslav workers employed abroad.

Tito's reaction was swift and angry. The leaders of the demonstration were arrested. Croatian party leaders Tripalo, Dabčević-Kučar, Pirker and Bijelić "stepped down." Tito began to stump the country making angry speeches denouncing "rotten liberalism" and warning that he would use any means necessary to "defend socialism" against "counterrevolutionaries and class enemies."

Continuing in the same vein Tito began to "self-criticize" and saw the roots of the trouble in the Sixth Party Congress. It was at that congress that the Yugoslav Communist Party (YCP) transformed itself into the LCY. The League was a renunciation of the party's previous attempt to control all aspects of the country's life. Unlike the YCP the LCY was to simply be "the vanguard" and lead by "setting an example."

By the fall of 1972 Tito had enlarged his criticisms and was raging that "*laissez-faire* economics" was threatening to divide Yugoslavia into two classes and create a social explosion bigger than the national antagonisms. Serbian party leaders Marko Nikezić and Latinka Perović, both strong advocates of economic liberalism, "resigned." Also getting the ax were Macedonian party secretary Slavko Miloslavlevski and Slovenia's prime minister, Stane Kavčić, the latter apparently for advocating too much "free trade" with the West.

While cracking down on rightists and revisionists Tito also discovered a plot to "reconstruct the Fourth International" in Yugoslavia. Several alleged culprits were soon arrested, among them Danilo Udovicki, for "activities hostile to Yugoslavia"—i.e., for contacts he made in Belgrade in 1971 and 1972 with alleged representatives of the "Fourth International." Nonetheless, Tito has allowed Ernest Mandel, leader of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), to speak to Yugoslav students.

An absurd facet of Tito's many-sided repressions was his demagogic attack on "Communist millionaires" (entreprencurs and kulaks, *not* privileged bureaucrats) whom his policies built up in the first place.

Thus casting himself in the role of hydra slayer, Tito has made haste to wipe out all the various deviations from Titoism. Between 1972 and May 1974 he had managed to purge the party of over 10 percent of its membership, of which 51,000 were expelled for nationalism/liberalism. And this figure does not even encompass the masses of former members who simply drifted away—approximately one *million* between 1968 and 1975 (between the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses).

The Succession Crisis

The problems the Tito government faces are the logical outcome of the

policies it has pursued from the time it was forced to make a break with Stalin in 1948. The intellectual ferment, the worker discontent, the 20 percent annual inflation, the unemployment, the worsening trade balance, the flaring up of old national antagonisms and the growth of capitalist restorationist tendencies are real enough.

What gives the current crisis an exceptionally sharp political character is that it comes at a time when Tito, who has stood at the head of Yugoslavia from the time of the victory of the partisan armies in 1944-45, must step down from office because of his age. Tito is unique in the ruling bureaucracy in his prestige and popularity, both within the party and among the working masses. Since his break with Stalin he has maneuvered with amazing skill between the Scylla of Russian domination and the Charybdis of intra-Yugoslav regional/national antagonisms. The resulting historical compromise - the "Yugoslav road to socialism"—has now been seriously undermined. The question now posed not only to the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, but to the international workers movement, is what turn the Yugoslav road will take after Tito's departure from the scene. Yugoslavia is a small country, but a fundamental shift in its political allegiances could have enormous implications.

Especially aware of this are the Russian Stalinists who have never quite managed to reconcile themselves with Tito's successful resistance to Stalin in 1948. Recently, the government announced the arrest of Vladimir Dapčević, former army colonel and brother of the vice president of the federal parliament, who in 1948 disagreed with Tito's break with Moscow and later fled the country. His name was linked with 32 long-standing party members jailed for conspiring to form a new pro-Soviet "Yugoslav Communist Workers and Peasants Party" (a so-called "Marxist wing" of the LCY). This orthodox Stalinist group, probably backed by USSR and Czech intelligence and composed mainly of former army officers and secret police agents, most likely intended to place its members in high positions following Tito's death. The arrest of the so-called "Cominformists" demonstrates (despite *Pravda*'s 27 November disavowal of "sectarian plotters" and "renegades" allegedly trying to poison "Soviet-Yugoslav friendship") the continued attraction of Kremlin-style Stalinism on sections of the Yugoslav bureaucracy.

More than sour grapes over 1948, however, lies at the bottom of Moscow's pressures and intrigues. A Yugoslavia friendly to the Soviet Union could not only quickly bring about a change in the pro-Maoist Hoxha regime in Albania, but would also provide the Russians with deep water naval bases in the Mediterranean, something the USSR has lacked since 1972 when the Egyptians expelled the Soviet navy from Alexandria. The spectre of this and of the presence of Soviet bloc troops on the Greek and Italian borders, especially in the context of the current enmity of Greece and Turkey, must put a chill in Henry Kissinger's vodka martini. It would, quite simply, fundamentally alter the military balance of power in the Mediterranean theater.

No one is more keenly aware of these facts of life than Tito and the imperialist NATO powers—and so Tito has been able to hold up the spectre of a pro-Soviet Yugoslavia to successfully extract foreign aid and diplomatic concessions from the capitalist West.

AP

Der Spiegel

Mihajlo Mihajlov, left. Vladimir Dapčević, below.

Titoism

Indeed it is the international position occupied by Yugoslavia that has in large part determined the specific features of Titoism.

The break in 1948 with Stalin was forced upon the Yugoslavs. Unique in Eastern Europe, the YCP was not installed in power by Moscow, but won its victory through a long, bitter guerrilla war against Axis occupiers, native fascists and royalist bands. The Yugoslav Stalinists had their own deformed workers state, their own army and police, and were not dependent on Stalin for their power. When Stalin began treating his Yugoslav followers like something less than the sixteenth republic of the USSR, the Tito bureaucracy, with its aim of building "socialism" in Yugoslavia first, balked.

What sealed the split was the trade embargo and cancellation of credits by the Soviet bloc countries. Yugoslavia had obtained more than 55 percent of its imports and all of its credits from these countries. The embargo utterly disrupted the five-year plan and eventually forced the Yugoslavs to abandon detailed production planning. Thus Yugoslavia was given its first impetus on its ultimately disastrous road of economic decentralization by none other than Joseph Stalin.

In the battle against Soviet Stalinism Tito appealed to the masses in the name of anti-bureaucratism which he linked to political and economic decentralization. As he excommunicated Tito, Stalin reportedly said, "I will shake my little finger and there will be no more Tito. He will fall" (Khrushchev's "secret speech," 1956). Stalin seriously underestimated the strength of Tito's domestic support. Nevertheless, in order to retain power Tito had to purge his party of the most pro-Stalin elements, who also were the foremost supporters of centralized planning and collectivized agriculture.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume Titoism emerged a fully developed tendency with the 1948 split. The excommunicated Yugoslav Stalinists' immediate aim was to survive. The economic and political policies and the ideological distinctions came later, in an ad hoc fashion.

In fact, at the time of and immediately after the forced break with Stalin, the Yugoslav party aped Stalin's methods and policies. An attempt to forcibly collectivize Yugoslav agriculture was made and mass labor mobilizations were instituted. Referring to the economic chaos and bureaucratic abuses of the 1949 period, a close Tito associate of the time, Vladimir Dedijer, writes:

> "From that economic necessity, from that misfortune came the beginning of Yugoslavia's system of self-management. It developed as we gained in knowledge of the Soviet social system; criticizing the latter, we worked constructively criticizing our own existing system. Norms and credit planning of the market had to be revised."
>
> —Vladimir Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*

Dedijer also confirms that the institution of workers councils in 1950 (as well as the abandonment of attempts to collectivize agriculture in mid-1951) were originally measures of expediency to win the support of the masses in the anti-Cominform campaign. A close associate of Boris Kidrič, one of the architects of "workers self-management," is quoted as saying.

> "One night Boris said we could keep the proletarians on our side only if we expanded their rights: factories to the workers and the land to the peasants."
>
> —Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*

Workers self-management began as an experiment. It did not get off the ground until the late 1950's, and it has always been narrowly limited to the sphere of technical and trade-union problems. Any attempt to organize a political tendency independent of the LCY on the basis of these councils would be quickly smashed by Tito's bureaucracy, which has always jealously guarded its total monopoly of the political life of the country.

Stalinism

In the last analysis, Titoism is merely a national variant of Stalinism. Like its Russian counterpart, Yugoslav Stalinism dedicates itself to "socialism in one country"—the preservation of the bureaucratic ruling elite whose survival rests ultimately on two pillars: the nationalized property forms and at the same time the failure of revolutionary proletarian movements abroad, whose successful taking of power would threaten the Titoists' political expropriation of the Yugoslav workers. Like all versions of Stalinism, Titoism is characterized by its nationalism, which places the diplomatic maneuvers of the Yugoslav state above solidarity with the other deformed workers states and above the needs of the international working class.

Because it rests upon a social base of collectivized property, the Yugoslav state like the other deformed workers states must be defended against imperialist attack or domestic counterrevolution. But the gains of the Yugoslav revolution are placed in constant jeopardy by the Stalinist ruling clique, which demoralizes the proletariat, disorganizes the economy and pursues the suicidal policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. This parasitic bureaucracy must be ousted by a political revolution organized and led by a Trotskyist working-class party.

The Titoists came to power on the basis of a guerrilla struggle which swept out the fascist occupiers and, along with them, the social basis upon which capitalism rested. This struggle mobilized the peasant masses of the various nationalities which constitute the present Yugoslav state. The nearly thirty years which have passed have not erased from the memory of the working people of Yugoslavia these tremendous gains, especially the defusing through the collective endeavor of driving out the fascists and reconstructing Yugoslav society along a new social axis - of a bitter heritage of murderous national hatred. The basis for the relative independence of the Yugoslav Communist apparatus from the Russian state power is the more or less direct result of the Titoists' independent rise to power with overwhelming popular support among the working masses.

Yet Yugoslavia embodies a profound contradiction between the gains of the revolution and the narrow confines of bureaucratic rule. The monopoly of political power by a nationalist ruling clique and the continued pressure of imperialism and the capitalist world market upon the Yugoslav deformed workers state must ceaselessly regenerate social backwardness and dangerous national antagonisms, which threaten to burst forth when the bonapartist bureaucracy loses its dominant figure. These tendencies are, in turn, greatly strengthened by the tremendous centrifugal forces generated by the particular economic structure developed by the Yugoslav Stalinists since 1950.

Yugoslav Economy

While the Tito government abandoned attempts at detailed production planning and the collectivization of agriculture, throughout the 1950's and up to 1965 it held a potent lever for directing the trajectory of the economy, the so-called Social Investment Fund—the largest source of investment in the economy.

But by 1965 the Yugoslav economy was in serious trouble, plagued by low labor productivity, currency inflation and a spiralling trade deficit. To rectify these problems a series of "economic reforms" was introduced surpassing in decentralization anything Yevsei Liberman proposed for the Soviet economy.

Autonomously, the Yugoslav enterprise could now buy and sell, set its own output and wage norms and even trade directly with foreign firms. The Yugoslav currency, the dinar, was sharply devalued and price controls were to be abandoned. Most importantly, control over capital investment was decentralized by abolishing the social investment funds and turning them over to the banks—nominally managed by assemblies of delegates from enterprises which are founders or large depositors. The government still retains control, albeit far less direct, through members of the LCY who hold policy-making

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WV

Livernois Five Frame-Up...

(continued from page 5)

Livernois Five were guilty. The article goes on to accuse the SL of "dirty racism." To anyone who knows the history of the SL's defense of victimized blacks from its earliest work in the civil-rights movement to the recent Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) campaign for Philip Allen—such charges hardly need to be answered to be expnsed as the vicious lies they are. And the SL has defended the police-terrorized blacks of the Livernois-Fenkell area. Immediately after the cop dragnet last August, the SL—but not the RSL—participated in a protest demonstration at police headquarters.

The SL and PDC denounce the racist frame-up, protest the prison torture and demand the immediate release of the Livernois Five. But the SL has the harshest criticism of the RSL's irresponsible defense propaganda, with its residual New Leftist fascination with street violence, which contributes to the frame-up rather than to the defense.

The wild frenzy of the RSL's earlier propaganda on this case not only reflects its present rapid organizational and political disintegration, but also its endemic inability to distinguish indiscriminate terror directed at working people from terror directed against capitalism. For instance, the RSL defends the killer-cult Symbionese Liberation Army—whose "hits" and "hit lists" include the personal enemies of its cult leader—as part of the left movement.

It is no accident that the RSL fails to sharply separate the reprehensible killing of Pyszko from the cop/court frame-up of the Livernois Five. It was precisely the aura of lumpen rage that attracted it to the case in the first place. That is why its earlier leaflets in the name of the LFDC read more like a political defense of the act of murder than a defense against frame-up "justice." Fortunately for the Livernois Five, at least in part under the impact of SL criticism, the RSL seems to be cleaning up its defense propaganda, emphasizing the innocence of the Livernois Five and not justifying the indefensible act of killing Pyszko. The LFDC has now enlisted backing from the SWP and CLP for its committee.

Capitalist "justice" is racist to the core. The cops regularly terrorize ghetto residents, and the courts just as often frame up the victims. We seek to defend those cases that clearly and dramatically focus the oppressive conditions of the millions subjected to arbitrary judicial victimization. But because of the RSL's irresponsibility in defense of the framed-up Livernois youth, this case has thus far failed to represent the cause of all framed-up black youth the way the Joanne Little case stood for the fight against the oppression of blacks, women and prisoners. Victories for defense campaigns which truly symbolize this oppression not only can free particular victims of social injustice, but increase the confidence and combativity of the whole working class, which through a victorious proletarian revolution can end this racist frame-up cycle once and for all. ■

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Imperialist Assassin...

(continued from page 1)

thousands of political prisoners held without trial, beaten and tortured in the junta's concentration camps, have ample reason to hate Richard Welch and his fellow assassins.

The filthy counterrevolutionary activities of Welch have not been limited to Greece and Cyprus. In 1966 he was in Guatemala at the time when, according to former Maryknoll priest Thomas R. Melville, "more than 2800 labor leaders, union organizers, students, intellectuals and just plain peasants have been killed by the government secret police, army, and right-wing organizations.... This is all done under the auspices, albeit secret, of the U.S. Military Mission" (Richard Gott, quoted in *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*).

So it is not difficult after all to see why many would find good cause to kill the "charming" murderer Richard Welch. It is not even ruled out that right-wing forces could have rubbed him out. But whoever killed him and whatever the motive, it does not matter that one cog has been removed from the bloodthirsty machine of imperialist espionage, assassination and counter-insurgency. As Trotsky once remarked, the terrorist who stalks a minister is making the same mistake as the opportunist who stalks the minister's portfolio: both overestimate the importance of the minister. The secret police of imperialism will have little difficulty finding a minion eager to take over Welch's sinister responsibilities.

Winning Hearts and Minds in the U.S.

The strategy meetings in the CIA's Langley, Virginia, headquarters often take up the question of how to manipulate political events in countries like Chile, Portugal or Angola. These days they are just as often applying the same public relations techniques to their own rotten and increasingly discredited cause in the U.S. So it is no wonder that these cynical "experts" have latched on to the Welch assassination as an opportunity to go on the counteroffensive against liberal CIA reform investigations. The Congressional committees are involved only in providing a cover-up for what has already been exposed, mainly by disaffected ex-agents. Yet the CIA does not breathe freely in this post-Watergate atmosphere of public exposure.

The agency and its friends have from the beginning tried to stop the exposures of domestic spying, assassinations and coup-managing, arguing that the revelations are "against the national interest." President Ford tried to stop the official Congressional confession of CIA assassinations. But the main focus has been over publication of the names of agents. Colby and senator Frank Church had a mock battle in which Colby requested that Church's committee not publish the names of CIA operatives involved in the assassinations lest they become "targets of reprisal."

Although Church refused the formal request, the committee deleted most of the CIA names on its own initiative. Now with the killing of Welch the CIA is arguing that disclosure of his identity as an agent led to his death. And Church has already sensed his duty to the "national interest," saying "those who reveal the names of agents active in the field are playing reckless games with human lives."

> "The bourgeoisie buries *its* hitmen in Arlington cemetery and blows bugles over them."
> —*Workers Vanguard*, 10 October 1975

At bottom, this wrangle is part of the attempt by the CIA Congressional lobby to put the lid on disclosure. But they are a lot less worried about the committees of Frank Church and Nelson Rockefeller than they are interested in plugging up the "leaks" among their own agents and ex-agents to professional muckrakers. Their reactions to the inquiries and especially to press "leaks" have grown increasingly violent. In April, ex-CIA head Helms yelled at CBS newsman Daniel Schorr in front of a group of reporters, denouncing him as "killer Schorr" for broadcasting charges that the CIA assassinated foreign leaders.

Colby has asked Congress "for legislation that would permit the CIA director to punish employees by filing criminal charges for passing out secrets and strengthen the government's injunctive powers to keep the press from publishing such secrets." And Representative Robert Michel, the House Republican whip, is drafting a bill making it a federal offense to publish the true identity of any American intelligence agent working under cover.

The CIA has picked its scapegoat in its campaign to put the cover back on—the Organizing Committee of the Fifth Estate (OCFE) and its journal, *Counterspy*. Blaming *Counterspy's* disclosure of Welch's identity, Colby accused its editors of attempting "to use the death of a dedicated American as fuel for its irresponsible and paranoiac attack on other Americans serving their country here and abroad." While *Counterspy's* disclosure last winter of the names of 150 CIA station chiefs was a valuable service to the international working class, Welch's identity was already widely known. During his tenure with the CIA office in Peru, he was exposed on the front page of a Lima daily newspaper; he was also listed in a 1968 book, *Who's Who in the CIA*, written by an East German.

Today's *New York Times* reports that the CIA "has asked the Justice Department to determine whether Federal laws were violated in the publication of the identity of Richard S. Welch," and the Justice Department said that it was "studying the possibility" that the Organizing Committee of the Fifth Estate had violated criminal statutes as well as made disclosures that "violated Mr. Welch's civil rights."

Counterspy must be defended against this naked attempt to gag it. The CIA attack on *Counterspy* has taken on an additionally ominous dimension with the recent death threats against the *Counterspy* staff and members of the Congressional investigating committees issued by a so-called Veterans Against Communist Sympathizers.

With the CIA screaming for silence and Gerald Ford trying to whip up hysteria saying that the disclosure of Welch is "at least partly responsible for his death," revolutionaries must raise the demand Disclose All the Names! We want to have the secret agents revealed, including the so-called "deep-cover" agents who are almost never revealed. The exploited and oppressed who have faced the CIA's Phoenix project, disruption of the labor movement, military coups, assassinations, spying and infiltration deserve to know.

As part of the CIA's public relations offensive against exposure, they have produced and directed David A. Phillips, whose act only confirms that when rocks are turned over, strange things slither out. Claiming to be a "retired" agent, Phillips has taken to the banquet circuit to "dispel myths" that "the CIA is composed of unprincipled people."

> "His dedicated service to his country and faultless contribution to United States foreign policy objectives throughout his career will never be forgotten."
> —President Ford, condolences for Richard Welch, 24 December 1975

After Welch's death Phillips pondered over "what kind of moral midgets" could have killed him. None of the television newsmen who lined up to interview the former CIA honcho inquired about *his* moral stature. If they had, they would have discovered that Phillips had a six-year career in Chile and was in charge of the agency's Latin American operations in 1973 when the Allende regime was toppled and the Chilean proletariat drenched in blood by right-wing generals assisted by the CIA.

Phillips continues his defense of the CIA on the college speaking tours, often in polite debate with liberal critics. At Boston University last October he was not so lucky as he was with the newsmen. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League picketed his speech and confronted the CIA front man with his role in Chile, Lebanon and Santo Domingo. Phillips brazened it out saying: "Well, you can't believe everything you read in the newspapers." But with press exposures on the CIA, the experiential rule of thumb continues to be that everything can be believed, but it is the tip of the iceberg.

Although revolutionaries weep no tears for the death of imperialism's hitmen, there must be no illusions about the effectiveness of individual terror. Today in Greece the government has used the Welch killing as an excuse to harass the entire left, with more than 500 reportedly already interrogated. And his successor is no doubt already "in place."

The film *State of Siege*, by left-liberal film maker Costa-Gavras, begins with a scene of the airport arrival of a U.S. CIA torture expert in Latin America. He is kidnapped and killed, and it is clear that he deserves to be killed. The film ends with another airport arrival of another CIA agent.

Assassinations will not put the CIA out of its filthy business, nor can the CIA be anything less ugly and savage than what it is meant to be—the necessary covert military instrument of U.S. imperialism. It will take nothing less than socialist revolution to smash the bourgeois state and its repressive apparatus, including the CIA. One of the first and most gratifying acts of that victorious revolution will be the public opening of the secret files to strip the CIA's henchmen of their cherished anonymity. Only then will the whole story of imperialism's murderous secret plots be known. Only then will all the CIA's criminal assassins, now disguised as businessmen and diplomats, be uncovered and made to face the tribunals of their victims. Only then can justice be done. ■

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Spain...

(continued from page 1)

thousands of left-wing prisoners rotting in Spanish jails. This is not only demanded by radicals, but widely regarded as a precondition for consideration of Spain's long-standing request to enter the Common Market. When two Basque nationalists and three Maoists were executed in September, sharp diplomatic protests were delivered by almost every West European government. In November the ruling Lahnr Party in the Netherlands took the unusual step of sending a parliamentary delegation to hold a clandestine press conference in Madrid demanding amnesty for political prisoners. All this was not the product of any humanitarian impulses on the part of the "democratic" capitalist governments, of course, but was a direct response to the massive anti-Franco demonstrations which swept Europe.

Consequently, one of Prince Juan Carlos' first acts as Franco's successor was to announce a token pardon (*indulto*) including a few well-known political prisoners. In Spain the pardon was universally regarded as a farce. A blessing for common criminals, it excluded a priori all those serving sentences of more than three years as well as those convicted of violating the draconian "anti-terrorist" law decreed last August. Since political "crimes" rarely receive less than three years' imprisonment, and the "anti-terrorist" decree includes among the punishable offenses membership in all "communist," "terrorist" or separatist organizations, it was obvious that the pardon would do nothing for most victims of Franco's rightist repression. Thus of 3,302 prisoners released as of December 4, only 235 had been arrested for political offenses, and only 76 of them had already been sentenced. Even official government figures show that this is less than 5 percent of the total number of prisoners convicted of political offenses.

The well-publicized case of Marcelino Camacho illustrates the precarious situation of even those who were released under what has become known as the "*indulto insulto*" (insulting pardon). The head of the illegal workers commissions and a leader of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), Camacho was convicted in trial number "1,001" in late 1973 and held since then in Carabanchel prison outside Madrid. He was released on November 30, among the first recipients of the pardon, as the government sought to appease the left and thereby avoid disruptive protests around the coronation of Juan Carlos as king. But a week later, in response to a PCE-led demonstration (at which he was not present), Camacho was rearrested. Although he was again freed on December 12, the labor leader returned home to find an anonymous death threat.

The pardon did succeed in obtaining a degree of international support for the regime. While the only heads of state present at Franco's funeral were a trio of butchers—Pinochet (Chile), Banzer (Bolivia) and Hussein (Jordan)—the coronatinn of Juan Carlos drew presidents Schcel of West Germany and Giscard d'Estaing of France.

"Two Weeks, Two Months, Two Years"

The theme of the post-Franco regime in Madrid has been *continuismo* and the most token concessions to popular demands. As the Maoist Revolutionary and Anti-Faseist Patriotic Front (FRAP) put it: Juan Carlos I—Franco II. Evidently calculating that the only way to gain at least a measure of toleration for an imposed Francoist monarchy is to have it appear utterly irrelevant, the king himself is taking little direct role in political decisions. But many hourgeois liberals had hoped he would appoint a prominent "moderate" to form the government. Frequently mentioned candidates were former chief of staff Manuel Diez Alegria and former ambassador to Washington, the Count of Motrico, Jose Maria de Areilza.

However, pressure from extreme-right Falangists (the so-called Bunker) prevailed instead, and Franco's last prime minister, Carlos Arias Navarro, was maintained in office. Arias is not eager to continue as head of government, however, and the most active elements in the new cabinet are Areilza, now minister of foreign affairs, and the interior minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne. In addition to the Count of Motrico, both justice minister Antonio Garrigués and information minister González Posada are considered close to the U.S., particularly to Rockefeller.

Before being named interior minister, Fraga put forward his timetable for the new government: "Two weeks to decide, two months to plan, two years to carry out." In its first statement, the cabinet hinted at cautious reforms: "institutional recognition of local autonomy, "widen the bases" of representative bodies, adapting institutions to reflect the "development of one people" (*New York Times*, 16 December). Behind this indecipherable vagueness is the fact that the heirs of Franco want to change only the bare minimum of the corporatist state structure—not so much out of dedication to Francoist traditions, however, as from the recognition that with anything approaching democratic freedoms they and their ilk would be swept away in a matter of hours.

There are also notable divisions in the government. The foreign minister announced in a Paris news conference, for instance, that Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo could obtain a passport and return to Spain. The PCE leader, said Areilza, "is a citizen who will not suffer discrimination as a result of his ideology." But Falangist ultras in the Cortes, the largely appointed "parliament," vigorously denounced the foreign minister's statement. A few days later the interior minister announced that henceforth the police would distinguish between "adversaries" of the regime, who would now be tolerated, and "enemies" who resort to violence and would be punished. At about the same time ultra-rightist gunmen (assumed to be "off duty" police) opened fire on a peaceful demonstration outside a Madrid prison, wounding a professor and a student.

Carabanchel prison near Madrid

PCE Sabotages General Strike

With a government committed to maintaining the Francoist, bonapartist rule of a strong state (although without the Bonaparte, which makes their job considerably more difficult), it is obvious to even the most timid liberals that there will be no democratization without mobilizing mass opposition in the streets. Thus even though leaders of the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party of Spain (PSOE) had earlier been inclined to a policy of benevolent neutrality toward Juan Carlos, during mid-December they staged several demonstrations in the capital, calling for amnesty of all political prisoners and exiles.

Although the first demonstrations were dispersed by the police, around New Year's sizable demonstrations were held in Guernica, where 5,000 people met to announce the formation of the "Democratic Assembly of Euzkadi" (Basque region), and in Barcelona, where 500 surrounded the city's main prison, without police interference.

These are but small change. To win democratic liberties only mass, militant working-class action on the scale of a nationwide general strike is adequate. The conditions for its initiation have been there for months; the workers are eager tn strike (and did so, repeatedly during the past two years, so that Spain has the second highest strike rate in Europe even though every single one is illegal!), large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are sympathetic, the regime lacks a firm leadership.

What is lacking is a revolutionary, Trotskyist party with the recognized authority among the masses to lead it. Under the present conditions in Spain, such a strike would represent an immediate life-and-death contest for power with the government. Its victory would topple the Francoist regime, creating a situation of dual power and placing proletarian revolution on the immediate order of the day. That is why the cringing reformists of the PCE and PSOE have repeatedly refused to call a general strike.

Instead they have talked of one-day "democratic actions" as a form of protest which they hope could be contained. In order to put off pressure for immediate action during the fall, when Franco lay dying, the PCE (along with the workers cnmmissions controlled hy it and the popular-front "Junta Democrática" it dominates) issued leaflets talking of a future "jornada de lucha" (day of struggle) against the regime.

In early December, the Stalinist leadership finally issued the promised call. On December 9 the Madrid Junta Democrática and the "Platform of Democratic Convergence" (another popular front, dominated hy the PSOE) issued a joint call for peaceful demonstrations for a "democratic breach." In Barcelona, the National Workers Commission of Catalonia went even further calling for a "24-hour general strike" on December 11 to protest the "indulto insulto" and the imposition of Juan Carlos as king, calling for "nn to the wage freeze," "immediate amnesty" and "political and trade-union liberties."

This call clearly reveals the reformist misleadership of the PCE, since it was limited to a single day (i.e., meant as a symholic protest) and was deliberately held on different days in different areas in order to avoid any threat to the government on a national scale. But this does not end the treachery of the Communist Party: after calling a general strike, *it instructed workers from the key factories not to go out!*

In Barcelona there was a demonstration of several thousands in front of the women's prison (where the inmates had been on hunger strike). According to the *Noticiero Universal* (12 December), more than 100 work locations were hit with strikes and almost 17,000 walked out. But at the key SEAT auto factory (subsidiary of Italian Fiat)—the site of repeated political wildcat strikes—whose workers commission is controlled by the PCE, 25,000 workers punched in just like any other workday! The same was true at the other major PCE-influenced factories—Olivetti, Enasa, Solvay and Motor Ibérica—all of which were reported free from strike activity.

Madrid was no different. Some 20,000 metal and construction workers (among whom Maoist influence is strong) stopped work for various periods to protest the "fascist king." Yet at the big Chrysler complex, led by the PCE, the workers commission did not call for a walkout. When the workers arrived at the plant and refused to work anyway, they were cleared out by the police. At the Standard Eléctrica plant (another PCE hastion), the 12,000 workers struck without official leadership. There were also reports of 10,000 to 15,000 coal miners on strike in the traditionally militant Asturias region.

The press described the turnout during the three-day staggered protest as a "defeat" for anti-Francoist forces. The working class did suffer a defeat on December 10 to 12, but it was above all due to a stah in the back hy the Stalinist misleaders. The fact that the PCE sahotage was so effective underlines the continuing strength of its apparatus (despite large numhers of workers, numbering in the thousands, who place themselves to the left of the Communist Party), and underlines the urgent necessity of constructing a Spanish Trotskyist party which is ahle to hreak this hureaucratic stranglehold. ■

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prior to the arbitrator's decision was passed overwhelmingly. However, it was revealed a few days later that the company had never agreed to go to arbitration in the first place, and within a week the union simply withdrew the case.

In late December the 1101 executive board told a stewards' meeting that its hands were tied by the company's contractual "right" to reassign anybody, anywhere, anytime, but that it was drawing the line at letting female craftsworkers go into the ghettos for escort duty. Such hypocritical efforts at "protection" can only further reinforce the prevailing prejudice among male workers that women in craft cannot really do "men's" work, but must receive special treatment. Moreover, Dempsey's "concern" for CWA women is nothing but a thinly-veiled appeal to racist sentiment, a reactionary campaign to keep "our" women out of black and Latin neighborhoods. Local members must not be taken in by this cynical grandstand play to sidestep Dempsey's blatant refusal to fight the downgrades.

Most of New York City is dangerous for *all* installers—men and women, black and white—and instances of harassment, even in fancy mid-town districts, abound. Two-person installer crews must be made standard throughout the Local, a measure that would not only increase protection but also provide more jobs.

Dempsey's claim to fight for women phone workers is grotesque. The Local leadership has long been callously

New York Generator

CWA Local 1101 president Ed Dempsey

indifferent to the plight of workers beyond its own narrow base of support in the skilled crafts. Its lackadaisical attitude toward organizing operators, who are predominantly black women, was a major factor in the defeat of the 1971 strike. Its failure to fight to equalize wage scales and demand equality in up-grading gave the U.S. government the excuse it needed to step in with the union-busting affirmative action program under the guise of "protecting" women from the union.

Running the Local like its private fiefdom, the Dempsey bureaucracy bears responsibility for the apathy and anti-unionism within its own ranks and among members of every union with which it comes in contact. During the recent dispute over fire-alarm installation work, Local 1101 correctly honored the Western Electric (CWA Local 1190) picket lines aimed against job raiding by IBEW Local 9. Yet it had already taken part of the installation job for itself! In December the Local leaders directed 1101 members to scab on the Teamster Local 813 strike. When 1101 chauffeurs who supply the installers' lockers were ordered by the company to make the garbage pick-ups of the striking Teamster drivers, Dempsey's flunkies told them to go ahead and do it.

Behind every move of the self-serving labor bureaucracy is its *political* outlook—the belief that the unions are in joint partnership with the corporations. In a Christmas letter to the membership, International representative Morty Bahr directed members to vote Democratic in 1976 as part of the union's commitment to "generate pride and thus rekindle trust in America and restore faith in its institutions." The working class' interest lies *not* with rekindling trust and faith in American institutions -in the class system at the root of layoffs, depressions, racial and sexual oppression and imperialist war but in destroying them!

The present oppositional groups within 1101 quail before the challenge of building a class-struggle opposition in the unions based on a program of consistent struggle against the companies, their parties and their state. During the November Local 1101 elections, for example, the United Action Caucus (UAC), whose work is supported by the International Socialists (I.S.), tried to increase its influence in the union by campaigning for district representatives it hoped would be more friendly to it than the rabidly anti-communist Dempsey. (The UAC never mentioned that it had similarly campaigned for Dempsey in 1972, in the hopes that he would be more friendly than Carnivale.)

By refusing to run its own candidates and instead submerging itself into an amorphous anti-Dempsey coalition in the Southern Division, the UAC liquidated its name as well as the minimally reformist program on which it usually stands. Such opportunism is not only cheap, but stupid. Long-time UAC members posing as "independent workers" may have confused some of the real independents, but they never fooled Dempsey. He took one look at the coalition, delivered a red-baiting barrage at the next stewards' meeting and scattered what was left of the UAC's "friendly" allies in all directions.

Despite this debacle, UAC supporters are again attempting the same ploy in the form of a women's committee in the local. This fall they invited the Women's Studies Program of the Cornell School of Labor Relations, which they know has been heavily financed by the Central Intelligence Agency since 1962, to sponsor a course in grievance-handling for Local women. The I.S. writes glibly in *Workers' Power* about the need to expose the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the AFL-CIO/CIA counterinsurgency project founded by late CWA president Joe Beirne. The AIFLD was heavily involved in U.S. government machinations that resulted in toppling the Allende government and slaughtering thousands of Chilean union militants. But I.S. supporters in the CWA have introduced into the union the Cornell School, whose major interest in being there is to recruit women to the AIFLD!

The CWA does not need to replace more Carnivales with more Dempseys, nor does it need more rotten coalitions that fall apart at the first test. It needs a militant opposition based on a program and a strategy which can free the unions from the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and transform them into mass organizations of workers' defense.

The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the CWA, in Locals 9410 (San Francisco) and 9415 (Oakland) has been organizing to win unionists to such a program. At last year's CWA convention, MAC called for a powerful nationwide phone strike against layoffs. It called for reopening the contract to throw out the "needs of business" clause which NY Telephone management will use to ax militants in its downgrading drive. It has fought for years to inform CWA members about the union's link to AIFLD and a key point in its 1975 convention delegate election campaign was its commitment to raising a motion at the convention to break all CWA and AFL-CIO ties with AIFLD, the CIA, and the bosses' government. The MAC has consistently struggled to break the unions from the capitalist Democratic Party and to form instead a workers party, one that can lead the union movement and all the exploited and oppressed forward to a workers government. ■

Titoism...

(continued from page 7)

positions in the banks. But the state's former role in investments has been restricted to operating from much smaller funds for development of the underdeveloped regions.

Commenting on the reforms the London *Times* (27 July 1965) noted:

> "Resistance and opposition to reforms is considerable. It comes from government circles in the less developed republics, which are bound to feel the unpleasant consequences more than the better developed regions which have been pressing for reforms. It comes also from the trade unions, as unemployment, already high, is expected to increase with factories, now left to themselves, having to operate in independent economic units like any capitalist enterprise."

The consequences of the reforms were quick in coming. There was a severe reduction in investment in backward regions of Serbia, in Montenegro, Macedonia and the autonomous province of Kosovo-Metohija. Unemployment rose rapidly. By 1967 fully one eighth of the labor force couldn't find work, and many became foreign workers in the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe. Inflation galloped, and the living standards of the masses dropped.

Above all, the reforms were designed to make Yugoslavia more competitive on the international capitalist market. They did this, but at the price of making Yugoslavia much more susceptible to the economic crises of capitalism. Indeed, the current capitalist depression has profoundly affected the Yugoslav economy—not only through a drop in trade with the EEC countries, but also through the return of vast numbers of emigrant workers whose remittances were a major source of foreign exchange for the regime.

Yugoslavia today reproduces some of the worst aspects of the NEP (New Economic Policy) in Russia during the early and mid-1920's. State ownership of the means of production is seriously undermined by means of production transferred into the hands of collectives which compete with other collectives for materials and markets. Under these conditions investment is channelled into sectors and techniques of greatest profitability rather than of greater social use. Such circumstances have provided excellent opportunities for petty-bourgeois entrepreneurs to amass small fortunes, generating pressures on sections of the bureaucracy to seek to undermine economic planning and begin to dream of acquiring individual ownership of the means of production now collectively held.

The Fruits of Titoism

In short, Tito's "Yugoslav road" has led not to socialism but to inequality among nations and regions, inequality among workers, rapid growth of the private sector, unemployment, labor emigration and the increased threat of penetration by foreign capital. Continuation along this road raises a very real threat of bourgeois restoration through a bloody civil war which quite possibly might provoke Soviet and American intervention and trigger World War III.

UPI

Marshal Josip Broz Tito

Yugoslav Embassy

Workers council meets in Yugoslav factory.

Tito's current campaign is a bureaucratic crackdown on the fruits of Titoism. It demonstrates the folly of renouncing an active international revolutionary struggle against capitalism in favor of utopian attempts to build "socialism" in one country—a very tiny one at that, and one that would not last a week save for the existence of the USSR. Caught in a bureaucratic straightjacket, all Tito can do is tack and veer, now closer to the Soviets, now further away.

Only by the construction in Yugoslavia and in the other deformed workers states of Trotskyist parties committed to a political revolution to oust the bankrupt bureaucrats can the gains of the Yugoslav revolution be protected and bloody bourgeois counterrevolution averted. Forward to the Yugoslav Trotskyist party. For the rebirth of the Fourth International! Oust Tito through political revolution! For a Balkan Socialist Federation! For international communist unity against imperialism, from Havana to Belgrade, Moscow and Peking! ■

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Longshore...

(continued from page 12)

on the remaining boards at the hiring hall.

According to this plan of intimidation, the men on the second-class "B" list a supposedly "temporary" departure from full union protection for new longshoremen introduced by Bridges in 1959—would be forced to undergo weekly unannounced spot checks to make sure they are available for work—work which is usually unavailable for them. In addition, men receiving the highest PGP payments would be presumed to be avoiding work, and required to appear before the JCLRC to explain their eligibility for the payments!

Under this policy of willing betrayal by Bridges (which was already well under way before the letter acknowledged it publicly), the PMA has eliminated the dock exemption board, the car board and 250 men from the night dock board over the last six months. PGP

WV Photo

Howard Keylor

payments dropped by 40 percent over the same period. In the estimate of the *Longshore Militant* (29 December 1975), the PMA is attempting to cut the workforce by half through first driving out B-men and disabled longshoremen, followed then by older workers pressured to retire early and finally forced deregistrations (layoffs) of low-seniority A-men (full union members). But these attacks, coming under the most recent contract (1975), are only a continuation of the pattern of erosion set under the first "Modernization and Mechanization" contract, in 1961. Since then, over half the original 700 B-men registered in 1969 have been forced out of the industry through lack of work (*LM*, 1 October 1975).

The membership recognized the rottenness of the most recent contract, forcing Bridges to go through *three* union-wide votes before achieving final "ratification" last July. The *Longshore Militant* had predicted the dire consequences of the proposed deal prior to its passage, pointing out that a strike and a struggle to replace the Bridges regime with a leadership based on class-struggle policies was the only way out for the membership. *LM* (3 March) called for a strike that would be coast-wide (including Canada) and run by elected strike committees in each port. It also demanded a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, full rights for B-men, and making no exceptions for military cargo. In contrast to the *LM*'s militant program, reformist "oppositionists," capitulating to defeatist sentiment in the ranks, argued that a strike was impossible, thereby helping to set the membership up for the present cascading series of disasters.

"Oppositionists" such as Larry Wing, who capitulated to Bridges by advocating nothing more than a two-year instead of a three-year version of the contract, were paralyzed by their own tactics. Wing was removed from office by Bridges forces through a trial on trumped-up charges. Although he had correctly opposed an attempt by the Bridges leadership to raid another maritime union, Wing resorted to the traitorous class-collaborationist "tactic" of taking the union to court to "defend" himself, much to the pleasure of his enemies, who gleefully exploited this issue in the union.

WV Photo

Stan Gow

The railroading of Wing was just the beginning of a pattern under acting Local president Watkins in which Local 10 looks more and more like the gangster-ridden East Coast ILA. Violations of parliamentary procedure and attempts to silence opposition are rapidly becoming commonplace. Wing and two other oppositionists have been barred from the ballot in the upcoming election, and threats have been made against Archie Brown, the long-time spokesman for Communist Party (CP) positions, to run him out of the union. The *Longshore Militant* demands that Wing be vindicated against the phony charges in an upcoming Local referendum on his trial, and calls for putting the barred candidates on the ballot. At the same time, *LM* sharply denounces the error of bringing the bosses' cops and courts into union affairs, and gives no support in the elections to Wing or the other reformist oppositionists.

To counter the PMA offensive, the *Longshore Militant* calls on the Local to take action on a motion passed by the executive board on October 9 in response to elimination of dispatch boards. The motion opposed all cutbacks, demanded full PGP, and included a proposal to strike (for a "sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members") added by supporters of *LM*. The motion has lain dormant, however, while Local meetings have been dominated by the disputes between Bridges forces and supporters of Larry Wing. Wrangling between the two main bureaucratic factions has been the chief obstacle to Local 10's taking any action against PMA attacks or Bridges' strongarm tactics. "By our yardstick neither side deserves a vote. All have demonstrated they can't defend the union" (*LM*, 29 December 1975).

Archie Brown, running for caucus and convention delegate, is making a special effort to run interference for the Bridges regime by concentrating most of his "campaign" on foam-flecked attacks against the class-struggle program of Gow and Keylor. This well-practiced hack apologist for Bridges of many long years standing has the gall to accuse *Longshore Militant* of being the "'left-wing' of the Bridges regime" for having advocated a strike to oppose the last contract. Playing on the membership's properly-felt uneasiness about its traitorous leadership, Brown claims that it was correct not to strike because of the danger of sabotage by "the same Coast Committee bunch that gutted the 1971-72 strike." In addition to preaching passivity Brown fails to explain why he *opposed* the *LM* attempt to recall the Coast Caucus delegate body which negotiated the rotten contract and hold new elections!

Trying to cover his tracks, Brown shamelessly denies supporting the last contract, accusing *LM* of misrepresenting his views. But unfortunately for him, copies of his leaflet of last July 17 still exist, in which he tails after Wing's capitulation to Bridges:

> "We have the same basic objections to the 3 years as we had to the 2 years under the earlier agreement but anybody knows *2 bad contract years beats 3 bad contract years coming and going.*" [our emphasis]

Brown also supported the first "Modernization and Mechanization" contract in 1961, and apologized for Bridges' vicious purge of 82 B-men in 1959. Now that Alioto is leaving the San Francisco mayor's office, Brown even finds it possible to criticize the long-standing Alioto/Bridges alliance. However, he allows for the possibility that unions "can support and work with liberal and even opportunist candidates"! No doubt this will allow Brown and other *People's World* (West Coast CP paper) supporters to cover for "friend-of-labor" mayor-elect Moscone, who was one of the guests at the testimonial dinner for Bridges.

"We need a planned economy run by a workers government!" concludes the special election issue of *Longshore Militant* (29 December 1975). "Mechanization should be used to make shorter hours and easier work, not to throw people out of work while the bosses make super profits. We're for nationalizing without compensating the owners, the longshore and transportation industries, and all major industries." Such a program, if inscribed clearly on the banners of ILWU Local 10, could point the way forward for all West Coast labor and the entire working class. ■

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Construction...

(continued from page 3)

strength of the teachers' unions). The notoriously racist, job-trusting construction union bureaucracy is, of course, deeply implicated in discriminatory practices which have kept the relatively high-wage skilled trades lily-white. But union-busting strikebreaking legislation will only weaken the cause of the doubly oppressed minority workers, and will produce precious few jobs for the masses of unemployed blacks.

Only a class-struggle leadership which rejects government interference in the unions while steadfastly defending the rights of minorities within the labor movement, can lead the way forward to ending unemployment and discrimination. In addition to opposing government, employer corporatist schemes and fighting for the unlimited right to strike, key objectives for such a leadership would be campaigns for aggressive union recruitment of minority workers, organizing the unorganized, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, and a massive public works program operated under trade-union control. ■

Innocenti-Leyland...

(continued from page 5)

can the maneuverist Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria (FMR, linked to the "Third Tendency" of the USec, although itself independent) claim to have defended Marxist principles. Its comment on the June 15 elections was an exemplary specimen of the capitulationist bombast of this group:

> "The call for a vote for the PCI—which despite its bourgeois program expresses in distorted form, in the Italian context, the most profound demands for unity [!] and political autonomy [!!] of the working class—unequivocably proved to be a most adequate response to the objective impulses toward radicalization manifested in the working class."

If Trotskyism in Italy was dead almost as soon as it was born, these latter-day abortions do not awaken better hopes!

Unlike the Pabloist capitulators, an authentic Trotskyist tendency would clearly explain to the workers that the Stalinists' popular-front plan means subordinating workers' struggles to capitalists' profits. It would point to the PCI's recent shameful pact with the Christian Democrats to restrict abortions, showing how the reformists' class collaboration abandons even elementary democratic demands, not to mention the struggle for socialism. It would underline the union bureaucrats' hoorays for Fiat and refusal to speak with the Neopolitan unemployed, demonstrating that reformist policies in the imperialist epoch mean setting workers against worker while quarreling over crumbs from the bosses' table.

As Lenin wrote in "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" (October 1916): "unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these [bourgeois workers] parties—or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a Socialist labor movement." And without a struggle for a full transitional program of demands going beyond the capitalist framework and culminating in a workers government, there can be no solution to the problems of unemployment and factory closures.

—Stop layoffs, jobs for all! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—Seize the factories, expropriate the auto industry!

—For the rebirth of a Trotskyist vanguard in Italy! Forward to a workers government! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Local Elections in ILWU

For A Class-Struggle Leadership in West Coast Longshore!

SAN FRANCISCO, January 1—The long drawn-out crisis in West Coast longshore is rapidly coming to a head as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) holds local elections. The "leadership" of International president Harry Bridges and his local minions has handed the members a clear challenge in the form of disastrous erosion of jobs, working conditions, supposedly "guaranteed" pay, the hiring hall, union democracy—in short, attacks on virtually every historic gain of the once-militant union.

In San Francisco Local 10 two veteran longshoremen and executive board incumbents, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, have over the past year counterposed a program of consistent class struggle to these betrayals through their newsletter, the *Longshore Militant*, and are now running for re-election (and for coast caucus and convention delegate) on this record. However, a coterie of fake opposition-ists, including ex-Local president Larry Wing, threatens to confuse and deter the membership from a clear rejection of Bridges & Co.'s class collaborationism.

Bridges is in open collusion with the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) on a plan to slash the workforce and make the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP)—supposedly a protection against force reductions due to modernization and mechanization of dock-work—into a total farce. The collusion became public and explicit in October when the Bridges-controlled Coast Committee of William Ward and Fred Huntsinger sent a letter to Local 10, jointly signed by PMA as part of the Joint Coast Labor Relations Committee (JCLRC). The letter endorsed the "PGP Survey Team" recommendations, which included elimination of "obsolete or unnecessary" dispatch boards. The elimination of dispatch boards means that more men must scramble for jobs

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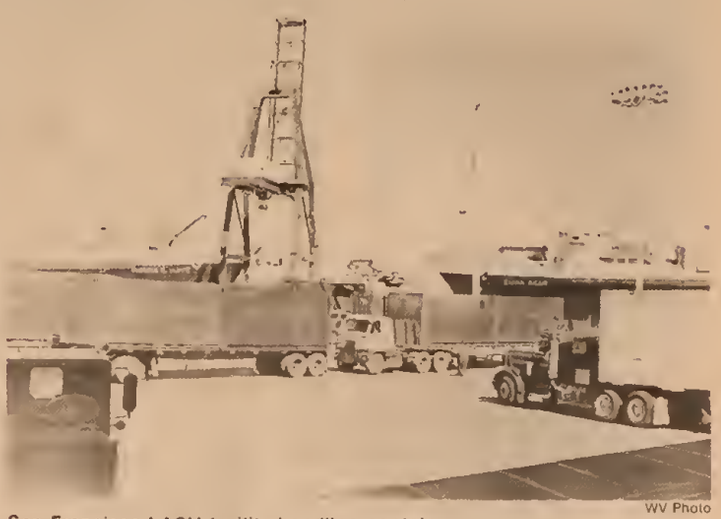
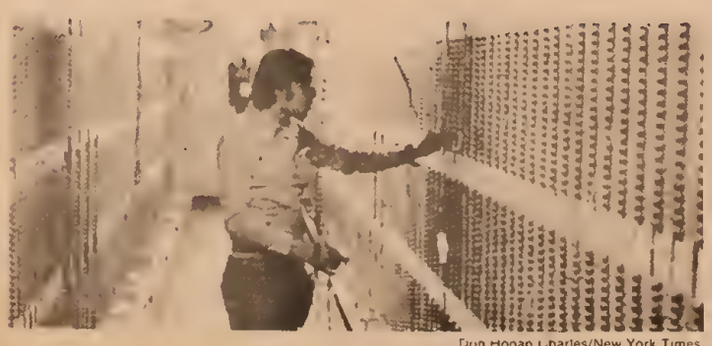


WV Photo

San Francisco LASH facility handling container cargo.

From Framemen to Garage Assistants

Massive Job Downgrading at NY Telephone



Don Hogan Charles/New York Times

JANUARY 3—In recent weeks New York Telephone has succeeded in downgrading approximately 95 framemen to garage assistants—the first of over 600 such downgrades scheduled to take place in NYC this winter. Switchmen and installers are being forcibly assigned to permanent duty as "installers' escorts"—a euphemism for riding shotgun—in an attempt to step up their resignation rate. After running Big MAC's "default" campaign to break the back of the New York City unions, NY Telephone chief William Ellinghaus is now gearing up to go after Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1101 with equal fervor.

Not only do the downgrades present an enormous economic hardship to the affected workers, they are an attack on seniority which places the entire union in grave danger. Yet with the bureaucrats' blessing, the company can select as a target area any phone building which is a center of militant union activity. In addition, especially in skilled areas such as switching, management can use the infamous "needs of the business" loophole in the union contract to reassign *any* worker at its discretion.

The criminal refusal by the sellout Local 1101 leadership to fight the downgrades will have devastating effects. Seniority rights, which the labor movement fought hard and long to win, must be vigilantly defended if *any* contractual rights are to have meaning; unless stewards and members can challenge the company without fear for their jobs, their contracts are worthless.

The announcement of the downgrades came only weeks after Local 1101 president Dempsey's re-election to a secure second three-year term. Major layoffs in New York Telephone craft had been expected last year, but the massive Second Avenue fire reconstruction work provided a temporary reprieve. Bell craftsmen told a *WV* reporter that it was widely rumored throughout the Local that the company had decided to postpone the planned downgrades until after the fall union elections, hoping to secure official union "cooperation" at Second Avenue. These rumors gained credence in subsequent weeks as union officials apparently closed their eyes to flagrant and repeated instances of contract and safety violations at the building.

With the Local elections over and the Second Avenue work completed, the downgrades were back on the agenda. At the November membership meeting, Dempsey announced that he was bringing the company to arbitration, insisting that the union could prove that there was plenty of work on the frame and that the company had no "right," therefore, to downgrade framemen. (Presumably if there *were* less work, these reformists would withdraw all objections!) An executive board motion for a Local walkout if the company should proceed with the downgrades

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 92 — 16 January 1976

Sectarian Atrocities Rock Ulster

JANUARY 11—On Tuesday, January 5, a wave of sectarian murders in County Armagh, Northern Ireland (Ulster), culminated in the massacre of ten Protestant workers and the serious wounding of an eleventh. A minibus taking the workers home from a textile factory was flagged down near the village of Whitecross, the Catholic driver was asked to step aside and a dozen gunmen opened fire on the passengers.

The following day a group calling itself the "South Armagh Republican Action Force" claimed responsibility for the massacre, stating that it was in retaliation for the murder on the night of January 3 of five Catholics in two isolated farmsteads, one near Whitecross and the other near the village of Gilford in County Down. All five farmers were members of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), a strictly reformist, parliamentarian and anti-terrorist party which, while predominantly Catholic, has close ties with the British Labour Party.

These killings, in turn, were probably committed in retaliation for the New Year's Eve bombing of a pub in Gilford in which three Protestants were killed; and this outrage was probably committed to avenge two separate bombings of Catholic pubs during the Christmas holidays. On December 19 a Catholic bar in Silverbridge in south Armagh was attacked, resulting in the murder of three people, including the 14-year-old son of the owner. On December 26 another Catholic bar was attacked and a man fatally injured.

While the Irish Republican Army (IRA) Provisionals have neither taken credit for nor repudiated the "South Armagh Republican Action Force," south Armagh is known as "Provo" territory. The Provisionals have declared this area the "Independent Republic of South Armagh." Here road maintenance workers and even school buses dare not travel without passes from the Provos. Catholic neighborhoods, in the guise of "contributions for the Republican cause," pay the Provisionals protection money.

The IRA is an illegal organization in both Northern Ireland *and* the "Republic" of Ireland, where the mere word of a police chief can put a suspected Republican Army man in jail for up to two years. But Ulster is the land of Protestant supremacy; the "Orange establishment" constitutes the organized state power, supplemented by and subordinated to 15,000 regular British troops.

The response of Harold Wilson's Labour government in London to the January 5 massacre was to bolster British forces in south Armagh with 600 reinforcements, including a contingent of Special Air Service (SAS) troops. This elite army unit of professional killers had not been used up to now for fear of public reaction both in England and Northern Ireland. The death sentence may not yet be reinstated in the confines of British prisons, but the SAS will see to it that capital punishment is meted out in the streets of south Armagh's pastoral villages.

Additionally, the Labour government has introduced a special squad of the Orange Order-dominated Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and called out additional members of the part-time Ulster Defense Regiments. The latter are reserve units consisting, in the main, of Paisleyite Orange ultra-rightists put in uniform and marching beside the RUC and British Army. Prior to the January 5 massacre there were already 1,200 UDR members on duty in south Armagh.

UPI

Minibus which carried ten Protestant workers murdered on a country road in south Armagh, Ulster, on January 5.

Playing the Green Card

With British imperialism at its height at the end of the 19th century, Lord Randolph Churchill could "play the Orange card." But the defenders of British imperialism in its decay—both the Tory heirs to Lord Randolph and its lackeys in the workers movement, who lead the Labour Party and currently run the government—are forced to make a pretense at also playing the Green.

In early December, Wilson's secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Merlyn Reeves, ended the 52-month policy of both Tory and Labour governments of imprisoning suspected terrorists in Ulster without trial (internment). The last 47 detainees were released from the wire cages of the notorious and hated

continued on page 8

China Backs U.S./South Africa

Maoists in Turmoil Over Angola

SEE PAGE 5

THE STORY OF MONROE, N.C.

Workers Vanguard: What would have happened if you...had not organized in your own defense?

Williams: Oh, I'd be dead now.... We wouldn't have lasted any time. We would have been completely devoured by racist elements.

Black Self-Defense and the Civil Rights Movement ... 6

An Interview with Robert F. Williams ... 7

Editorial Notes

I.S. Jilts LO

It seemed as if there could never be a political issue of sufficient gravity to cause a rift in the potpourri of disparate groups which get together every year at the invitation of the French Lutte Ouvrière (LO). About the only thing in common between the Italian Maoist-syndicalist Lotta Continua, the British social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.) and LO was the view that at least some of the Soviet bloc countries are "state capitalist."

But after six years of unprincipled cohabitation, something has finally broken up that old state cap gang. At its last phony "international conference" in November, a dispute broke out between LO and the I.S. over Portugal. Lutte Ouvrière, quite correctly, accuses the I.S. of "hitch[ing] its own carriage onto the train of the Portuguese revolution, in the hope of becoming the main beneficiaries of it in Great Britain." After heatedly debating the issue, the International Socialists picked up their marbles and stalked out of the meeting in a huff, refusing even to present or vote on counterposed resolutions.

LO is particularly critical of I.S. cheerleading for the Portuguese Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP). British I.S. leader Tony Cliff referred to the PRP (in his pamphlet, "Portugal at the Crossroads") as "a genuine revolutionary Marxist organization" whose "emphasis on the self-organization of the working class" is "refreshing." As LO points out:

> "When you know that the leading article in a recent issue of *Revolução*, the organ of the PRP, was an open letter to 'Comrade Otelo' (that is, General Otelo de Carvalho) asking him to make the revolution, you realize what credit can be given to International Socialism's judgment on the real place of the 'self-organization of the working class' in the PRP's policy."
>
> —*Lutte de Classe/Class Struggle*, November 1975

In fact, the PRP's dissemination of dangerous illusions about "revolutionary" officers has so discredited it that even the British I.S. felt the need to cover its tracks by obliquely criticizing its Portuguese friends for adventurism ("armed forces substituting for the proletariat," "speaking only to the soldiers and to a very narrow section of the working class") and calling for "a sharp change in the attitude of the PRP from top to bottom towards party building" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 and 25 October). Some "genuine revolutionary Marxists" these are!

But if this striking contradiction reveals the "lack of seriousness" LO rightly attributes to the British I.S., what can be said of the U.S. International Socialists (another sometime participant in the LO's annual gab fest) which refuses to jeopardize its long-distance love affair with the PRP by voicing even such mild criticism? This reached the point that in the 28 November *Workers' Power* the American I.S. announced (based on a phone call from Lisbon) the outbreak of proletarian revolution in Portugal, only to claim the next week (another phone call) that it was all a Stalinist coup. The PRP's own role in fostering the adventurist November 25 revolt was completely whitewashed.

Simultaneously with its split from the I.S., LO has suddenly begun talking of the need for a more homogeneous international grouping (currently consisting of itself plus satellites). But it has not therefore abandoned any of its traditional "family of Trotskyism" practice. Thus, in response to the announced plans of Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, French section of the "United Secretariat," to launch a daily paper next month, LO has graciously offered to liquidate the extensive publicity (postering, newspaper ads, etc.) for its own weekly paper, in order "not to interfere with launching the *Daily Rouge*"! The fact that one of its principal opponents may soon expand from a weekly to a daily represents to the ever-so-polite mock-revolutionaries of Lutte Ouvrière a fortuitous event, for which political self-liquidation is the only appropriate homage. Après toi, mon cher Alain?

I.S.' Latest: Teamsters for an Indecent Contract

As part of its recent "Worker Recruitment Campaign" to entice unwary militants to join up on the basis of pure activism, the International Socialists (I.S.) held a series of self-described "impressive" rallies in several cities around the country last fall. With all the hoopla of an old-time medicine show and apolitical testimonials more appropriate to a revivalist meeting than socialist politics, these phony "mass" meetings turned out to be by invitation only, with supporters of the Spartacist League, in particular, excluded.

Already last May the I.S. National Committee had resolved: "We intend to stop the Sparts... by excluding known Sparts and calling (for questions only, not discussion) only on workers who are close to the I.S. to speak from the floor." There would be no heretics allowed at these revivals for reformism, R.S.V.P.!

Along with rock music and exhortations to "dig down deep in your pockets and help the workers' cause," the audience at the New York meeting on November 14 was treated to self-serving "testimonies." Typical was the supporter who told how he had seen the light and now recognized the slow radicalization of the working class in the 1960's, "almost imperceptible, except to the eyes of the I.S."

When it came to politics, the rallies touted the I.S.' equally phony "mass work" and especially the "Teamsters for a Decent Contract" (TDC), one of the most wretchedly suh-reformist in a long line of I.S.-backed alliances with two-bit "reform" bureaucrats, out-bureaucrats, aspiring bureaucrats and any other brand of sellout artist they can sign up. In mid-December the I.S.' *Workers' Power* announced yet another counterfeit club, the "Coalition for a Better Contract: UAW."

In its newspaper the I.S. has extravagantly lauded the TDC as representing a "revolution in Teamsters," and at the recruitment rallies the audiences were treated to boasts that truckers and warehousemen were flocking into the new group by the score. The I.S. organizers conveniently neglected, however, to tell their listeners that the TDC is so anxious to attract backward elements in the union that it takes no position on Hoffa or even on the Teamsters' scab raids against the United Farm Workers!

In our article "Another Lesson from the I.S. School of Labor Reformism" (*WV* No. 87, 28 November 1975) we wrote that Teamsters for a Decent Contract "is nothing more than a weak attempt to pressure Fitzsimmons to go for a little 'more' in the upcoming negotiations." We pointed out that with contract proposals centering on a $2 per hour increase, the TDC had not broken from simple trade unionism and was simply playing a game of one-upsmanship with the incumbent bureaucrats.

Now it seems that Fitzsimmons has decided that two can play this game, and in mid-December the Teamster chief announced his opening wage demand for the 1975 negotiations: $2.50 per hour! No doubt this caused some embarrassment for the "Decent Contract" group, and we are awaiting their next move with bated breath. But to class-conscious workers interested in waging a *real* fight against the treacherous pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, rather than opportunistic maneuvering with its disaffected elements, we can only repeat Karl Marx's admonition: "Instead of the *conservative* motto: *'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!'* they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword: *'Abolition of the wages system!'*"

Unlike the social-democratic I.S., which saves its talk of revolution for invitational "mass rallies" and occasional mentions in its hogus "mass paper," the Spartacist League is unique on the American left in insisting that socialists must fight in the unions on the full Marxist program. With Trotsky we believe in telling the workers the truth, no matter how bitter, both in big things and small. And we warn: whether it is a "fair," "better" or "decent" deal with the bosses that they seek, those who restrict themselves to business unionism (whether more or less militant) will never abolish the exploitation of wage slavery.

Letters

Anti-Spínola Demonstration in Toronto

Toronto
29 December 1975

Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades,

I am writing to correct several factual inaccuracies which appear in your coverage of the demonstration to protest the visit of General Spinola (Sunday, 23 November) in Toronto. The report of the Toronto events was printed in *WV* No. 87, 28 November 1975, as part of an article which covered protests against the butcher Spinola initiated by or participated in by the SL/U.S. and SYL and the Trotskyist League of Canada. While in general the article gives a correct account of the TL's intervention, these small errors should be corrected in the interest of maintaining a clear record of the events.

The article reports that no advance publicity had been given to Spinola's visit. In fact, a small amount of publicity had been given to the event, shortly before its occurrence and largely confined to the Portuguese community. Also, due to misinformation here in Toronto the article reports that Spinola spoke to a select audience which did not fill the hall in which he spoke. While the attendance figure given (800) is accurate, the St. Lawrence Center was, in fact, filled to its capacity.

Spartacist Canada

The article noted that, after the TL had proposed a united-front demonstration, a Communist Party-backed group hastily called a separate demonstration. (The sponsoring group was the Committee for a Democratic Portugal not, as reported, the Portuguese Democratic Association, which is another CP-supported group in the Portuguese community.) The CDP called their demonstration at the same meeting at which the TL distributed its united-front call. TL members had requested to announce the planning meeting to those attending the CDP meeting, but were prevented from entering by a large goon squad. The CDP demonstration, called for the same time, two blocks away, was announced with no mention of the Trotskyist League's united-front proposal.

As reported, the TL did not let this obvious sectarianism stand in the way of building a forceful show of opposition to the butcher Spinola. Our well-organized contingent stood out in sharp contrast to the disarray of the larger CDP/PDA forces. In response to the disgusting pacifist, anti-revolutionary chant by the Stalinist leaders of the demonstration, "no civil war," numerous supporters of the CDP/PDA picked up the chant of the Trotskyist League, "Smash Spinola, Workers to Power."

At the conclusion of the demonstration, those militants who continued with the march heard TL speaker Murray Smith address the central issues facing the Portuguese workers, ending with the call to break with popular-front illusions, split the army and arm the workers, and for a Trotskyist party in Portugal. There were no other speakers.

It is unfortunate that so many small inaccuracies appeared in the article. *None* of them in any way changes the impact which the Trotskyist League had in protesting Spinola's tour, nor in any way changes the wretched performance of the several fake-revolutionary groups. This exemplary activity of the TL is an important part of the fight to build a vanguard party capable of leading the Canadian working class as part of a revolutionary International.

For the rebirth of the Fourth International,
M. Daniel

Drastic Pay Guarantee Cut

Contested Local Elections in ILWU

SAN FRANCISCO, January 11—The first round of local elections in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) was held in San Francisco Local 10 yesterday amidst a cloud of bureaucratic intrigue and sabotage, tying the hands of the Local in the face of vicious new employer attacks.

Larry Wing, fake "oppositionist" who was removed from his office of Local 10 president last August on trumped-up charges by the pro-Bridges forces currently running the Local, tried to halt the elections by going to federal court a few days beforehand. Wing and a few other "oppositionists" have been excluded from the ballot on technicalities, thereby setting a dangerous new precedent of political exclusionism in ILWU elections. But Wing merely further discredited himself by trying to make use of the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin law to halt the elections. Fortunately the suit was thrown out by the federal court.

The pro-Bridges forces naturally seized on Wing's use of the capitalist courts against the union in order to discredit Wing. In the January 8 Local 10 "Longshore Bulletin" acting president Watkins hypocritically denounced such actions, but at the same time tried to make use of the federal court decision by noting that the election would be held on January 10 "BY FEDERAL COURT ORDER" (original emphasis). With several "oppositionists" off the ballot, the Bridges forces were eager to go ahead with the Local election.

But on January 8 the Local 10 executive board met and some of its members were interested in seeing an honest election take place. Board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, publishers of the opposition newsletter *Longshore Militant*, presented the following motion:

> "WHEREAS, recent decisions have denied the membership its right to democratically control election procedures and,
> "FURTHER, have started the practice of exclusion from the ballot for political reasons,
> "THEREFORE:
> 1) We condemn acting president Watkins for excluding Wing, Mills and Dulaney from the ballot and demand their inclusion on the ballot;
> 2) We condemn acting president Watkins for undermining the special and regular membership meetings in December, thereby preventing membership election of the Balloting Committee;
> 3) We demand a membership meeting be held tomorrow, Friday, January 9, to elect a Balloting Committee and consider these other questions of improper procedure."

When acting president Watkins arbitrarily ruled this out of order, a similar motion was made by another member. According to a leaflet by Gow and Keylor (January 9) the new motion condemned the political exclusionism, insisted on a membership-elected balloting committee instead of an appointed one, postponed the elections until January 31, and asserted that the membership meeting of January 15 would elect a balloting committee and decide whether the excluded candidates would appear on the ballot.

In an act of sheer bureaucratic sabotage, the pro-Bridges forces, including acting president Watkins and secretary-treasurer Smith, walked out of the executive board meeting in order to destroy a quorum. A quorum remained, and the motion passed, but even this did not stop the pro-Bridges forces from going ahead with the elections in spite of the executive board vote!

Gow and Keylor published a leaflet immediately following the executive board decision, informing the membership that the elections were to have been postponed, but not calling for a boycott of the voting in the event of expected defiance of the decision by the pro-Bridges leadership. Unfortunately, in what is by now a typical display of their endless vacillation, other members of the executive board who had remained to pass the motion published a weakkneed leaflet which aided the defiance by falsely asserting that the motion "was not acted upon" by the executive board!

All this bureaucratic wrangling makes the results of the January 10 elections dubious, at best. Acting president Watkins lost the presidential spot with only 234 votes. The two top vote-getters, Cleophus Williams and Jack Hogan, who were forced into a run-off scheduled for February, were well-known compromise candidates standing in between the Bridges and Wing cliques. In the elections for Coast Caucus and convention delegates, no significant changes were reflected, with all the various contenders receiving more or less what they received in previous elections. Running on their record of intervention for a class-struggle program over the last year, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor made a good showing with 108 and 89 votes respectively. Also not elected was well-known Communist Party supporter Archie Brown who ran mostly on his *opposition* to the class-struggle program of Gow and Keylor. He received 184 votes, somewhat down from a year ago. Brown's frequent bloc partner Leo Robinson trailed with 86 votes. In short, the election reflected indecisiveness—against Bridges, but unsure of what to do.

The election included a referendum which resulted in the exoneration of Larry Wing of the charges upon which he had been tried and dumped out of office. The vote of 375 to 338 represented a repudiation of a vicious raiding maneuver which Bridges forces had tried to pull off against rival maritime unions while Wing was still in office. Wing's resistance to this cheap ploy to grab jobs at the expense of other workers prompted the phony charges against him. Wing is now in a position to reclaim his office, while the Bridges forces are no doubt having second thoughts about the January 10 elections. Thus there is a good possibility that the entire election will be challenged by both pro- and anti-Bridges forces. Both sides are probably already racing each other to see who can get to the bosses' court first!

The paralysis caused by this intra-bureaucratic knife-wielding could not come at a worse time. Just before the election, Bridges released word that, henceforth, in order to qualify for "guaranteed" pay (PGP), a man must work *200 hours per quarter* instead of *800* hours per *year*! Part of Bridges' openly announced collusion with the companies' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) to drive longshoremen out of the industry and cut the costs of the Pay Guarantee Plan, the intent of this move is to make it far harder to remain qualified. In addition, those who don't qualify for PGP will lose all health and welfare benefits. This will not only greatly accelerate the drive to push men out of the industry, but also represents a dangerous manipulation of the ILWU/PMA contract wording. As was pointed out by Gow and Keylor on January 9, "NEVER HAS IT BEEN SO CLEAR THAT WE MUST MILITANTLY DEFEND OUR JOBS AND LIVING STANDARDS AGAINST PMA ATTACK BY A COAST-WIDE STRIKE FOR JOBS FOR ALL AT A LIVING WAGE" (original emphasis).

The election that was held is a patent fraud, conducted with an appointed Balloting Committee, with several candidates arbitrarily excluded from the ballot, and in open defiance of a legitimate executive board decision. The Bridges regime has a long history of such defiances, but only an aroused membership—not the courts—can put an end to such bureaucratic manipulation, through building a class-struggle leadership to replace the bureaucracy itself, in all its manifestations, from Wing to Bridges. ■

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For A D.C. General Strike!

Washington Post Strikers Face Vicious Union-Busting

Michael McCarthy/Action

Post management used helicopters to get scab pressmen past picket lines.

JANUARY 12—Now previewing in theaters around the country is "All the President's Men," a film about Carl Bernstein and Robert Woodward, two *Washington Post* reporters who broke the Watergate story. Bernstein and Woodward may be able investigative journalists, but they (along with prominent cartoonist Herblock) are also *scabs*, daily crossing picket lines at the *Post*.

Katherine Graham's *Washington Post*, celebrated for its liberal, independent and even "pro-labor" views, is now engaged in a vicious union-busting campaign. As the bitter strike enters its fourth month, management has reaffirmed its decision to permanently oust its principal antagonist, the pressmen's union. The *Post* flatly rejected a desperate appeal by an ad hoc Committee for a Fair Settlement, consisting of church leaders, labor leaders and liberal Democrats like Vance Hartke and George McGovern. The committee had called for round-the-clock federal mediation of the dispute, to be followed by establishment of a "neutral" fact-finding board and arbitration, if necessary. John Dower, *Post* vice president for communications, in responding to the committee's appeal and a supporting statement from AFL-CIO president George Meany, replied, "It's a little too late for the pressmen, that's all."

The *Post* management has become increasingly confident of its position. A decisive moment occurred December 14 when the *Post* Guild unit, which represents reporters, editors and clerical employees, voted for the fifth time not to respect the picket lines of striking craft workers. Guild members who have refused to scab had hoped that the *Post* decision to replace the pressmen would spur a reversal in Guild sentiment. Instead the margin of 361 to 219 represented a substantial defection to management. Buoyed by this support and now (after some minor repair work on the presses) able to do most of its own printing, the *Post* is seeking to drive a further wedge in the ranks of its employees by negotiating separate settlements with the mailers and photoengravers—also formally on strike—at the expense of the pressmen.

The *Post* is now conducting bargaining sessions with the mailers. Previously it succeeded in having a contract accepted by the paperhandlers local, which is affiliated to the same International Printing and Graphic Communications Union to which the pressmen belong! The International leadership refused to ratify the contract, and the paperhandlers local is split, with some members scabbing and some respecting the picket lines. The unions must maintain a solid front against the *Post*—joint negotiating, with *no* bargaining as long as management refuses to rescind its ouster of the pressmen's union!

By far the greatest stumbling block to strike solidarity is the scabbing majority of the 800-member Guild unit at the *Post*. The split in the Guild has antecedents in earlier events, particularly a disastrous strike in 1974 in which the leadership failed to set up picket lines or ask for the support of craft workers. Demoralization from this has now turned up in the form of mass rejection of the leadership's unanimous position in favor of honoring the picket lines. The scabbing Guild members have formed an insurgent group, the *Washington Post* Guild Majority, and won a federal court order temporarily barring the Guild leadership from proceeding with union trials against 337 scabbing members. The effect of this ruling is to delay possible expulsion or other discipline which would prevent the scabbing turncoats from participating in upcoming union elections.

The precedent of court intervention into the unions, ostensibly to protect the democratic rights of aggrieved members, has been created over the years by many cases of disgruntled members and out-bureaucrats going to the courts to settle internal union matters. The *Post* Guild unit is now reaping the fruits of this "tactic" in the form of a government order allowing scabs to run in the local elections. It is in the interest of the entire labor movement that this order be smashed, together with all the anti-labor laws which allow government intervention in the union movement. Furthermore, there must be no wavering on union discipline for the scabs: they have betrayed the labor movement and should not only be prevented from running in the elections, or in any other way claiming to be the "legitimate" Guild unit at the *Post*, but should also be immediately expelled from the union for their actions!

The rapid growth of automation in the newspaper industry has given publishers an impetus to sweep away traditional craft-union restrictions on shop-floor conditions. When the *Post* got its compositors, members of the International Typographical Union (ITU), to accept unlimited cutbacks in jobs through attrition, the pressmen became the major obstacle to management's new drive against its workforce. As *Post* executive vice president Mark Meagher told the *New York Times*, its aim in the current negotiations was to change union practices in the pressroom "over a short period of time rather than an extended time."

Many of the *Post* pressmen are already veterans of this kind of union-busting "negotiations." Up to one third of them have been run out of other press rooms by publishers who used the *Post*'s tactics. The *Post* pressmen, by a vote of 249 to 5, rejected the humiliating "final offer" of the *Post*, which calls for elimination of current overtime provisions, reduction to "floater" status of 63 members, abolition of virtually all shop-floor control and freedom to bring in non-union labor. And today management openly admits it had prepared for a strike by cross-training over 100 employees over a two-year period in craft operations at a notorious Oklahoma scab-training facility.

The *Post* has continued to helicopter supplies and scabs in and out of its building and has prevented mass picketing through court injunctions. It is clear that unless production is halted at the *Post* the strikers will become demoralized and divided, the pressmen will be permanently ousted and the other unions prostrated. There is considerable sympathy in Washington for the pressmen, and a December 13 rally against the *Post* drew 3,000 unionists and supporters. This sympathy must be channeled into a city-wide general strike to halt the *Post*'s union busting!

However, the union leaders, from Pressmen's head James Dugan through AFL-CIO chief George Meany, have relied on a consumer and advertiser boycott coupled with pathetic appeals for government intervention. A boycott can be an effective secondary tactic, but is not a substitute for shutting down production. Although there has been some decrease in circulation, the boycott has not prevented the *Post* from publishing a full edition daily and from recouping 85 percent of its advertising revenues.

As for the Committee for a Fair Settlement proposal, signed by various international union officers from the steelworkers, postal workers, clothing workers, communication workers, AFSCME, paperworkers, IBEW and operating engineers—and supported by George Meany—it is a pathetic display of impotent class collaborationism. Government intervention and arbitration works in the favor of capital, not labor. By inviting it, the labor leaders

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The Trades Unionist

Three thousand union supporters of striking Washington Post pressmen demonstrating their solidarity in December.

China's Bloc with South Africa

Angola: Maoists Marching with Pretoria

WV Photo

Maoists side with U.S./South Africa on Angola, NYC demonstration, 10 January.

JANUARY 10—Ever since Teng Hsiao-ping and Gerald Ford vowed last month in Peking to combat "Soviet social-imperialism" in Angola, the main trend in the Maoist world today has become "State Department Marxism-Leninism." After weeks of embarrassed silence or contorted stonewalling apologetics on Angola the Maoists finally crawled out for a forum yesterday and a demonstration today in NYC, both staged by the New York African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) under the slogan, "Imperialism (United States, Russia, South Africa) Out of Angola." These self-proclaimed "anti-imperialists" are marching in step with the U.S. imperialists who also favor "superpowers out of Angola" as the only effective strategy for defeating the "number one enemy," Russia. Just today the *New York Times* "summed up" the Chinese line by calling upon the Organization of African Unity "to demand an end to all foreign intervention—Soviet and Cuban as well as South African, Chinese and American," and calling for "a government of national unity" in Angola.

The ALSC-sponsored forum on Angola attracted over 200, including contingents from the October League (OL), the Congress of African People (CAP), the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO), the Revolutionary Workers League/Marxist Leninist (RWL/ML), the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML) and the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP). Conspicuously absent was the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP, formerly Revolutionary Union). The main speaker presented the New York ALSC's position paper on Angola, which denounced the Soviet Union as "the most dangerous threat to causing new world war" and called for "superpowers out" and a "coalition government."

During the floor discussion on this application of "Marxism-Leninism-Henry-Kissinger-Thought," CP leader Tony Monteiro in an oh-so-comradely response defended the USSR and its unconditional political support for the strikebreaking petty-bourgeois Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Several other "independent Marxist-Leninists" also solidarized with the MPLA, arguing that the Luanda government was not a puppet of the "Soviet social-imperialists" and had already won the backing of the "progressive" African regimes.

Answering Monteiro's charge of a Mao/Kissinger bloc, the ALSC spokesman shouted, "Yes, we stand with Kissinger, but you stand with Brezhnev!" Thunderous applause followed. Then a Maoist from the floor sputtered that the Angolan people should fight with rocks and spears rather than accept weapons from the "Soviet social-imperialists," while another howled that

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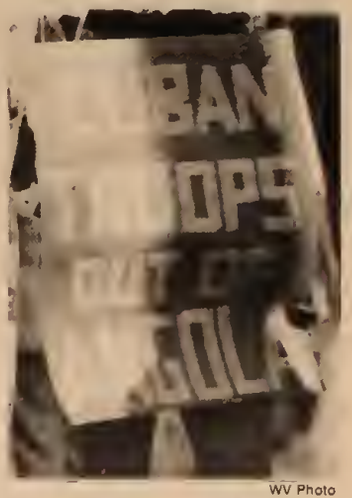

WV Photo

Mao-thought of the day: "Cuban troops out of Angola!"

The Guardian "Respectfully Differs" with U.S./South Africa/China Axis

In the international battle raging over Angola, "People's China" has lined up foursquare behind the U.S./South African axis. Not only have Chinese military advisors for several years trained a border army for the violently anti-communist, CIA-backed Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA); since Washington and Pretoria drastically escalated their intervention against the Soviet-allied Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) last fall, Peking has likewise stepped up its fulminations against..."Soviet social-imperialism"! A 28 December Hsinhua News Agency dispatch brazenly asserted that "the Soviet revisionists are the archcriminals who have stirred up and exacerbated the civil war in Angola and undermined African unity" (*New York Times*, 30 December).

Mao's scandalous de facto military bloc with U.S. imperialism in Angola has sent shock waves through Maoist circles worldwide. It was hard enough explaining why Nixon and Chou were sipping cocktails to the tune of "Home on the Range" while B-52 bombers pounded away at North Vietnamese cities. Now they have to justify Peking-trained troops killing their African brothers with U.S.-supplied weapons under the command of South African, Portuguese colonialist and U.S. mercenary officers. So far most of the American Maoist groups have not publicly broken their lock step with the Peking bureaucracy over Angola, but there is plenty of embarrassed silence.

The one nominally Maoist organization in the U.S. to openly come out against the Chinese policy on this issue is the fanatically pro-Stalin Communist Labor Party (CLP), which in recent months had already shifted visibly closer to the Russian orbit (see "CLP Embraces Détente," *WV* No. 74, 1 August 1975). It calls the MPLA "the only liberation force in Angola" and trumpets "Long Live the [MPLA-led] People's Republic of Angola." However, so far the CLP has denounced only "the treachery by Vice Premier Teng of China" (*Western Worker*, 1 January 1976).

Within the American Maoist movement, the one serious attempt to justify a break with the Peking line on Angola has come from the widely read weekly *Guardian*. Announcing in a 26 November editorial that it "respects, but differs with, the position of People's China," the newspaper is now campaigning aggressively for the MPLA. Although it is organizationally independent (having been until recently the lap dog of the October League, notable for its absolute fidelity to Peking in all its betrayals, both big and small), the *Guardian*'s dissidence is significant for it both reflects and influences the broad radical milieu out of which the Maoist organizations recruit. Its break with the Chinese line on Angola is a step toward the isolation of the Peking-loyal Maoists and their transformation into justly despised sects.

Is the War in Angola a National Liberation Struggle?

In his column "fan the flames" (24 December 1975), *Guardian* editor Irwin Silber seeks to give a general theoretical justification for support to the MPLA, despite its ties to "Soviet social-imperialism." Although brief, Silber's article is important and cogent, and could well become a basic document for "critical Maoism."

Silber begins by appealing to the orthodox Leninist position on national liberation struggles in the context of inter-imperialist rivalry. A genuine nationalist movement, by accepting aid from an imperialist power hostile to its direct oppressor, does not thereby necessarily become an instrument of that power. A war of national liberation does not become an inter-imperialist conflict simply because the nationalist forces receive support from "the enemy of their enemy." No genuine communist would reject these general principles.

Lenin supported the Irish national uprising during World War I although it received some material support from Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany. Trotsky supported China's resistance to conquest by Japan although Chiang Kai-shek's government was receiving aid from the Western powers including American military volunteers (Claire Chennault's Flying Tigers). The attempted Kurdish uprising against Iraq last winter, although decisively militarily dependent upon the Shah of Iran (who sacrificed it), was a genuine national struggle.

But is the situation in Angola comparable to the above examples? The *Guardian* would have us believe so. Silber justifies support to the MPLA in terms of "the achievement of Angolan independence under its most consistently patriotic force." Another article in the same issue approvingly quotes Samora Machel, president of Mozambique:

> "In Angola, two forces are confronting each other; on the one hand, imperialism with its allies and puppets; on the other, the progressive popular forces which support MPLA. There is nothing else."

Machel to the contrary, Soviet bloc intervention is a decisive factor in the conflict. U.S. opposition to the MPLA is not because of its domestic economic policies, but because of its alliance with the Soviet bloc. Washington is determined to prevent Angola from becoming a Soviet-allied state, a base for the Russian navy and a conduit for the

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The Story of Monroe, N.C.

Black Self-Defense and the Civil Rights Movement

JANUARY 10—The upcoming trial of Robert F. Williams will focus national attention on this pioneer figure in the black civil rights struggle. Because he was the first black leader in recent decades to advocate and practice armed self-defense against racist terror, Williams was ruthlessly victimized by the ruling class and his case became one of the most celebrated of the 1950's and 1960's.

Returning to North Carolina for the first time since 1961, the former president of the Monroe NAACP told supporters at the Charlotte airport:

> "I've been treated like a human being in all other countries. Only in my home am I considered a criminal. I have not committed any criminal act, and I'm not going to act like a criminal."
>
> *The Afro-American* [Baltimore], 23-27 December 1975

The 100-man motorcade that escorted Williams from Charlotte through Ku Klux Klan territory to the Union County Courthouse in Monroe showed the determination of young militants, black and white, to protect him against racist forces.

The threat is indeed serious. Williams faces trial in a state which during the past three years has handed down savage sentences in a succession of frame-up trials of black political activists; the state with the largest number of death-row prisoners in the nation; the state with a unique 19th-century law permitting any citizen to shoot on sight any fugitive designated an "outlaw" by a local judge.

For years, racist officials from Senator Sam Ervin down to the local chief of police have ached to destroy an opponent whose unflinching courage in the face of Klan assaults on Monroe's black community made him a marked man. In a period when pacifist civil rights demonstrations and "freedom rides" were greeted with police clubs and cattle prods by the racist defenders of Jim Crow, Williams and his supporters organized a series of aggressive campaigns for equality and successfully defended themselves against night-riding vigilante attacks.

In 1958 they initiated a campaign to free the youthful defendants in the infamous "Monroe Kissing Case." The case arose when a young white girl told her mother that she had kissed one of her two black playmates, 7 and 9 years old. The two boys were sent to a reformatory for 14 years on a charge of rape. They were freed only after press coverage of this atrocity provoked international demonstrations.

In his book, *Negroes With Guns*, Williams notes the utter cowardice the national NAACP showed in this case: "The national office of the NAACP wouldn't have anything to do with the case because it was a 'sex case'." Only after international protests began did the national organization enter the case.

The susceptibility of the ultra-respectable NAACP to the slightest pressure from powerful liberals quickly led to even sharper conflicts with the Monroe branch, which Williams described as "unique in the whole NAACP because of working class composition and a leadership that was not middle class." This determined group of black workers, many of them veterans, wrote a new chapter in the history of the civil rights movement in 1957. Seven years before the organization of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, nine years before the founding of the Black Panther Party, the Monroe chapter of the NAACP "shot it out" with Klansmen who attacked the home of a black leader, Dr. A.A. Perry, and drove the racist vermin back under their rocks.

In 1959 NAACP president Roy Wilkins suspended Williams for "advocating violence." Nevertheless, the Monroe chapter continued its militant policies, and the nervous national leadership responded with cold indifference. When Williams was arrested during a lunch-counter sit-in campaign, the national NAACP handled his legal defense only up to the state supreme court and then abruptly dropped the case from appeal without even informing the defendant.

Williams went to Cuba in the summer of 1960 and received a letter from the national office on his return. While Roy Wilkins and his cohorts had disdained to notice the struggles for integration and equal job opportunities in Monroe, they fretted that the leader of these struggles was becoming "just another pawn in the present unfortunate feud between Cuba and our country."

Exile

Robert Williams' long journey to Havana, Peking and Dar es Salaam began in Monroe on the night of 27 August 1961. That day a mob of almost 5,000 racists had unmercifully beaten a group of pacifists who were picketing the courthouse. With the open support of the local police, they began indiscriminately attacking black people throughout the town. As the mob massed for an attack on the black area of Monroe, Williams and his supporters began organizing to fight back.

While the defense was being organized, cars full of whites were cruising through the black community, shouting threats and sometimes firing guns. About 6 p.m., a white couple, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Stegall, recognized as the racists who had driven through town the day before with a banner announcing "Open Season on Coons," were stopped at gunpoint by blacks as they were driving through the black section to reconnoiter. When Williams came out of his house, the Stegalls were in his yard, surrounded by a crowd of blacks furious at the racist provocations. Williams intervened to protect them from the crowd's wrath and then went back inside. Instead of leaving the area, as Williams asked them to do, the couple barged into his house.

Shortly after he had aided the Stegalls, whom he was later accused of kidnapping, Williams got a phone call from A.A. Mauney, the Monroe chief of police. Mauney, who remained in office until this past fall, told him, "Robert, you've caused a lot of race trouble in this town, but state troopers are coming. In thirty minutes you'll be hanging in the courthouse square."

To save himself and his family and "to tell the world of the brutal racist oppression in Monroe," Williams fled to New York. He soon learned, however, that the FBI had issued tens of thousands of wanted posters accusing him of kidnapping and interstate flight, and describing him as "heavily armed," "extremely dangerous" and "schizophrenic." Thereupon Williams, realizing that lynch law was no respecter of state boundaries, went into exile in Cuba.

During his five years there, the CIA carried out a campaign of lies, slander and forged documents (e.g., a telegram reading, "Same time, same place, Friday night") to create suspicion and jeopardize his asylum. From Cuba he moved to China, where he embraced many of the Maoist concepts he still holds, and finally to Tanzania before voluntarily returning to the U.S.

Norris McNamara

Two youths on guard at Freedom House in Monroe, North Carolina.

Liberalism, Pacifism and Self-Defense

The history of Robert Williams is the starkest exposure of the racist poison which infests the bourgeois state from the Monroe police station to the White House. Although this black militant has bravely fought the vipers who spread the poison, he has never fully come to grips with the question of the bourgeois state, which enforces the racist status quo, nor resolved fundamental questions of revolutionary theory which are vital if the oppressive capitalist order is to be overthrown. His politics remain at the level of revulsion at the brutal oppression faced by black people in bourgeois society.

Williams' ideas on self-defense have undergone changes and reveal both his strengths and weaknesses. *Negroes With Guns*, first published in 1962, explains the organization of a black gun club in Monroe as the natural response of a black veteran whose people were under attack. He argues in the introduction that black self-defense will force the federal government "to enforce law and order" against Klan attacks. Yet the book itself is a vivid documentary record of the conspiracy of local, state and federal police forces to smash the organization of black self-defense in Monroe.

Such contradictions seem to dominate Williams' politics. He has never viewed the organization of workers defense guards (seen in embryo in Monroe) for what it really is, an important stride in the struggle to

liberate the working class, black and white, from submission to its exploiters.

During his Cuban exile, Williams was much influenced by Che Guevara. Issues of his newsletter, the *Crusader*, deal with urban guerrilla warfare and "the potential of a minority revolution." These themes were repeated in the literature of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), the black nationalist group with which he was associated in the mid-1960's. Although his enemies, both racists and black liberals, charged that Williams was a black racist who hated all white people, the exiled militant clearly distinguished in his writings and "Radio Free Dixie" broadcasts between racist whites and "John Brown-type white brothers and sisters."

Yet lacking the perspective of a unified vanguard proletarian party and a program to transform the trade unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle, Williams could only despair of white workers who he believed had a vested interest in the capitalist system. Unwilling to acquiesce in continued racial oppression but unable to conceptualize a racially united class struggle, he chose the suicidal path of black ghetto insurrections. While Che's tiny *foco* was being decimated in Bolivia, the *Crusader* was exhorting blacks to prepare for guerrilla combat in the U.S.

During a telephone interview with *WV*, Williams was asked about a recent interview in the *Young Socialist* where he expressed agreement with the Socialist Workers Party's reformist demand for federal troops to protect black school children in Boston. Williams argued that it was necessary to call for federal troops to stop the racists in order "to attract the masses" and "to disillusion them." Such arguments demonstrate that Williams, like many militant trade unionists or civil rights fighters, had engaged in sharp confrontations with the bourgeois state without drawing the crucial conclusions from his struggles.

Williams told *WV* that "We didn't rely on the federal government because the federal government is an oppressive enemy." Yet he conciliated traditional illusions among black people concerning the supposed neutrality of federal authorities. Thus, the militants who armed themselves with guns were *politically* disarmed by their appeals for federal forces to march into Monroe. This is no abstract question. Just as North Carolina state troopers merely added to the racists' forces the night Williams was driven from Monroe, so federal troops would have restored "law and order" by suppressing efforts at self-defense by the black community just as they did in Little Rock in 1957 and Birmingham in 1963. To indicate the slightest confidence in the bourgeois armed forces is to deliver working people and oppressed minorities into the hands of their deadliest enemy.

But Williams' actual struggles, as opposed to his impressionistic political analysis of them, reveal a far different impulse than the legalism and pacifism of the Socialist Workers Party. The ex-Trotskyist SWP organizes black people simply to demand protection from federal troops; nowhere does it advocate black/labor defense against a resurgence of racist night-riders and lynch mobs. As Williams said in the interview, he'd be a dead man if he had followed such a course in Monroe. The militants who erroneously addressed their appeals to Washington were already armed and organized into a defense force. The Monroe NAACP faced down the KKK scum in the streets. In contrast the SWP has actually defended the rights of fascists to spread their genocidal filth in Houston, Chicago and other cities.

In refusing to grapple with the burning problems of revolutionary strategy, Williams equates all positions and tendencies within the left and the black movement as having equal validi-

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Interview with Robert F. Williams

The following excerpts are from a telephone interview with Robert F. Williams conducted by a WV *reporter on January 9:*

WV: **First, a very general question. What do you think is the significance of your case in the struggle for black people's democratic rights?**

Williams: ... This case will be one of the most revealing to come out of this whole civil rights movement because of the fact that I lived in the South, I fought there. I was one of the first of the modern era to advocate a policy of armed self-defense, and aside from that I was one of the very first ones to advocate that the black struggle is a part of the whole international struggle of the Third World.... So to the reactionary forces of the intelligence-gathering agencies it's a known fact that I was number one on their list because I started early and I was considered what they called an extremist....

WV: **I've seen some issues of your newsletter, the *Crusader*, where you talked about what you believe to be CIA attempts to discredit you, cause trouble with Castro, for example....**

Williams: ...On one side they told the Cubans one thing about me, and on the other side they told me things about the Cubans. This was to drive a wedge between us. This also happened in the People's Republic of China and happened in Africa and happened wherever I went. And I had issues of my newsletter forged, with very vicious attacks on people like Lin Piao and other Chinese leaders....

When I started home I was arrested in England, and the British said I was arrested because the FBI had reported that I was carrying arms and ammunition into the United States.... The FBI put pressure on TWA... with the result that they wouldn't bring me, and they asked all the other airlines in the world not to fly me....

WV: **In terms of all the various slanders that circulated about you, there was an article in the September 1970 *PL* magazine. It was a reprint of an article from the *Washington Free Press*, which suggested that there was a deal involved when you testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.**

Williams: It was written by a guy named Saul Friedman, with the Washington bureau of Knight Publications. And the same appeared in the *Detroit Free Press* and other papers throughout the country. But that was a planted story. I even went to the *Free Press* in Detroit with a statement that had been made by Sam Ervin, that was printed in the *Monroe Enquirer*, stating that not only did Sam Ervin not make any deals to help me from being arrested, but that he had on two occasions personally contacted the Justice Department and John Mitchell seeking my indictment! ...

It was sickening to me to come home and see people who were supposed to be freedom fighters, black nationalists, leftists and Marxist-Leninists who are supposed to be articulate enough to understand the enemy tactics, and they claimed they couldn't see through this. They went around, just like PL and some of the others, they took the same positions that the Knight publications took. And they slandered me.... This is why many of the people on the left even now can't come out and support me—because they've already pitched in with the CIA, and it's embarrassing for them to have to reverse their position.

Now the truth is out. If I had a deal, then why am I facing trial in North Carolina.... I went there [the Senate subcommittee] after getting three subpoenas... on grounds, well I didn't really have anything to hide. I didn't engage in any real subversive activities. I had the right of freedom of speech and freedom of press the same as everybody else.... The problem was they were not satisfied with my answers....

What they did was that they drafted up some materials they claimed was my testimony.... They had statements in there I had never heard, and then they asked me to sign this as a true copy of my transcripts of my hearing. I refused to sign it because it was not my work. So they said if I didn't sign it, I would be cited for contempt. They even got a vote in the Congress or the Senate.

I wrote a scorching letter and told them, "Why, hell, if you want to indict, go ahead and indict me." ...They're still unsigned, and they were supposed to be signed before they were published.... It wasn't my testimony: some of it was, some of it wasn't. So now, as a result of that, they just dropped it. I didn't hear any more from it, but they did release the publications with all of this included in it, just as if it might have been part of my hearing....

WV: **There was an interview with you that was published in the September issue of *Young Socialist*, the YSA newspaper.... There's a question in**

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Defend Williams—Drop the Charges!

Robert F. Williams UPI

JANUARY 9—For nearly 15 years, the authorities of North Carolina have been preparing a legal lynching of militant black leader Robert F. Williams. The state, assisted by the federal government, took up where racist mobs led by the Ku Klux Klan and local police had failed, fabricating charges of kidnapping and interstate flight. These charges are nothing but an attempt to silence Williams because of his struggle for the democratic rights of black people, in particular his courageous fight for their right to bear arms in self-defense against Klan terror.

During his exile in Cuba, China and Tanzania and since his return to the U.S. in 1969, Williams has fought tenaciously to stay out of the grip of the racist courts of North Carolina. Now that his long battle against extradition has been lost, he will stand trial on January 19, facing a maximum sentence of 30 years' imprisonment.

Williams fled from North Carolina in 1961 not because he was guilty of any crime but to save himself and his family from a frenzied white mob which had already savagely beaten nonviolent civil rights demonstrators and, bolstered by state troopers, was preparing to lynch him in the course of an all-out assault on Monroe's black community. He traveled to New York with the intention of continuing the struggle from there, but was forced into exile when the FBI issued shoot-on-sight wanted posters. The alleged victims of the phony "kidnapping" charge were, in fact, a couple of known racists whom he had protected from angry blacks and allowed into his home for their safety.

Militants throughout the country must wage a campaign to smash the vicious government conspiracy to frame this victimized black leader. *Defend Robert Williams! Stop the Racist Frame-up! Drop all Charges!*

Telegrams demanding that the charges against Williams be dropped should be sent to: District Attorney Caroll Lowder, Union County Courthouse, Monroe, North Carolina. For further information and to send contributions to Williams' defense, write: Robert F. Williams Defense Committee Fund, c/o Gwendolyn Hall, 201 Eastern Parkway, Apt. 5F, Brooklyn, NY 11238.

Ulster...

(continued from page 1)

Long Kesh (Maze) prison in early December. Although the Labour government roundly denounces the barbarous torture conducted against one of its "subjects" by Chilean *gorilas*, it is silent about its own criminally inhumane treatment (including torture) of detainees in the Long Kesh concentration camp.

Detention without trial is ended (for now) and the Maze temporarily closed down, but the repressive Special Powers Act has by no means been shelved. Under this act, in addition to the internees, some 1,200 were charged with terrorist offenses in 1975 and 900 are still in jail. Reeves recently announced that by March these prisoners will be deprived of "special category" status—equivalent to political prisoners—and instead will be treated like ordinary criminals. And while internment without trial has been ended in Northern Ireland, with the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" it is now instituted in England!

London financiers tremble lest rising Scottish nationalism cut short their

Pacemaker Press

Tank destroyed by IRA.

fantasies of enormous North Sea oil profits, which some day might enable the British bourgeoisie to buy its way into OPEC, that exclusive club of sheiks and sultans. But at present British imperialism is the sick man of Europe, and Northern Ireland is the sick man of the British Isles. The net drain in policing and welfare costs is in no way compensated by the long-depressed shipbuilding and shirt-making industries.

British rulers want very much to end "direct rule" in Ulster, imposed in 1969 along with British troops. Some sections of the ruling class would no doubt like to wash their hands of Northern Ireland entirely. But their wigged jurists and Lords have found no constitutional mechanism for disuniting a piece of the United Kingdom, when the majority of the population in that piece opposes it, without creating a massive social crisis. In Northern Ireland, Protestants outnumber Catholics two-to-one, and prior to 1969 the "Orange establishment" used this majority—combined with gerrymandering, discrimination and terror—to create a "home rule" government which was actually "Orange rule," a reactionary regime which viciously repressed the Catholic minority.

Both recent Labour and Conservative governments have attempted to impose a form of "power-sharing" in Northern Ireland whereby ministerial portfolios are doled out according to a religious proportional representation formula. The mechanisms were reminiscent of Lebanon, and with about the same prospects for creating social peace. Last year the Wilson government orchestrated an "Ulster Convention" which it hoped would opt for some power-sharing scheme. But the convention was dominated by the intractable Unionist parties and consequently came out for a return to pre-1969 Protestant/Orange supremacy.

The Labour government will inevitably reject the conclusions of the Ulster Convention it created when the debate on Northern Ireland opens in Parliament on January 12. The escalation of both Orange and Green terror in Armagh proves that the status quo of direct rule plus British military occupation will not work. But this is what Wilson will opt for.

What Ceasefire?

The debate in Parliament will probably mark the end of an eleven-month ceasefire between the Provos and British troops. As has been made dramatically clear by recent events in County Armagh, this ceasefire has existed only for the armed forces of British imperialism. Not included were the innocent victims of sectarian murders who just happened to belong to the "wrong" religion. Despite the "ceasefire" there were 246 murders in 1975, 30 more than in 1974; and while in 1974 soldiers or police accounted for 50 of the victims, last year this figure fell to 30.

The year 1975 also saw an escalation of factionally motivated murders within the "Republican" movement. In December 1969 the IRA split into the "Officials" and the more right-wing and militarist "Provisionals." Since then there has been an intermittent state of civil war between these organizations which was escalated in late October-early November 1975 when the Provos attempted to organize a battle in the traditional Officials stronghold of the Markets area in Belfast. Provos raided the homes of Officials, leaving two men killed and 15 injured in a single raid.

Pacemaker Press

British soldiers on the streets of Crossmaglen, south Armagh.

Earlier in the year, the Officials launched a campaign of terror against a left Irish nationalist group including ex-Officials, the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP), during which seven were killed and 70 injured. On 14 March 1975 the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG—Irish section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International"), the League for a Workers Republic (Irish supporters of the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International") and the Socialist Workers Movement (which maintains fraternal ties with the International Socialists in England and the U.S.) issued a joint declaration, stating:

> "Since the formation of the IRSP in December the Official IRA has carried out a policy of intimidation and harassment of IRSP members, culminating in the killing of Hugh Furguson, which has been clearly designed to destroy the new party. In addition the Officials and the Republican Clubs have carried out a felon-setting slander campaign."

But on the more general question of sectarian terror these fake-Trotskyist organizations and their co-thinkers in England have, under the guise of opposing British imperialism, either maintained a "diplomatic" silence or openly rooted for the Provos. In the latter category fall the RMG and its British cognate, the International Marxist Group. The RMG, in its pamphlet *Irish Nationalism and British Imperialism*, claims that the "Protestant workers do constitute a Labour aristocracy." In its press—which has the bucolic-nationalist title, the *Plough*—the RMG simply writes off the Protestant workers with front-page headlines like, "Only United Action by Socialists and Republicans Can Lead Minority" (Vol. 2, No. 18).

The next issue of the *Plough* reports on an IRSP conference, stating:

> "One motion which called for the organisation of mass self-defence for anti-imperialist working class areas was passed but the words 'anti-imperialist' were deleted. The I.R.S.P. surely doesn't believe that republican socialists should defend Loyalist areas or that these areas are in danger of attack? But if they don't mean this they should make quite clear what they do mean! For too long republican socialists have been slow to call for defence of the Catholic working class and for resistance to Loyalism lest they be denounced as 'sectarian'."

Here we have precisely the kind of Green sectarian rhetoric, packaged with a thin veneer of "socialism," which fans the flames of Orange Loyalism. The gunning down of eleven Protestant textile workers is no anti-imperialist act, irrespective of the gunmen. County Armagh, which borders the "Republic" of Ireland, has a mixed population which is 47 percent Catholic and 53 percent Protestant. Does the RMG believe that more than half the population in this depressed rural area is a labor aristocracy?

The oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland is in many ways comparable to the oppression of black people in the United States. It is not accidental that the Catholic struggle for equal rights in Ulster was modelled after the black civil rights movement in the U.S. But the claim that the entire American white working class is a bought-off labor aristocracy was long ago discredited as a New Left anti-Marxist position. It led to the Weathermen, on the one hand, or the Democratic Party on the other, where today one finds the likes of erstwhile radicals Bobby Seale and Tom Hayden.

In Northern Ireland such a position is no less anti-working-class and is even more incompatible with the actual social reality than in the U.S. The funeral for the five slain Catholic farmers was attended by their Protestant friends and the funeral of the ten Protestant textile workers was attended by Catholic co-workers, something that would be inconceivable following a racially motivated killing in the U.S. South. Even more indicative was the action of one of the Protestant workers riding in the minibus shortly before he was savagely murdered:

> "When the terrorists stopped the bus, they asked whether any Catholics were inside. Thinking that the terrorists meant to kill Mr. Hughes [the Catholic driver], Walter Chapman grabbed his arm, and yelled at the terrorists through the window, 'Don't take him! Don't take him!'"
>
> —*New York Times*, 8 January

South Armagh Protestant textile workers are not the labor aristocracy. They are certainly not the embodiment of British imperialism. In particular battles between the oppressed Catholic minority and the RUC, UDR and British Army, we might very well find ourselves on the side of the IRA. But on the night of January 5, a genuine workers militia would have defended the Protestant workers from the "Republican" gunmen, just as the night before it would have defended the Catholic farmers from Orange thugs.

Marxists must demand that the British Army get out of Northern Ireland, that the RUC and UDR be abolished and the Special Powers Act wiped off the books, and that anti-sectarian workers militias be organized to defend the Ulster working class from terror of both the Orange and the Green. ■

Post Strike...

(continued from page 4)

are openly displaying weakness which will only spur on the *Post*'s union busting.

The *Washington Post* strike has attracted the attention of "socialist" groups like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party who, of course, refuse to criticize the labor bureaucrats. Ed Heisler, described as the "chief labor spokesperson" for the SWP's 1976 National Campaign Committee, passed out leaflets at the December 13 rally calling for a "campaign to get out the truth," "extending the boycott" and "for additional massive pickets and rallies." This opportunist conveniently omitted the one key slogan that is unacceptable to the labor bureaucrats—a city-wide general strike.

While covering itself with more radical rhetoric, the Workers League demonstrated its usual narrow economism by calling for "nationalization of the press under workers control." To support turning the press over to the bourgeois government, particularly one like the Nixon/Ford regime which justifiably has nil credibility, is an insult to the intelligence of the newspaper workers. Even the limited independence of the bourgeois press must be protected from the state. Imagine what kind of Watergate story the *Post* would have published had Nixon or Ford been editors!

Under capitalism, there can be no genuine "freedom of the press," because the ability to propagate ideas depends on one's financial resources. A workers state would nationalize the printing presses and stocks of newsprint, making them available to all viewpoints which did not seek its military overthrow. In the period before degeneration of the Russian Revolution, space was alloted in the Soviet press to political parties proportional to their strength in the governing workers councils. (Non-party opinions also had the right to be published if they had sufficient support.) But only a workers government that is genuinely democratic—and certainly not the corrupt and imperialist government of Kennedy, Nixon and Ford—can be entrusted with this task. ■

Guardian Differs...

(continued from page 5)

Kremlin's mancuvering in Africa. Kissinger has recently made it absolutely clear that he is willing to accept a Neto government if it moves away from the USSR in the manner of Anwar Sadat's Egypt:

> "We are not opposed to the MPLA as such. We make a distinction between the factions in Angola and the outside intervention. We can live with any of the factions in Angola and we would never have given assistance to any other faction if other great powers had stayed out of this.... We accepted in Mozambique without any difficulty a pro-Marxist faction that came to power by indigenous means, or perhaps with some minimum outside support. In Frelimo .. the issue is whether the Soviet Union, backed by a Cuban expeditionary force, can impose on two-thirds of the population its own brand of government."
>
> — *New York Times*, 24 December 1975

Kissinger's stated attitude toward the MPLA is *not* that of an imperialist power toward a national liberation movement it is determined to crush. The British in 1916 did not state they would accept a Pearse/Connolly government in Ireland if only the latter stopped conspiring with the Germans. Japan in 1937 did not offer to withdraw from China if Chiang changed his foreign policy. Ba'athist Iraq made no pretense at agreeing to an independent Kurdistan on condition that it be unaligned with Iran.

Kissinger is offering to accept an MPLA government if it breaks its alliance with the Soviet Union, and that is a fundamental difference. That is why the present war in Angola is not a national liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism. Rather, as the London *Economist* accurately described it, "Angola has become a proxy battlefield between the major powers."

Angola is Not Puerto Rico

Silber's article deals with only two concrete situations — Angola and Puerto Rico — and draws a certain parallel between them. Silber lashes the October League (OL) for moving away from unconditional support to Puerto Rican independence. The December issue of the OL's *Call* contains the incredible assertion that "In the past period, Puerto Rico has become one of the Latin American areas in sharpest contention between the superpowers, the U.S. and USSR." The *Call* goes on to state, "the USSR has attempted to exercise its dominance through control of the independence movement." Incredibly, the OL is Kremlin-agent-baiting the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

Whatever the degree of Brezhnevite influence in the PSP, Silber is certainly correct to dismiss out-of-hand Soviet involvement in the Puerto Rican national question. At the present time, the Puerto Rican question is a straightforward conflict between American colonialism and not very strong indigenous nationalist forces, with Russian involvement less than minimal.

But this is certainly not the case in Angola. There the Portuguese colonial army has left and the three-cornered civil war between the competing nationalist movements has been superseded by a conflict between the U.S. and the USSR through the intermediary of their local allies. Should the MPLA defeat the U.S./South Africa-led bloc arrayed against it, Neto's Angola would undoubtedly be, in the next period (which does not exclude subsequent shifts), an ally and client of Moscow in the manner of Iraq or Somalia.

American intervention is aimed precisely at preventing this development. Kissinger's policy is to oppose the MPLA *because* it is allied to the Russians, *or* to pressure it to break that alliance. The MPLA is not receiving aid from the Soviet bloc in order to liberate Angola from American neo-colonialism; rather it is under attack by U.S. imperialism because it is allied to the Soviet bloc.

Abstracted from their slanderous characterization of the USSR as capitalist, imperialist, the mainstream Maoists' assertion that the present war in Angola is one of "superpower" contention is empirically correct. Those "critical Maoists" who support the MPLA, as well as the "third-camp" Shachtmanite International Socialists and Revolutionary Socialist League who do the same, must distort reality to justify their position.

Basing ourselves on the internationalist and proletarian principles of Marxism, the Spartacist League has called for military support to *all* the Angolan nationalist groups in the anti-colonial struggle, and refused to back *any* of them in the three-way power fight which lasted from the 1974 ceasefire with the Portuguese until last autumn. But the departure of the colonial troops and administrators in November effectively dissolved Angola as a state, while the assumption of command by imperialist forces over the FNLA/UNITA military coalition (South African-led armored column in the south and Portuguese colonialist direction of the FNLA army in the north, coupled with massive U.S. military aid), *together with the introduction of Soviet military advisors and Cuban troops*, decisively internationalized the conflict.

The fighting in Angola is no longer a domestic civil war, but a "war by proxy" between the U.S. and the USSR. As Trotskyists we do not give one iota of *political* support to the treacherous petty-bourgeois nationalists or Kremlin bureaucrats, both of whom seek a deal with the imperialists and are bitterly opposed to international socialist revolution. Yet, even though the social conquests of the October Revolution are not directly threatened by the battle over Angola, in this simple contest ("war by proxy") between American imperialism and the Russian degenerated workers state, communists must *take sides*. That is why the Spartacist League calls for military victory of the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist coalition.

Not Critical Maoism, But Trotskyism

The false argumentation the *Guardian* employs to defend its pro-MPLA stance is not a scholastic issue, but directly impinges on whether the present crisis of world Maoism will be resolved in favor of revolutionary Marxism (Trotskyism) or Stalinoid eclecticism. As China's alliance with Gerald Ford's America becomes ever more open and all-sided, from Oman to Berlin to Luanda, "critical Maoism" will tend to displace the Peking-loyal variety. The important Italian Maoist/syndicalist group Lotta Continua has recently openly criticized China's foreign policy. Hardline Peking loyalists will undoubtedly degenerate into despised sects (as the PCP-ML already is in Portugal today), incapable of recruiting youth newly drawn to revolutionary politics.

Revolutionary politics are impossible without a correct position on the "Russian question," and the most important lesson to be drawn from Angola is the counterrevolutionary conclusions inherent in the doctrine of "Soviet imperialism." This treacherous policy sooner or later leads its advocates straight into the arms of the CIA. It already did so in the 1940's and 1950's with the Shachtmanites, who fled from revolutionary Trotskyism into the bosom of "State Department socialism." Today it leads the Peking-loyal Maoists into the camp of Kissinger and Vorster. ■

Black Self-Defense...

(continued from page 7)

ty, a conclusion that once again contradicts the actual unfolding of the struggle in Monroe. After recounting one act of treachery after another by the Wilkins NAACP leadership, the author of *Negroes With Guns* wrote: "I don't want to leave the impression that I am against the NAACP; on the contrary I think it's an important weapon in the freedom struggle and I want to strengthen it."

In his interview with the *Young Socialist*, he says of Martin Luther King:

> "The one thing that I was most critical of him about was that I don't believe in being dogmatic and excluding other points of view. You see, I didn't criticize his tactics. I took the position that I would do anything that would be successful, but Dr. King didn't feel that way. He said that it was morally wrong to use violence even in self-defense."

Williams maintains that, while he was personally not non-violent, it was "all right" for other people. This "do-your-own-thing" liberalism is simply an abdication of political responsibility. As his book eloquently demonstrates, every small gain made by the pacifist civil rights movement was accompanied by the gratuitous bloodshed of non-resisting black demonstrators. Their philosophy of moral persuasion was a dramatic failure in the face of rabid mobs of racists.

All roads do not lead to Rome; all paths do not lead to victory. Black and leftist militants must unconditionally defend all victims of bourgeois repression. But this must not lead us to excuse confused and conciliationist views which could pave the road to disaster. Solidarity against the class enemy must not be empty unity mongering. Only the sharp clash of counterposed lines in open political debate can galvanize a truly revolutionary, Trotskyist, workers party capable of guiding the working class and oppressed minorities forward to final victory against their capitalist oppressors. ■

Williams Interview...

(continued from page 7)

there that relates to a big political debate within the left, which is whether it is consistent with a policy of organized self-defense to also call on the federal government to provide protection for black people....

Williams: In the South, before we started to organize self-defense and even after, we always appealed to the federal government for enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment.... This carried great weight with people who were leaning a little bit toward the pacifist movement but were not pacifists. People like to find, especially petty-bourgeois people, like to believe that they have exhausted every remedy possible.... The only way that you can bring them around to this is by constantly appealing to the federal government...but in the meantime you're preparing to defend yourselves.

WV: **I don't agree with you. Let me approach the question from a different angle. What would have happened if you had only appealed to the federal government and had not organized in your own defense?**

Williams: Oh, I'd be dead now. I'd have been dead. We wouldn't have lasted any time. We would have been completely devoured by racist elements. ■

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French Army...

(continued from page 12)

Ferrand and Cherbourg. Alain Krivine of the LCR was detained for several hours.

The extent of the police terror is indicated by an incident reported in *Le Monde* (18 December). On December 4, cops raided the house of the secretary of the CFDT in Seine-St. Denis. They took the unionist's 38-year-old wife to the station and interrogated her for three hours in order to "verify her identity"! Four days later, she committed suicide.

PCF, PS Side with Government

The Communist and Socialist Parties were quick to dissociate themselves from those arrested. The day following the first wave of searches French Communist Party (PCF) head Georges Marchais announced that the PCF

> "has nothing to do with these leaflet-provocations distributed by ultra-left groups against whom we have fought continuously for years and years and which we were alone in fighting for a long time."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 7-8 December

The PCF has for the last three years sought to revive the popular-front experience of the late 1930's and 1940's. Creating the popular-front Union of the Left, which includes the reformist Socialist Party and the bourgeois Left Radicals, the PCF endowed it with a "Common Program" that goes to great lengths to assure the ruling class of the bloc's harmless intentions, even promising not to withdraw from the anti-Soviet NATO military pact. Now the PCF goes even further in disavowing the communist tradition of anti-militarism:

> "We will never defend those who are working for the disintegration of the army and who advise men to turn their guns against their officers."
>
> *Le Monde*, 10 December

Thus the PCF placed itself unambiguously in the camp of those social patriots who railed against the revolutionary defeatist propaganda of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Lenin during World War I. It was only logical, therefore, that the PCF refused to support a demonstration on December 5 in solidarity with the imprisoned soldiers and CFDT unionists.

As for the CGT, it obediently followed in the footsteps of its ideological mentors by boycotting the demonstration. H. Krasucki, editor of the CGT weekly *Vie Ouvrière*, editorialized:

> "It is no mystery that ultra-left elements occupy responsible positions in a certain number of CFDT organizations. That is the CFDT's business. But CGT organizations need to know whom they are dealing with, whether it is really with the CFDT or something else."
>
> —*Rouge*, 19 December

CGT head Séguy echoed this sentiment: "we are not unconditional supporters of inter-union solidarity" (*Le Monde*, 11 December).

But as the arrests continued, pressure mounted upon the PCF/CGT to make at least a gesture toward defending the victimized militants. Despite the leadership's evident willingness to let soldiers and unionists rot in jail (the *minimum* sentence is five years!), more than 40 CGT locals and area councils have endorsed motions demanding the release of the imprisoned militants and the cessation of all arrests and prosecutions. The PCF/CGT were finally obliged to participate in a united-front demonstration of over 50,000 in Paris on December 18, but not before making their position clear in the negotiations leading to the protest. The CGT National Bureau wrote to the CFDT:

> "Any unity of action on this question supposes a categorical and explicit condemnation of the irresponsible anti-militarist activities of ultra-left groups and their exclusion from any action."
>
> —*Rouge*, 19 December

During the "defense" demonstration itself, the PCF/CGT *refused* to demand the freedom of those in jail, instead limiting themselves to pushing the Common Program.

An even more sharply defined differentiation between the sellout leadership and the solidarist impulses of the ranks took place in the case of the Socialist Party (PS) and CFDT. PS head François Mitterrand pontificated:

> "No one has the right to question the Socialist Party's patriotism...the fatherland belong to everyone....[The PS] condemns the anti-militarist theses of minority groups, especially soldiers unions."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 9 December

When LCR leader Krivine was detained the PS publicly announced it would not defend him.

But it was not so easy for the PS-dominated union federation, the CFDT, to get out from under. The bulk of the government's fierce repression has been aimed at its members and local leaders, and the indignation of the union's ranks was enormous. Moreover, the CFDT's verbal leftism had gotten it in trouble. The federation had repeatedly called for the "full exercise of all the constitutional rights of citizens, in particular trade-union rights" in the army (CFDT National Bureau declaration, 13 January 1975). CFDT members reputedly active in supporting the soldiers' organizing efforts were no doubt under the impression that they were following a well-defined policy of their union.

A popular CFDT leader in Besançon, Gerard Jussiaux, was arrested in the first series of raids. Four other CFDT officials were rounded up in Seine-St. Denis, a Paris suburb which is traditionally a PCF stronghold. Even the CFDT police union of the Seine-St. Denis *département* felt compelled to issue a communiqué on December 5 which

> "vehemently protests the intimidation and repressive operation being carried out against union militants in the form of interrogations and searches both at their homes and in union offices. . . The departmental union and the departmental section of the CFDT police express their total solidarity with the militants who are victims of repression, whether they are unionists or soldiers, and demand that prosecution of them be dropped and they be immediately freed."

Meanwhile, the national CGT and CFDT bureaucracies were rushing to assure the bourgeoisie of their servility with flag-waving declarations. The Executive Committee of the CFDT issued a statement pointing out that the CFDT

> "had always come out for national defense in the service of national independence and the independence of the entire people and for a profoundly democratic army—democratic in its organizational form, its functioning, its objectives. There is not the slightest trace of anti-militarism in any form...."

How true!

The crass and explicit rejection of elementary proletarian solidarity by the labor lieutenants of capital provides authentic revolutionists with a promising opportunity to couple the fight to defend the victimized militants with the struggle to expose and oust the treacherous PCF/CGT and PS/CFDT leaderships from the organizations of the working class. The bureaucrats' slavish capitulation in the face of savage ruling-class assault has rendered them vulnerable before the ranks of labor. But the centrist French "far left" organizations have refused to link their defense efforts with the revolutionary program which provides the only real alternative to these sellouts. No defense of democratic rights in the armed forces is possible without addressing the central question of the class nature of the state.

"Far Left" Fronts for Reformism

The "anti-militarism" of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France has always been more verbal than real—and now even that has collapsed at the first serious sign of government repression. Previously, the LCR had tailed after the democratic illusions of the "Call of the 100." Just before the recent arrests began, the LCR undertook a polemic with the Révolution! group. While giving lip-service to "the strategic perspective of destroying the bourgeois army" and the need for "developing revolutionary propaganda without any concessions," the LCR proposed "to wage a unitary political battle for concrete objectives corresponding to the preoccupations of the large mass of soldiers and not just a revolutionary minority" (*Rouge*, 29 November).

This "unitary political battle" means nothing if not "unity" with the super-patriotic reformists around a minimum program which buries the explicitly anti-militarist fight. This rationale has for years characterized the methodology of the Pabloist revisionists: reformist demands supposedly engender a "revolutionary dynamic" and "objective historical processes" will see to the rest. The LCR's current formulations--that

Popular-Front Betrayals— Then and Now

Keystone

In 1936, leaders of popular-front government after smashing general strike. From left: Socialist premier Blum, PCF leader Thorez, interior minister Salengro.

New York Times

Last fall Union of the Left parties refused to defend arrested anti-militarist militants. From left: Radical Fabre, Socialist Mitterrand, Communist Marchais.

iSt STATEMENT

Defend Victimized French Anti-Militarists!

Comité national pour la libération des soldats et des militants emprisonnés

Dear Comrades,

After months of preparation, the French government unleashed a carefully orchestrated wave of repression and intimidation against soldiers and militants who were attempting to assert elementary democratic rights within the army, in particular by organizing Soldiers Committees and trade-union sections.

The international Spartacist tendency, and its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyste de France, stand firmly on the side of the intended victims of this repression. We demand that all indictments be dropped and all prosecution halted: for the immediate liberation of the jailed soldiers and militants.

At the same time, we condemn the fact that Union Ouvrière (some of whose supporters had been arrested) was not allowed to speak in its own name at the 15 December meeting at the Mutualité in Paris. All participants in the Committee must be allowed to speak in their own names and present their own programs and differences. Political censorship, even when some centrists take the initiative in liquidating their independent political presence and program into such a Committee, serves only to weaken the defense and would mean that principled revolutionists could not participate in the Committee.

international Spartacist tendency
Ligue Trotskyste de France

Paris Match

Soldiers sit in at Draguignan last year.

"the permanently unsafe...conditions constitute, more than any supposed plot, a serious attack against the morale of the army"—are not just caution in the face of repression; they unmistakably imply that the LCR favors improving the morale of the bourgeois army.

The Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), continuing its rightward plunge, has simply abstained from any positive position. Until recently it virtually ignored the question of the army, except when raising the most minimal reform demands (such as the reduction of military service from a year to six months), implicitly presenting conscription as a "step"..."towards workers militias" (*La Vérité*, January 1975). Nowhere does it (or the LCR) call for opposition to the draft (conscription), the means by which the capitalist army extorts the corvée labor and cannon fodder for its imperialist adventures.

The OCI has formally come out for the release of the arrested militants. But in specific actions, such as the united-front demonstration on December 18, it not only failed (as did the fake "Trotskyists") to raise its own slogans, but even failed to mobilize its members to participate.

The OCI has trotted out its universal panacea, the "workers united front," to obtain a release of the jailed militants. In fact, at the present time a common front does exist among the mass workers organizations: the CP, SP and trade union bureaucracies are unanimous in condemning any consistent opposition to the bourgeois army. As the OCI hastens to underline, the empty call for "unity" in the face of explicit capitulation by the existing leadership of the working class is nothing but a cover for programmatic *laissez-faire* toward the bodies of armed men which exist to protect the bourgeois state:

> "All working-class organizations, all workers parties, have their own conceptions of the army and the role of the army. But that is not the question today...."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 18-24 December

Indeed, what is the question? It is correct and necessary to demand that the treacherous, pro-army misleaders of French labor undertake action to free the imprisoned anti-militarist militants, but this must not be used as an excuse to drop the struggle against the capitalist war machine.

In the abstract, Lutte Ouvrière (LO) has a formally correct position, calling for the destruction of the bourgeois army and opposition to the draft. But formally correct slogans are tested only in reality, and LO has miserably failed this test. LO explicitly forswears the fight for revolutionary policies toward the army on the grounds that it is not a mass revolutionary party. Until then, LO is content to support reformist politics and even to propagate them:

> "In fact, at the present time, revolutionary socialists can do no more than support the demands and the struggle of the conscript army and can do nothing to change the limited scope of the former. This is because they do not have firm enough roots in the factories and thus cannot really link the soldiers' struggles to the workers' struggles."
>
> —*Lutte de Classe/Class Struggle*, February 1975

While the French centrist organizations have generally moved steadily to the right in repeated capitulation to the popular front during the past several years, there has lately been increased activity among several small "ultra-left" groups. Unlike the LCR, OCI and LO, during the present crisis these groupings did attempt to maintain a principled anti-militarist position. Accordingly the government has arrested members, not only of the most prominent left groups, but also of the minuscule Bordigists and others, on the flimsiest of excuses.

"The prisons, the guns, stand ever ready to smash GI dissent as long as this arsenal of repression is controlled by the brass. While every split, contradiction and weakness in the ruling class should be exploited to the utmost, unless defense work is coupled with political and class demands that the arsenal of repression be removed from the hands of the brass, the illusion that the Army is reformable is fostered. These illusions will shatter as soon as GI dissent deepens and intensifies, as soon as it constitutes a threat."

—*GI Voice* No. 2-3, May 1969

GI Voice was an anti-Vietnam War soldiers' newsletter politically supported by the Spartacist League.

For the centrists, the division between minimum and maximum demands is nothing but a cover for gross abdication. The ultra-lefts' new-found willingness to raise "minimum" and even "democratic" demands—such as the creation of soldiers' organizations and the liberation of the jailed militants (Bordigists), or the linking of "down with the army of capital" with "freedom for the imprisoned soldiers" (Combat Communiste, another split-off from LO)—may indicate an effort to intersect a real movement of the advanced workers and soldier militants. Such healthy impulses must be generalized into the recognition that there is indeed a revolutionary program which can actively intervene into the class struggle without liquidating the fundamental strategic aims of communists: the transitional program of Trotsky.

Down with the Bourgeois Army!

In the face of the government's savage repression, the fight to defend the jailed soldiers, unionists and leftists is a crucial responsibility of the workers movement. Stop the prosecutions! Freedom for all the victimized militants!

The absence of such a united defense campaign is a glaring danger to the working class, exposing its unions and parties to the continued frenzy of the class enemy. Such a defense can be mounted only by fighting within the mass organizations of the working class to expose and drive out the capitulationist leaders who cravenly refuse to wield the power of the workers movement in defense of the repression's first targets.

Solidarist sentiment among the ranks has been overwhelming. But instead of using this manifest dissatisfaction to launch a campaign within the unions, the spurious "Trotskyists" have simply liquidated themselves into a "National Committee for the Liberation of Jailed Soldiers and Militants."

The current debates over the form that an organization in the army should take serve only to mask the fundamental question: revolutionists interest themselves in the fight for soldiers' democratic rights in order to agitate against the bourgeois army as an institution, but never to make the army more effective as a tool of the bourgeoisie. The PCF's demand for "clubs" containing both draftees and officers is an obvious example of naked class collaboration.

For further articles on the military question and the French army, see:

- "'Proletarian Military Policy'," *RCY Newsletter* No. 13, August-September 1972.
- "Lessons of the French Student Struggles—Down with the Bourgeois Army!" *RCY Newsletter* No. 18, July-August 1973.
- "French Pseudo-Trotskyists Campaign to Reform Army," *Young Spartacus* No. 29, February 1975.

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But the LCR's demand for a soldiers union—organized around demands restricted to working conditions and democratic rights, and "link[ed] to the trade unions"—amounts to the same thing. To raise demands which if realized would mean a better-fed, more democratic, straighter-shooting imperialist army with higher morale is worse than reformism. To call for "soldiers trade unions"—and to link them to the labor movement without posing the programmatic basis for a clear struggle against the pro-capitalist bureaucracies—means abandoning the soldiers to the flag-waving reformists, and therefore to the bourgeoisie.

The right of soldiers to organize politically and to form a unitary organization, counterposed to the command hierarchy and the officer corps, in which political tendencies could struggle for their positions is an elementary democratic demand which must be supported. Where such soviet-type soldiers councils appear, as began to occur in Portugal last fall, they represent the emergence of *dual power* in the capitalist army. The first principle of revolutionaries' propaganda and agitation directed toward the heart of bourgeois state power—the armed forces—must be the resolute call for the destruction of the bourgeois army. ■

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Marching with Pretoria...

(continued from page 5)

the Cuban soldiers were "the same" as the South African troops! When a Spartacist League spokesman intervened, cutting through the deceitful "non-partisan" posture of the Peking Stalinists and characterizing the USSR as a degenerated workers state, the audience of bickering Stalinists and vicarious "third world" nationalists finally found their "point of unity," stomping their feet to a chant of "No Trots!"

At the demonstration today, which drew about 150 from the same Maoist groups, slogans abounded condemning Red Imperialism and Cuban troops. A leaflet distributed by the Workers Viewpoint group denounced the Cubans for "objectively acting as mercenaries," then compared Angola with "free Europe" on the eve of World War II, warning that "the U.S. Congress' cutting off of the large scale covert operation in Angola...resembles the infamous Munich Pact"!!! Following the Chinese line, which criticizes the U.S. for conciliating the "fascist" USSR, the Workers Viewpoint condemns the U.S. imperialists for "giving" Angola to Brezhnev just as Anglo-French imperialism offered Czechoslovakia to Hitler.

Likewise, the PRRWO leaflet aims its fire at the "slimy new tsars of Moscow" and the "Cuban mercenary troops," calling for the Angolan forces to "wipe these monsters off the face of Angola." These Maoists rant and rave against the USSR and Cuba, but pass over the South African invasion in just one sentence! The OL dismissed South Africa as the "number three enemy," to be defeated only after the Cubans are driven into the sea:

> "While the presence of all foreign powers must be opposed, only a united Angolan people will be able to repulse the South African racists. Such unity can only come about when the superpowers stop their meddling."

While the OL justifies a bloc with the South Africans against the Cubans and MPLA, COUSML attacks "naked aggression" by Cuba but mentions *not one word* about South Africa in its leaflet! Moreover, COUSML declares, "UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, is leading the national liberation struggle of the Angolan people." In fact, UNITA forces are fighting under the command of the South African military, and Savimbi is a stooge for the white supremacist regime, whose newspapers have lauded him as the "hope of the whites" and "man of the hour."

War is a continuation of politics by other means. In Angola today the Maoist line that "Soviet social-imperialism" represents the "most dangerous" enemy means: kill the Cubans. The Stalinist "syphilis of the working class," to use Trotsky's phrase, has so blinded and mentally enfeebled the Maoists that they openly side with the imperialist Dr. Strangeloves and the consummately racist South African regime against the Russian degenerated workers state. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Soldiers Committees Spread Like Wildfire in French Army

When the soldiers committee of the French army's 19th Regiment, located in the town of Besançon, transformed itself into a section of the CFDT trade-union federation last November 4, the government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing responded by reactivating a special State Security Court, issuing "John Doe" warrants and instituting blanket arrests for "participation in efforts to demoralize the army." In the next two months soldiers committees sprouted up in scores of army units, and close to 50 people (both soldiers and civilians) were detained on charges of anti-militarist activities.

This wave of agitation in the French armed forces has roots that go back several years. The crucial question of the army as a central institution of class rule was already sharply focused by the massive general strike of May-June 1968. When the resistance of the French working class to General de Gaulle's decade-long efforts to rationalize French capitalism at the workers' expense boiled over in 1968, it was unclear whether the overwhelmingly conscript French army could be counted on to obey orders to smash the general strike. Only after de Gaulle received assurances of allegiance from élite paratroop units in Germany was he able to move to decisively defeat the strike of ten million workers.

The implicit challenge to bourgeois rule posed by the pre-revolutionary situation of 1968 was betrayed by the misleaders of the French working class, the Stalinist and social-democratic lackeys of capital who head the mass reformist workers' parties and trade-union federations. Nonetheless, the French proletariat has retained a generally high level of militancy in the face of repeated ruling-class attempts to take back gains won by the workers in 1968.

Today the bourgeoisie is seeking to "end the depression" at the workers' expense. The combination of stubborn labor struggles to defend the proletariat's living standards and expectations aroused by the political upheaval in Portugal and the predictable turmoil in Spain has produced a potentially explosive situation. The army's responsiveness to the needs of the bourgeois state power could again become a crucial question at any moment, especially given the government's proclivity for using the army to break strikes (postal strike in 1974, Paris garbage strike in 1975).

From the Debré Law to the Call of the 100

For years the army hierarchy has responded to any perceived threat by brutal repression within "normal" army channels and by prosecution. In 1970, for example, three soldiers were tried for possessing "anti-militarist leaflets" and one received a year in prison.

But over the past few years, open expression of discontent within the army has been gaining momentum. In the spring of 1973 a broad movement of high-school students arose in response to the "Debré law," an attempt to establish conditions propitious to intensified regimentation in the army by lowering the average age of army induction and thereby increasing the already strong class bias in the social composition of university students (see *RCY Newsletter* No. 18, July-August 1973).

Prior to the 1974 presidential elections, the publication of a "Call of the 100" launched a campaign for democratic rights in the army. Based on a lowest-common-denominator program which gave backhanded support to the idea of bourgeois "national defense," the "Call" took exception to the stationing of French troops in Germany because "there exist established peaceful relations with this country" (*Rouge*, 16 May 1974). Concomitant with the campaign for signatures to the "Call" (it eventually received about 6,000), various "soldiers committees" began forming.

September 1974 marked a new phase in agitation, with a public demonstration in the streets of Draguignan by about 200 soldiers. The government's attempt to use the show trial of the "Draguignan Three" to intimidate militants within the army was unsuccessful; one soldier was released and two others were given only token sentences (see *Young Spartacus* No. 29, February 1975).

In the last year and a half, soldiers committees have spread rapidly throughout the armed forces. Contrary to the claims of both the government and the "far left," these groupings are actually based almost entirely on the issue of democratic rights. Despite ferocious efforts at repression (army officials claim to have destroyed some 20 committees), by December 1975 over 60 committees in France and in the French army in Germany were publishing their own newspapers (*Dossier "La Caserne"* [December 1975]).

After the embarrassment of the Draguignan trial, the government evidently undertook long-range preparations for the current massive repression. *Le Monde* (27 December 1975) reports that French civilian and military police agencies had spent four to five months gathering the dossiers upon which the recent arrests have been based.

From the government's point of view, the committees are particularly dangerous because of their substantial popularity and their links with the civilian trade unions. French military authorities in Germany claim that "only" one to two percent of the troops stationed there are "sympathetic" to the committees; if true, this would represent 500-900 soldiers! Many of the soldiers' papers are reportedly produced with the material support of local trade unions—in particular the CFDT, but in at least ten cases the CGT—thus raising the spectre of direct links between the soldiers movement and the trade unions which could seriously undermine the bourgeoisie's ability to rely on the army as its primary pool of strikebreakers.

Paris Match

French soldiers at press conference announcing formation of army trade union.

Wave of Repression

The State Security Court, recently resuscitated to try the anti-militarist militants, was created by de Gaulle in 1963, in the wake of the Algerian war. According to the provisions which regulate this "permanent exceptional jurisdiction," cases are tried by a government-appointed court of five (of which two or three are high-ranking military officers). Searches and arrests can be carried out at any time and suspects may be held incommunicado for ten days (as opposed to 24 hours under civilian law). Prosecution is upon simple request of the government and convictions cannot be appealed (except on the basis of procedural errors or new evidence). The virtually unlimited scope of the State Security Court's powers has become shockingly clear during the current witchhunt, as civilians have been arrested simply for possessing "anti-militarist" literature.

In the month following Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's November 26 speech launching the repressive campaign, the government arrested 47 people (12 of these were still in jail as of January 8), mainly civilians. At the same time it initiated an extensive (but much less highly publicized) wave of repression within the army. The military high command moved brutally to break up the soldiers committees (60 days in the brig and even, in some cases, in solitary), instigating large-scale transfers of those "suspected" of participating in or even being sympathetic to the soldiers committees. Similar measures greeted soldiers arrested after their release from civilian jails (*Le Monde*, 2 January 1976).

The repression has elicited considerable liberal outrage due both to its blatantly arbitrary and authoritarian character and to the effrontery of the government's attack on the alleged civilian support apparatus of the soldiers committees—i.e., the direct confrontation with the French trade-union movement. Amnesty International has protested the arbitrary procedures of the State Security Court, as have the League for the Rights of Man (French equivalent of the ACLU) and the unions of judges and lawyers (*Le Monde*, 28-29 December and 31 December 1975).

The first wave of raids and arrests, on December 4, was aimed primarily at the CFDT: locals in Besançon, Bordeaux and Chaumont were raided and union officials and organizers were arrested there as well as in Strasbourg and elsewhere. Subsequent raids across the country extended to the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) and groups on the "far left" (i.e., to the left of the Communist Party): the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), Révolution!, the Bordigist Programme Communiste and Union Ouvrière (an ultra-left split from Lutte Ouvrière). A second major wave of arrests occurred on December 15, when offices of the LCR, the PSU, Révolution! and the CFDT were raided in Paris, Bordeaux, Lyon, Amiens, Besançon, Montpellier, Clermont-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 93 | 23 January 1976

For Military Victory to MPLA Against U.S./South Africa-Led Attack!

Imperialist-Led Forces on the Run in Angola

JANUARY 17—As the Organization of African Unity (OAU) abandoned its fruitless attempt to reach an "African consensus" on Angola, the Soviet-backed People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) scored major successes on the battlefield against its imperialist-led opponents.

The diplomatic victory which the OAU stalemate represented for the anti-Soviet axis of the U.S., South Africa and China was rendered hollow when CIA/Portuguese mercenary-led forces of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) collapsed before an MPLA drive northward toward the border with Zaïre (the ex-Belgian Congo). FNLA troops are reportedly taking few casualties but are instead fleeing in terror before barrages fired by Cuban soldiers from Russian T-34 tanks and rocket launchers. Almost simultaneously in eastern Angola, the South African army and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) were forced to withdraw into the central highlands.

The internationalization of the conflict is apparent in every aspect. On the MPLA side, several thousand Cuban troops are not only spearheading attack columns but the armed forces of the Luanda-based "People's Republic" are reportedly being restructured around teams of Cuban soldiers and officers. On the opposing side, according to a dispatch of the Russian press agency Tass, the South Africans "who invaded Angola under the flag of the groups FNLA and UNITA, at the present time are in fact acting independently and control all the seized military objectives" (*Pravda*, 4 January).

Setting the stage for a Tonkin Gulf-style incident prior to the OAU summit, the Ford administration tried to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria by floating stories that Russian warships were steaming toward Angola. This supposed "flotilla" reportedly consisted of one destroyer, a landing craft and an oiler "steaming slowly" off Gabon. Further headlines were generated by the announcement that a Soviet cruiser was off Morocco, conveniently neglecting to mention that Morocco is over 5,000 miles away from Angola! Presidential press secretary Ron Nessen hypocritically wailed that this constituted "further evidence of a continuing Soviet involvement in an area where they have no legitimate interests."

While the U.S. media quickly fell into step with the government's propaganda blitz, ignored was a report in the London *Observer* of 11 January that *American* warships were headed for Angola. "South African and United States military involvement in the Angolan war is far greater than realized," it wrote. "A secret report prepared for a reputable international organization" said that an American naval task force led by the aircraft carrier *Independence* was dispatched "on full alert" to the Angolan coast in mid-December. The *Independence* carries 90 F-4 Phantom jets and is armed with "several hundred tons of napalm, Sidewinder missiles and anti-personnel fragmentation bombs in pods." Independent investigation by the *Observer* confirmed details of the report and contradicted the Pentagon's heated denials.

The article also said that U.S. cargo planes have assumed a direct role in the war by parachuting supplies to the South African troop columns and that U.S. spotter planes are flying missions from southern Zaïre to pinpoint MPLA movements. Drawing the obvious conclusions, this liberal establishment newspaper wrote: "While the Americans have been accusing the Soviet Union of escalating the war, Washington, in fact, took the first step."

Commenting on American-manufactured rumors of an imminent pull-out of white supremacist South Africa's forces, the *Observer* noted:

> "As the Organization of African Unity summit meets in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, this weekend, it is being unofficially suggested in both Lusaka and Washington that South Africa intends to withdraw its troops. A figure of 1,000 soldiers and 100 armoured vehicles has been specifically mentioned
>
> "But, according to the report, this would still leave them with between 3,000 and 5,000 troops and about 500 armoured vehicles inside Angola."

President Kennedy with former FBI director Hoover

Kennedy, the CIA and the Mafia ...5

MPLA: "Nationalists of a New Type"? ...6

Sebastiao Salgado/Gamma/Liaison

Troops of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

The South African Connection

The cold split over Angola which deadlocked the OAU summit conference should lay to rest the bourgeois nationalist myth of a Pan-African unity transcending class and state divisions. From the opening confrontation between Samora Machel (president of Mozambique) and Leopold Senghor (president of Senegal) to the all-night session in which the conference ended, the promises of a "dynamic compromise" between supporters of the MPLA and the anti-Soviet bloc proved illusory. While former guerrilla leader Machel denounced "those traitors who had opened the door to South Africa," Senghor, the theorist of "negritude," railed against MPLA backers who "think like Europeans."

By January 9, opening day of the parley, 22 of the 46 OAU members had recognized the bourgeois nationalist MPLA regime as the legitimate government of Angola, while none had recognized the rival FNLA/UNITA regime. Thus, the ability of the anti-Soviet cabal to block official OAU recognition of the MPLA or even a condemnation of the South African military invasion represented a relative success for the imperialist diplomacy of the United States and South Africa.

In particular, South Africa demonstrated its ability to deflect the broad opprobrium generated by its *apartheid* policies and to wield its growing network of economic and political ties with black Africa as an effective voting bloc within the OAU. The *Washington Post*, strikebreaking mouthpiece for the liberal imperialist bourgeoisie, noted with evident satisfac-

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Letters

Revolutionary Defense Policy

10 January 1976

To the Editor:

The consistency of the Spartacist League in upholding the revolutionary line in its fifteen year history as a tendency must be apparent to any student who compares the record of the SL with the unprincipled zigzags of its opportunist competitors in the left....

Recent articles concerning the question of defense of defendants in prosecutions arising from acts which, for Marxists, are themselves indefensible instances of terrorism, are somewhat confusing to me, however. First a rather comprehensive critique of petty-bourgeois and lumpen frenzy and their products was presented in *WV* Nos. 78 and 80, but concrete demands relating to those outside the left who are indicted as a result of their actual or alleged involvement in violent acts which do not represent intended blows against symbols of oppression are sparse; they must be inferred from discussions of upholding the bourgeois democratic right to a "fair trial" ("'Patty' Hearst should get her legal rights....") and of the distinctions between Wendy Yoshimura's case and those of the SLA gangsters, Squeaky and Sally Moore. Then, in an article whose brevity is uncharacteristic of *WV*'s thorough standard (No. 90), there is a call for freedom for Squeaky and Sally (whose actions are again stated to be "indefensible" "from a working-class standpoint"), apparently based (1) on their mental illnesses and (2) the crimes of their target, Ford. This post-conviction demand is based on no information which was not available at the time "The Politics of Crazy" was written; indeed, both factors mentioned above were discussed at length in the earlier article. Perhaps significantly, neither defendant was framed in any meaningful sense. (I assume the purport of "Free Squeaky," etc. was not merely to quarrel with the legal definition of mental infirmity, in addition to responding to Ford's actions.)

In two SL/SYL forums a few weeks ago, the SL's positions on the SLA and the Livernois Five case were persuasively raised in answer to the enthusiasm for petty-bourgeois and lumpen violence exhibited by the RSL. If other readers share my unclarity in regard to the articles cited above and the timing of the piece on the Livernois case, the welcome disintegration of the petty-bourgeois radical RSL could be slowed slightly by polemical exploitation of what may be incompletely integrated statements in *WV*.

The related phenomena of racist mobilization, depression and cop bonapartism create the prospect of ghetto upheavals (as well as mindless middle class violence). This entails the possibility of, for instance, isolated attacks by black youths against white bystanders in situations where there is little or no doubt that the suspects committed the acts, there is no cop dragnet and no frame-up (in the sense of violation of bourgeois rules of due process). Unless this is an inherently impossible state of affairs, it appears to be one for which no position can be inferred from the formulations developed in *WV*. Recourse to arguments based on the general illegitimacy of the capitalist legal system seems to lead to the incorrect conclusion that all prisoners (or all black prisoners) are "political prisoners," vitiating the distinction between defensible and indefensible acts, between those within and without the workers movement.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have unparalleled records of anti-sectarian defense of victimized leftists. I write in the hope that discussion of these issues will deepen appreciation of, and involvement in, the indispensible efforts in behalf of freedom for Philip Allen, the Livernois Five and other victims of capitalist injustice.

Comradely,
L. T.

Free Squeaky/Sally?

Editor,
Workers Vanguard

I fail to see how you can assert in *WV* No. 90 with reference to Lynette Fromme and Sara Jane Moore that, "They are not, from a working-class standpoint, defensible cases," and yet in the same article demand, "Free Squeaky, Sally!" To raise this demand cannot but amount concretely to a defense of these individuals.

On what basis? In the article you take note of the undemocratic character of the 1965 law requiring penalties of abnormal severity for attacks against the president. However it is important to remember that it is not the *crimes* mentioned in the statute but rather the select category of *people* it applies to which lends it its undemocratic character; the proletariat in power will be considerably less inclined to tolerate indiscriminate assault and murder than is the bourgeoisie at present. Thus, while the statute should certainly be opposed, it does not in and of itself justify in principle the demand that Moore and Fromme be released. You also mention the evident psychological instability of both defendants. Again, however, while you might call for an independently constituted panel of psychologists to determine their mental competency, their erratic behavior is hardly grounds for demanding that they be freed, i.e., put back on the street, to gun down, perhaps, somebody who once looked cross-eyed at Charles Manson.

"We have no interest," you remark, "in seeing 'Squeaky' and 'Sally' punished for their bizarre and pointless acts directed against imperialist chief Ford." Granted. But do you, as a spokesman for the interests of the proletariat, have either a class or a democratic basis for demanding their release? I don't think so. Your position on this issue, at the very least, needs to be clarified.

N. H.

WV replies: What was at stake in the sentencing of Lynette ("Squeaky") Fromme and Sara ("Sally") Moore was amply re-clarified by the judges who handed down terms of life imprisonment. In sentencing Moore, Judge Conti this week took the opportunity to beat the drums for capital punishment in "this permissive society" "calloused to crime and violence" (*New York Times*, 16 January). In sentencing Fromme, Judge McBride made the bourgeoisie's motivation equally explicit: "had John Kennedy... been allowed to live... rather than being assassinated, he could have accomplished more for all mankind than all the terrorists in the history of the world."

Like capitalism's judges, *WV* sees the issue of criminality in class terms. For the American bourgeoisie, dispensing imperialist "justice" over the empire, the protection of an imperial presidency is important. Kennedy's "accomplish-

Editorial Notes

Yes, Castro Mourned Franco

During a December 14 forum on Portugal held at the San Francisco offices of the Communist Party, a spokesman for the Spartacist League caused the sponsors considerable embarrassment by asking a series of questions they were unable to answer. "Isn't it true," she asked, "that the people who are today talking about alliance with the MFA [Portuguese Armed Forces Movement] are the same ones who were telling us about Chile's 'peaceful road to socialism'?"

But the SL supporter stopped the show completely when she asked the CP speaker, Spanish Civil War veteran Archie Brown, "Do you condone the three days of mourning declared by the Cuban government on the occasion of the death of Franco?" After a moment of stunned silence, punctuated by audible gasps of disbelief from the audience, one of the local Stalinist hacks yelled out that the charge of Cuban homage to the Spanish dictator was a lie and a slander.

The Spartacist supporter replied that we had already documented Castro's scandalous action (in our article "For a Workers Republic in Spain!" *WV*, No. 88, 5 December 1975). There we referred to the Barcelona newspaper *Vanguardia Española* (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 27 November-4 December) which reported that, in addition to the official mourning, Cuban president Osvaldo Dorticos had sent condolences to Spain and foreign minister Raúl Roa visited the Spanish embassy in Havana, where he reportedly recognized "the political and human values of General Franco." Upholding our reputation for scrupulous honesty, the SL speaker promised further proof to back up our accusation.

Substantiation for the charge is not hard to find, since the Cuban action has acutely discomfitted the French Communist Party (PCF), which for the past 40 years has had close ties to the Spanish Communist Party and many of whose older members actively aided the Republican side in the Civil War. When the government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing ordered the French tricolor to be displayed at half-mast on ministries November 23 to mark the death of Franco, the PCF countered by flying the national flag and the flag of the Spanish republic at full mast from town halls where it controls the local government. Two days later, PCF leader Georges Marchais began his speech at a Paris rally of solidarity with the Spanish people by criticizing the government's official commemoration of Franco's death. "Giscard d'Estaing is in mourning. Pinochet is in mourning," he said.

At the November 26 session of the National Assembly, Communist Party deputy François Billoux arose to ask, "Isn't it indicative of government policies that the armed forces minister was designated to render homage to the traitorous general who, with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini, assassinated the Spanish Republic?" Giscard's foreign minister, Jean Sauvagnargues, answered that it was just a question of "international rules of courtesy." But he threw in a blockbuster that silenced the PCF legislators. "Fidel Castro had Cuban flags lowered to half-mast for three days following the death of General Franco" (*Le Monde*, 28 November).

"Cuban flags were lowered to half mast."

—Le Monde, 28 November 1975

réts de ...
précisé M. Echeverria, aucun ...
contact n'a encore été pris avec

LE DEUIL DE FRANCO

M. Sauvagnargues : les drapeaux cubains ont été mis en berne

We wholeheartedly agree with Billoux that the official mourning for Franco is indicative of the anti-working-class policies of the French government. But Castro's lowering of Cuban flags (and Mao's dispatch of a funeral wreath to the Spanish embassy in Peking) are even more indicative of the profound cynicism of Stalinist bureaucracies, for whom Franco's cold-blooded murder of hundreds of thousands of proletarian fighters during and after the Spanish Civil War means nothing. It is indicative of the policies of Stalin himself, who strangled the Spanish republic by blocking revolutionary struggle and even refusing to deliver adequate guns and ammunition lest this should upset the "democratic" imperialists.

Despite his feeble protest against official mourning for Franco, Billoux knows these treacherous policies well. In fact, the "Communist" parliamentarian's main claim to fame was another empty gesture almost 30 years ago. As the National Assembly rose to salute the French expeditionary corps then being sent to Indochina to suppress an independence struggle led by Ho Chi Minh, PCF deputies remained in their seats. But the chair Billoux was sitting in was that of *defense minister* of the government which sent the troops to Vietnam! While avidly pursuing narrow national interests, the Stalinists are united in their common opposition to proletarian internationalism. ■

Lynette Fromme UPI

Sara Jane Moore San Francisco Examiner

ments for all mankind" included, for instance, the Phoenix program of torture and assassination which—according to CIA director William Colby, then head of the program in Vietnam—killed 20,500 people. This secret project was initiated by an imperial presidency, accountable to nobody.

The Bay of Pigs and the attempted assassination of Fidel Castro utilizing the servies of *mafiosi*, provide only a whiff of the charnel house that Kennedy "accomplished." Such international license to kill requires special legal sanctification. The punitive sentences dealt out to Fromme and Moore have as their central purpose to buttress the inviolability of the presidency. The law providing barbarously long imprisonment for attempted presidential assassinations is part of the fierce requisites of an imperialism which needs a presidential office free from even the tokens of public restraint.

In this sense the bourgeoisie also has its slogan: "Jail Squeaky, Sally—Free Gerald Ford!"...i.e., free the ruling class' chief executive to continue covert aid and training for a bloody imperialist power play in Angola, to "destabilize" Portugal in the manner of Chile, to assassinate abroad and at home. *WV* wants, not simply to undercut, but to attack at its core the structural bonapartism exemplified in a law which imprisons for life any who attempt to threaten the imperial office.

Both letter writers are troubled by the fact that *WV* recognizes that neither Fromme and Moore nor their actions are defensible from a working-class standpoint, yet calls for their release. We call for their release *on these charges* which are inseparable from the issue of imperialism's blank check for its number one enforcer. From the point of view of those who endured the secret terror bombing of Southeast Asia, it is simply not a crime to point a pistol at the world's chief terror bomber.

This does not mean that Moore and Fromme can be considered as primarily politically motivated in their ineffectual acts against Ford. Still less does it make them part of the left. Nor does it imply that they are not dangerous to the workers movement. But we must insist that Sara Moore was not charged with being an FBI informer; neither was Lynette Fromme charged with administering the murderous work of a gang of indiscriminate butchers or aiding fascists in prison. The disposition of *these* charges against the "weird sisters" awaits the justice of a workers' tribunal. But in the present case Fromme and Moore are the victims of legal bonapartism; they should be released.

N. H. writes that we might call for an "independently constituted panel of psychologists" rather than demand the release of "Squeaky" and "Sally." But it is one thing to recognize that the two defendants are "mental cases" and quite another to call on the bourgeois state to take them out of their chains and put them in straitjackets. Bourgeois society creates "crazies," but the bourgeois state does not protect society from the "crazies" it has created. Humane treatment for the mentally disturbed will be a responsibility of the proletarian state which will arise from the shattering of capitalism. The "politics of crazy" which define the actions of Fromme and Moore are in no way defensible. We are for freeing them in this case, not because of their politics of crazy but despite them.

L. T.'s letter brings up "isolated attacks by black youth against white bystanders" in the context of ghetto upheavals and asks what our policy would be "where there is...no doubt that the suspects committed the acts." He also questions our call for release of the Livernois Five in Detroit. But we would not have called for their relase if "there was no doubt" that they were guilty of the act they are accused of: the brutal murder of an innocent white worker. Instead, we would simply call for them to get their full democratic rights. From the perspective of the working class, there was a criminal act committed in Detroit when a passing white motorist was murdered.

But assaults on the imperialist executive are not in the same category. The president of the United States is in no sense an innocent bystander! Even though they were not fundamentally politically motivated, the acts with which Fromme and Moore were charged were not criminal. "Free Squeaky, Sally Jail Gerald Ford!" ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Doctors Strike in Southern California

LOS ANGELES, January 16 Responding to a staggering increase in malpractice insurance rates, southern California doctors embarked on a slowdown strike January 1. While emergency service is still being provided, bolstered by county facilities and public hospitals which carry their own insurance, the strike has resulted in a sharp reduction of medical services. Almost no elective non-emergency surgery is being performed, while emergency rooms at the UCLA Medical Center and Santa Monica Hospital report three- and four-hour waiting lines. Already spreading outward from Los Angeles County and San Fernando Valley, the strike could spill into northern California when Travelers Insurance, the state's largest malpractice carrier, increases premiums there February 1.

The strike was precipitated by Travelers, which covers 9,500 of the area's 12,000 doctors, with its December announcement of a whopping 486 percent rate increase. This would have pushed premiums up to an average of $12,000, with specialists in high-risk fields (orthopedists, neurosurgeons, anesthesiologists) paying as much as $36,000 a year! A howl of doctor protest began. On December 17 the state insurance commissioner stepped in, reducing the maximum hike to a "mere" 327 percent, a decision Travelers is appealing in the courts. Understandably unimpressed, the doctors escalated their protests from December's sporadic slowdowns into the January strike.

Exorbitant malpractice insurance rates are a reflection of the sharp upturn in the number of claims being pressed (more than 20,000 a year) and the increasing number of these claims being won. This, in turn, is the result of a horrifying amount of surgical butchery, neglect and simply quackery that goes on in U.S. hospitals—and increased awareness on the part of patients that they do not have to meekly submit to medical malfeasance. But the drying up of a large volume of lawyer revenues with the introduction of "no fault" auto insurance laws in several states and stock market losses taken by various insurance companies have also fed the malpractice fire.

The working class has at least a defensive interest in supporting the doctors' fight against the rapacious insurance companies. The skyrocketing malpractice insurance bill—which leaped from $61 million in 1960 to an estimated $1 billion nationally in 1975 (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 January) is passed on to working people in the form of higher physicians' and hospital fees, in turn reflected in increased medical insurance rates. The insurance magnates, bemoaning a claimed $400 million loss in the last 15 years have jacked up their rates so high already that they now reportedly take in $4 for every $1 paid out in claims (*New York Times*, 16 January).

Labor has no interest in lining these corporate coffers. It should back the doctors against the insurance monopolies, as L.A. hospital workers SEIU Local 339 has done despite the fact that almost a fifth of its membership has been hit by resulting layoffs, and thousands more are being put on short workweeks. At the same time working people are, with good reason, hardly inclined to give credence to the doctors' pious claims of acting in the "public interests." Physicians are one of the better-heeled sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and are certainly far more interested in their own bulging wallets than in the high cost of healing.

The doctors' proclaimed concern for the general welfare was rendered hollow by their response to a tentative legislative solution proposed by California governor Brown and his deputy secretary of health and welfare, Robert Gnaizda. In exchange for establishing a state-run insurance pool which would cost doctors an average of $4,000 annually (a third more than last year but far less than Travelers' new rates), the Brown/Gnaizda proposal would not permit doctors to decline MediCal (welfare) patients, would require 20 days' free service annually from all doctors with less than 10 percent MediCal patients and would require a physician-financed "medical peace corps" for under-served areas. (There are about ten times as many doctors per capita in Beverly Hills as in Watts.)

The doctors' yelp at the insurance companies' gouging was immediately rivalled by their denunciation of Brown's plan. California Medical Association president Carl Goetsch decried this "very heavy-handed intrusion" into the "private practice of medicine" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 December 1975). Reminiscent of the American Medical Association's long battle against Medicare, national health insurance and the desperately necessary expansion of medical schools, mercenary warnings against "involuntary servitude" and "steps toward socialized medicine" became the hue and cry of the United Physicians of California, which has been critical of the AMA in the past and has largely led the current strike.

Brown's plan was also opposed by the California Trial Lawyers Association, which has its own vested interest in the lucrative malpractice trade, and stands little chance of passing the lawyer-dominated Senate and Assembly judiciary committees. The doctors meanwhile are backing a bill that would establish an insurance pool without any service requirements, and are simultaneously launching an elaborate public relations campaign to spruce up their self-serving image.

There can be no legislative resolution of the malpractice wrangle between doctors, lawyers and the insurance companies that will benefit the working masses who suffer most from escalating costs of health care. Under a system of medicine for profit, the interests of all three litigants are in hilking the patients. The California legislature, like all capitalist governing institutions, is committed to defending this "free enterprise" system rather than providing necessary and adequate health services. When northern California doctors began a smaller-scale strike last spring over the same issue, the legislature was convened in emergency session and produced a "compromise" bill at the expense of the medical consumer—by reducing the malpractice statute of limitations. At present the southern California doctors' strike is directed against the insurance leeches.

(continued on page 11)

150,000 Madrid Workers Strike

Stalinists Try to Pressure Juan Carlos

JANUARY 20 During the last two weeks the Spanish working class has erupted in the biggest strike wave in 36 years of Francoist rule. Landing a sharp blow against the regime's plans for a "controlled transition" following the death of the bloody dictator, more than 200,000 were on strike at one point with the capital nearly paralyzed. The government barely managed to pull off a tightrope balancing act through selective arrests of strike leaders, drafting strikers, using troops to run vital services and encouraging "negotiations" of wage demands but the back-to-work movement at the end of last week was only partial. As we go to press, the main bastion of labor militancy in the Madrid area –metal workers of the large factories in the industrial suburbs – is still out.

The strikes were the workers' militant answer to the declaration of a wage freeze in the government's economic program presented to the Cortes (the corporatist "parliament") in early January. While the new king Juan Carlos was trying his best to look like a constitutional monarch and the minister of the interior was hinting at "self-liberalization" of the regime, finance minister Villar Mir sounded more like Marie Antoinette. Not surprisingly, given the current social turmoil in Spain, Villar Mir's declaration of a wage freeze had roughly the same effect as the French queen's haughty suggestion that the starving Parisian masses "eat cake."

The labor militancy was touched off by a Madrid subway workers' strike which began January 5. Fearing a "brutal reaction" from the illegal workers commissions, the government retreated from its initial threat of drafting transit workers and instead, for the first time in 58 years the system has been operating, sent in military specialists to run the trains. With buses unable to handle the overflow, the capital was crippled for almost 40 hours until the subway company's offer of free rides lured back passengers.

In late December the Spanish government had tacitly permitted several medium-sized demonstrations in favor of amnesty for political prisoners and autonomy for the Basque region. When the subway workers first walked off the job and gathered in a Madrid church, the police again did nothing. But faced with massive transportation tie-ups and widespread sympathy for the strikers' main demands (a 20 percent wage increase and a 40-hour week), the regime dropped its liberalizing posture and brutally drove the workers and their families from one church after another. An example of the popularity of the strike was the official announcement by the army ministry that the army was not taking a position on the labor conflict and soldiers were running the trains only because the government had ordered them to (*Le Monde*, 11-12 January)!

The subway strike provoked solidarity demonstrations by the combative metal workers. While police reportedly broke up several smaller demonstrations in the industrial belt on January 6, some 3,000 workers from Standard Eléctrica (themselves on strike since mid-December) penetrated to the center of the city before being dispersed. In the days that followed, strike action spread through the industrial suburbs of Villaverde and Getafe, while major struck plants followed government recommendations to respond with a lockout. Intended to prevent workers from occupying the factories, in the context of multiple strikes in the same area this move had the effect of swelling the ranks of the demonstrators.

ABC

Strike by subway workers in early January caused massive congestion in downtown Madrid.

UPI

Riot police charging rally of striking bank workers in downtown Madrid.

The reformist Spanish Communist Party (PCE) has been deliberately trying to avoid a frontal showdown with the shaky post-Franco government, obviously fearing that full-scale mobilization of the working class could easily escape its control. Seeking to dissipate protests in staggered local one-day actions ("*jornadas de lucha*"), the PCE even sabotaged its own general strike call in mid-December!

January 12 had been scheduled as one more ritual "day of struggle" in Madrid, but by that time more than 30,000 workers were already on strike in the capital region. This gave the "*jornada*" a particularly charged atmosphere. Beginning with the bombing of a commuter train track in the morning, by the evening over 100,000 were out. Among the strikers were bank workers and several thousand telephone workers. Although the PCE attempted to restrict demands to the single issue of wage increases, militant workers from the giant Chrysler works in Villaverde had already been demonstrating in downtown Madrid demanding, "Liberty! Down with wage controls! Amnesty for political prisoners!" (*New York Times*, 11 January). To these demands was added the insistent call for free trade unions. This sentiment among Madrid workers was so strong that even the ultra-rightist Falange newspaper *Arriba* (12 January) was forced to call for democratization of the vertical *sindicatos* (syndicates), which are headed by Falangists, to "trim the anti-social claws of capitalism."

Frightened by this show of force by illegal leftist labor organizations and the lack of any resistance from the corporatist syndicates, the government escalated its repression. The next day when almost 100,000 postal workers throughout Spain went on strike they were almost immediately drafted into the army. This meant that those refusing to work would be subject to six-year jail sentences and strikers could face summary court martials on "mutiny" charges bringing life imprisonment. The mailmen were forced to return to work wearing yellow tags bearing the letter "M" (mobilized). When 70,000 railway workers joined the strike wave on January 19, they too were instantly called up.

While the postal and railway strikes had a national scope, the center of current labor militancy has been the 25,000 Chrysler workers and the 12,000 employees of Standard Eléctrica (an ITT subsidiary) in the Madrid industrial belt. Although the PCE-dominated workers commission at Chrysler's Villaverde plant had tried to defuse strike sentiment during the December *jornada*, the workers seized the plants anyway and had to be cleared out by machine gun-toting police. Since the lock-out they have repeatedly confronted cops near the plant in the city center.

Foreign press observers have confirmed that the current labor upsurge, while in many cases initiated by the Stalinists, is no longer under tight PCE control. The *New York Times* (19 January) reported "Extreme left-wing groups rivaling the Communists have come into prominence, notably in the Madrid subway strike last week, and have seen their influence spread." In addition, particularly in the drawn-out Chrysler and Standard Eléctrica strikes, the largely self-appointed workers commissions have been superseded by elected strike committees. This important step was followed by the announcement of the formation of an assembly of representatives of Madrid strike committees, several of whose leaders were promptly arrested.

The workers commissions, which first appeared in 1962 and have since spread throughout the industrial areas of Spain, were formed in opposition to the official vertical "unions." The workers commissions have functioned as *de facto* illegal trade unions, and in some areas (notably Barcelona) have actually forced management to deal directly with them rather than through the state CNS, which includes supervisors, management and state officials in addition to the workers. But because of the strength of the PCE in the workers commissions they have often held back workers' struggles.

The formation of democratically elected strike committees is a major step forward in breaking the Stalinists' stranglehold on Spanish labor. In addition to generalizing and coordinating (to the extent possible under clandestine conditions) the elected strike committees, another important target of the workers' struggles must be destroying the corporatist CNS. The Stalinists actually have the opposite policy, seeking to channel the current strikes *into* the CNS.

The reason for this is that the PCE

continued on page 10

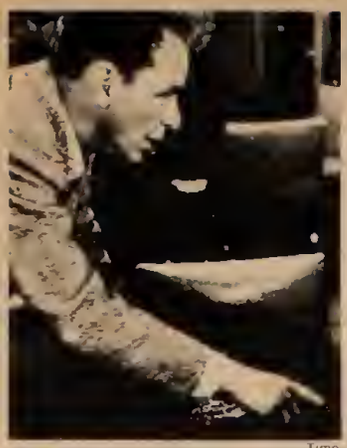
Charges Dropped Against Robert F. Williams

JANUARY 18—Kidnapping charges against veteran black militant Robert F. Williams were dropped on January 16. District Attorney Carroll Lowder of Union County, North Carolina, said that the state's sole witness, Mrs. Bruce Stegall, was "physically unable to testify in court and further there is no promise that her condition will improve." The dropping of charges is a victory for Williams in his 14-year-long struggle (including eight years in exile) against attempts by racist authorities in North Carolina, aided by the FBI, to frame him because of his advocacy of civil rights and black self-defense in Monroe, N.C.

The state's star witness, Mrs. Stegall, the alleged kidnap victim, will not testify. Although they were known racists, on the night of 27 August 1961 Mrs. Stegall and her late husband were actually protected by Williams from angry blacks preparing to defend their community from a frenzied white mob and in no mood to tolerate the obvious provocation of the Stegalls cruising through the area.

Four other civil rights activists were convicted on the same phony charges in the mid-1960's, but had the convictions overturned on appeal on the basis that blacks had been barred from the grand jury which indicted them. The four, Harold Reap, John Lowry, Mae Mallory and Richard Crowder, have not been brought to trial, and the charges against them should be dropped immediately!

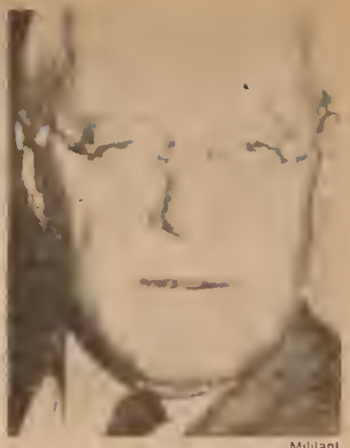
This victory for Robert Williams is also a victory for all those who have fought against the racist repression of the bourgeois state.



Frank Sinatra — Time

Judith Campbell Exner — LA Times

Chicago mobster Sam Giancana — AP



Former CIA director Allen Dulles — Militant

Kennedy, the CIA and the Mafia

It is becoming difficult these days to distinguish the gossip from the news. Sometimes, as with the tsarina and Rasputin, one becomes the other. The front pages of major newspapers display headlines like: "Mafia Moll Mixed Up With JFK" and "Kennedy and Sinatra—No Split." But the giddy titillation of a prurient press cannot cover the discomfort of the bourgeoisie over one of its most necessary institutions—the CIA.

In an enigmatic passage of its official report last November, the Senate committee investigating CIA assassination plots mentioned a "close friend of President Kennedy" who was "also a close friend of John Rosselli and Sam Giancana and saw them often during the same period." On December 17, Judith Campbell Exner, now 41 and married, faced reporters at a San Diego press conference to confirm that she was that friend and that she had indeed seen the two mobsters during the period she was seeing Kennedy. Her relationships, she said, were strictly "of a personal nature"; she denied being a "go-between for the Mafia."

Not merely the sex-and-scandal sheets, but the entire bourgeois press picked up on the theme of "another woman" at the White House. *Time* magazine dug up the memoirs of an aging and gossipy White House caretaker, replayed old stories about a Marilyn Monroe-JFK relationship and hinted at liaisons with two young presidential staffers "code-named 'Fiddle' and 'Faddle' by the Secret Service." The nerve center of the most powerful imperialist state in history—where decisions were routinely made to rain millions of tons of bombs on Asian peasants or to challenge Russia to a nuclear duel over Cuba—was presented as a veritable bordello.

Sensationalism and Murder

Judith Campbell Exner's press conference fit right into this pattern of sensationalism. But perhaps she had purposes other than selling her memoirs. The former playgirl was particularly anxious to get across the message that she knew nothing of "bizarre assassination conspiracies" involving her notorious friends. She had good reason for concern. Last summer *mafioso* Giancana—who held the CIA contract to kill Cuban premier Fidel Castro—was himself "hit" shortly before he was to testify before the Senate investigating committee. Rumor had it that the mobster was getting ready to talk.

Paris Match

Kennedy assassination has been target of renewed speculation in light of recent disclosures of CIA/Mafia links in assassination attempts.

The Kennedy-Mafia-CIA connection has been seized upon by William Safire, a former Nixon man who is now a columnist for the *New York Times*. Safire has a special axe to grind. He wants to debunk the myth of the Kennedy White House—that liberal Camelot of the "New Frontier"—by revealing it as just as filled with "dirty tricks" as the Nixon regime of which he was a part.

Safire puts aside examination of "the logistics of White House sex." His article (*New York Times*, 22 December) interests itself in Exner not as "another woman" but as a "White House-Mafia liaison." Safire excoriates the Church committee for failing to investigate the Giancana killing and for its reluctance to call Frank Sinatra to testify. It was the mob-associated singer who introduced Exner to both Kennedy and Giancana. Kennedy was supposed to have ended his friendship with Sinatra for "the good of the office," but it has recently been reported that the association persisted. Safire wants to pressure the Church committee to bring in "Old Blue Eyes" to "sing."

The Kennedy Assassination

Safire goes after Kennedy, Sinatra and the whole official and unofficial rat pack with charges of "not hanky-panky, not graft, not abuse of civil liberty—but murder and attempted murder at the highest level that spans fifteen years."

Safire includes among the murders the assassination of "Kennedy himself, in retaliation or self-protection." The idea that Kennedy might have been on the receiving end of a murder plot can no longer be dismissed with the facility it was a decade ago, when conspiracy theories seemed the special preserve of "assassination buffs" and monomaniacal Louisiana DA's. In the past, a broad layer of the American public greeted the Warren Commission Report with the same justified but unfocused distrust it felt toward the government which was propagandizing the Vietnam war with endless barrages of lies. Today, they know as fact some of what only a few years ago were secrets to all but the "intelligence community" and its close associates.

It is now common knowledge that the CIA repeatedly hatched plots to assassinate Castro using *mafiosos*, who either botched the job or were foiled and picked up in Havana. Gusanos and CIA operatives playing for big stakes felt betrayed at the Bay of Pigs. And while the attorney general was running a vicious vendetta against Teamster union chief Jimmy Hoffa for his ties to organized crime, the president was sleeping with a prominent *mafioso*'s girlfriend—and perhaps courier—thereby opening himself up to blackmail. It is likely that J. Edgar Hoover's March 1962 luncheon with Kennedy had this "problem" as its topic, and one of the last entries under "Judith Campbell" in the White House telephone log came a few hours after that meeting.

Was there a CIA-Mafia tie-in with the Kennedy assassination? Former CIA agent Victor Marchetti's book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, includes in a footnote (to a passage deleted by CIA-requested court censorship) the following observations:

> "Assassination of Castro seemed to have been a recurrent idea in the CIA during these years. [Watergate conspirator] E. Howard Hunt claims to have recommended it before the Bay of Pigs, only to be turned down. In November of 1961, President Kennedy mentioned the idea in a private chat with Tad Szulc, then of the *New York Times*. Lyndon Johnson told his former aide Leo Janos, as recounted in a July 1973 *Atlantic* article, 'We had been operating a damned Murder, Inc. in the Caribbean.' Janos elaborated, 'A year or so before Kennedy's death a CIA-backed assassination team had been picked up in Havana. Johnson speculated that Dallas had been a retaliation for this thwarted attempt, although he couldn't prove it.'"

The CIA and the counterrevolutionary Cuban "freedom fighters" who attacked the Bay of Pigs in 1960 had more than sufficient cause for annoyance with Kennedy. It was Kennedy who—when the press began to break through the CIA's cover story of the first bomb strike—became queasy, canceling the second air strike intended to knock out the tiny Cuban air force on the ground. The CIA appealed personally but unsuccessfully to Kennedy for the second bombing mission.

Liberal Moralism and the Cult of Secrecy

After enduring a year of investigations and exposures, the friends of the CIA have taken the offensive. *TV Guide*—"America's Best Selling Magazine"—editorialized: "A hundred KGB agents working overtime for the Kremlin could hardly have undermined the CIA as effectively as Senator Church's committee did. It was a shocking and immeasurably harmful blow to our national security." *TV Guide* took out a full-page advertisement in the 20 January *New York Times* for this editorial and to reprint former CIA director John McCone's defense, "Why We Need the CIA." McCone is nothing if not blunt. If he is to wield the dagger of anti-communism effectively then, in his words, "society must accept the cloak."

Present CIA director Colby this week complained that intelligence operations were being "hamstrung" by the ongoing revelations. To be sure, the covert aid and murderous training of mercenaries for Angola goes on; the attempt to create another Chile in Portugal continues; anti-communist politicians in Italy are still funded; and who knows what "dirty tricks" on the home front are being concocted in Langley, Virginia.

But Colby's wounded fawn act is only part act. The CIA has indeed been impeded by investigations and particularly by muckraking press exposures. The injury is not, however, the ridiculous claim that the disclosure in a newspaper of Richard Welch as Athens station chief led to his death. The wound is more dangerous to this sinister creature of imperialism: the erosion of

continued on page 11

Angolan Leftists Jailed by Their Strikebreaking "Comrades"

MPLA: "Nationalists of a New Type"?

Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA.

J P Laffont-Sygma

The war in Angola which has dominated the headlines for several months has caused turmoil in the ostensible socialist movement internationally, with most groups hitching their carts to one or another of the contending petty-bourgeois nationalist movements: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Moscow-line Stalinists have naturally lined up behind the Soviet-backed MPLA. Consequently, in a simple knee-jerk reaction, Peking-loyal Maoists sided with the rabidly anti-communist FNLA and neo-colonialist UNITA. In the name of fighting "Soviet social-imperialism" these shameless hootlickers place themselves in the camp of U.S. imperialism, South African apartheid and their Angolan toadies!

This was too much for many self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninists," so a number of groups to the left of the pro-Russian Communist parties climbed aboard the MPLA handwagon. These include a number of "critical Maoist" tendencies, among them Lotta Continua in Italy, the União Democratica Popular in Portugal, the Kommunistischer Bund (Nord) in West Germany and the *Guardian* in the U.S.

While Stalinists of different stripes are singing the praises of their preferred Angolan nationalists, the Spartacist tendency has called since early November for *military* support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition. In the earlier three-cornered power struggle, we gave no backing to any of the nationalist movements, and have always refused to give *political* support to these forces which hope to construct a capitalist Angola. *All* of them, we have warned, will ruthlessly oppose or attempt to subordinate every manifestation of independent working-class struggle.

Mandelites Tail "Revolutionary" Nationalists

In contrast to Trotskyist insistence on the necessity of proletarian independence, the centrist majority of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has tailed after the MPLA in a fashion not much different from the "critical Maoists." With an occasional ritual reference to the desirability of an "independent and socialist Angola," the USec's real policy is "All Power to the MPLA!"

Naturally the Stalinists have no trouble selling this line, since an MPLA-ruled Angola would simply represent the "democratic" (capitalist) stage of their "two-stage revolution" schema. But to call for "all power to the MPLA" and still give lip service to the theory of permanent revolution which holds that only the dictatorship of the *proletariat*, supported by the peasantry, can break the imperialist stranglehold over the colonial countries requires a fundamental mystification of the nature of the People's Movement. More than simply peddling stories about "people's clinics" and agricultural co-ops, the fake-Trotskyist USec must claim that somehow the MPLA challenges capitalism.

With all the enthusiasm of Bukharin's accolades for the Chinese Kuomintang in the 1920's, the Mandelites claim that "the dynamic set in motion by the specific features of Portuguese colonialism and by years of struggle have incontestably separated this revolutionary nationalism [of the MPLA] from the swamp of rightism and reformism" (*Inprecor*, 20 June 1974). Just as the arch-revisionist Michel Pablo explained how the "objective processes" would overcome the "limitations" of the Algerian FLN, here again it is the automatic "dynamic" which solves everything.

Of course, the USec has a difficulty with this fairy tale, since MPLA leader Agostinho Neto has made quite clear where he stands: "[I] am not a communist, I am not a socialist, I am first of all a patriot," he says (*New York Times*, 21 April 1975). No problem. This is explained away by references to "insufficiencies" and "ambiguous positions" deriving from the "heterogeneity, political weakness and bureaucratic deviations" in the "sometimes inadequate leadership of the MPLA." The USec sees the "radicalised elements of the urban proletariat" in the "rank and file committees of the MPLA and in U.N.T.A. [the MPLA-led union]." It is this "vanguard" which it sees as "the spearhead of the entire revolutionary process today..." (*Africa in Struggle*, October 1975).

It is undoubtedly true that vital elements for the construction of a Trotskyist party could be won from among intellectuals and plebeian elements in the MPLA. But this requires a sharp struggle to break them from the petty-bourgeois nationalist People's Movement, which represents class forces hostile to the proletariat. Instead, in an article which rails at "those who believe that for revolutionary Marxists to support the MPLA is heresy," the USec asserts that "the political recomposition will take place *within* the MPLA toward the regroupment of an anti-capitalist tendency" (*Inprecor*, 20 November 1975 [our emphasis]).

Collusion with the Colonial Army

Why all these apologetics for the MPLA? Is the People's Movement perhaps a "revolutionary" nationalist formation of a "new" type, as the USec majority claims? A look at the history of the last eighteen months will dispel this myth. We can begin with the question of national independence itself. The MPLA rightly excoriates UNITA for its despicable attempts to collaborate with the Portuguese army in schemes for "gradual" decolonization and in attacks on the MPLA. *But when it got a chance, the MPLA did exactly the same!*

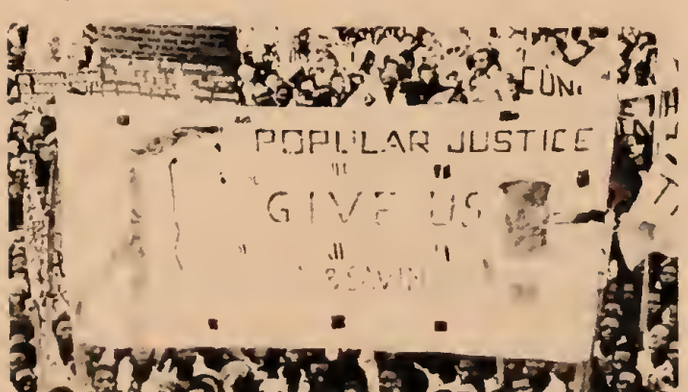
Far from "relative intransigence on the question of independence" which the USec ascribes to the MPLA, in the year after the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA) overthrew the Caetano dictatorship in Lisbon, the MPLA was foremost in trying to curry favor with the suddenly "revolutionary" officers of the demoralized colonial army. While the first chief of the MFA, General António de Spínola, attempted to include the colonies in a Portugal-dominated "Lusitanian commonwealth" – and obtained agreement from the "pro-Western" FNLA and UNITA in the August 1974 Sal Agreement once "eventual" independence was agreed to, the MPLA was more than willing to collaborate with the "democratic" army.

It did so particularly during the tenure of Portuguese high commissioner Admiral António Rosa Coutinho, between September 1974 and January 1975, and asserted that it was the "only movement that will support and loyally cooperate with the progressive Portuguese forces" (March 1975 MPLA statement quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 21 July 1975). That the demagogic MFA leaders were unable to work out a neo-colonial deal with the MPLA, similar to the Evian Accords whereby the FLN guaranteed French interests in "revolutionary" Algeria, was due not to Neto's "intransigence" but to the internal strains and shifting balance of power in the Lisbon government.

Chief among the reasons for the MPLA's attempted honeymoon with the Armed Forces Movement was its own military weakness. At the time of the April 1974 coup in Portugal, the Popular Movement was militarily battered and disorganized. This has been more or less admitted by MPLA military commander (now defense minister of the "People's Republic of Angola") Iko Carreira, who stated: "We were in a situation of inferiority compared to the potential which the FNLA had at that time..." (*Revolução*, 7 November 1975).

The military weakness of the MPLA was accentuated by acute internal factionalism, with two main groups challenging the Neto leadership. The "Active Revolt" group led by Rev. Joaquim Pintó de Andrade and his brother Mario (leader of the Angolan Communist Party in the 1950's and former head of the MPLA) accused Neto of "presidentialism," "tribalism" and "regionalism," and rejected any dealings with the FNLA. An "Eastern Revolt" group was the personalist organization of guerrilla leader Daniel Chipenda, who simultaneously opposed a ceasefire with Portugal and favored unity with the FNLA. Chipenda's position was not motivated by greater firmness against the colonial power, but by the belief that a ceasefire would tend to legitimize the established leaderships and thereby curb his own ambitions.

The MPLA's factional strife reached a climax at its August 1974 congress in Zambia where the Neto faction walked out and Chipenda was elected president. Only under pressure from several African heads of state did the MPLA patch itself back together in mid-



DR

Demonstration by MPLA-led "people's commissions" on the arrival of an OAU delegation in Luanda.

September, restoring Neto to the top post and making Chipenda and Pintó de Andrade vice presidents. But the truce did not last, and Chipenda left the People's Movement soon afterwards.

At this point, wracked by internal fights and militarily vulnerable, the MPLA might simply have fallen apart had it not been for the intervention of the Portuguese army. Admiral Coutinho reportedly said at a news conference that he recognized only the Neto leadership as representing the MPLA. Neto thereupon appealed to the colonial authorities for military support, and when Chipenda tried to take the important eastern rail junction of Luso in January he was stopped by MPLA *and Portuguese* troops. Chipenda subsequently threw in with the FNLA, becoming its deputy secretary-general and taking with him 2,000 guerrillas.

Agreement to Neo-Colonialism

Echoed by its USec camp followers, the MPLA today self-righteously denounces the FNLA and UNITA as always having been puppets of imperialism. Yet in Mombassa, Kenya, in early January 1975 the three groups produced a joint "declaration of principles" to "build a just and democratic society." This was perfectly consistent with Neto's continual denials of Western press accounts labelling the MPLA

Augusta Conchiglia

MPLA supporters demonstrate in the streets of Luanda.

"Marxist," and with the MPLA program which doesn't go beyond a call for the "installation of a republican and democratic regime."

The Mombassa declaration paved the way for the nationalists to sign the Alvor accords with the Lisbon government a few days later. This agreement established a four-part coalition regime in Angola with a new Portuguese high commissioner (Coutinho, considered too pro-MPLA, was dumped in favor of brigadier general Silva Cardoso) to "arbitrate" any differences and he in charge of "defense" and "security." Under this classical neo-colonial arrangement, the transitional government's armed forces were to consist of 24,000 Portuguese troops and 8,000 from each nationalist group. Independence was set for November 11, with an election limited to the three groups to be held in October. The MFA, figuring it could strongly influence the vote, insisted on keeping troops in Angola until well after the elections. The MPLA went along.

The MPLA also agreed to explicit protection of colonial settler property interests. Point 54 of the accords states, "The FNLA, UNITA and MPLA undertake to respect the property and legitimate interests of Portuguese domiciled in Angola." The next point aims at keeping the "independent" state in Lisbon's economic orbit, registering agreement to "establish between Angola and Portugal lasting ties of cooperation in all fields." Even after the Alvor accords were scrapped, the MPLA continued to soothe imperialist interests. Lopo do Nascimento, now premier of the Luanda-based "People's Republic," said in September that the MPLA would not go "too fast" and that "there is now no reason for the existing companies to get alarmed"; in his independence address Neto stated that "foreign investment will be welcomed from all abiding by Angolan laws" (*New York Times*, 13 November).

The People's Movement's will to strike a bargain with imperialism has been evident in its dealings with the international oil trusts. Petroleum output from Gulf Oil's wells in the Cabinda enclave north of the Zaïre (formerly Congo) River has been more than 150,000 barrels a day, with the company grossing over $1 billion annually on the operation. Gulf officials have reported no complaints whatever with the MPLA, which has controlled Cabinda essentially without challenge for the last year and a half. In September the American monopoly paid royalties of $116 million into a blocked account in the Bank of Angola which was taken over by the MPLA when independence was declared on November 11. (This sum exceeds the total estimated Soviet aid to the People's Movement during 1975 and is more than twice the admitted U.S. aid to FNLA-UNITA.) Only State Department pressure stopped Gulf from handing over another $125 million to the MPLA by early January.

Strikebreaking of an Old Type

Last year MPLA leader Nito Alves "publicly affirmed that it is an error to say that there is a class struggle in Angola that pits the bourgeoisie against the proletariat" (*Jornal Novo*, 2 September). No doubt it is this kind of statement that the USec majority is referring to when it asserts that "the highly combative workers [are] attempting to wage an anti-capitalist struggle under the sometimes inadequate leadership of the MPLA." After shrugging off the "frontist and gradualist illusions" of Neto, Alves & Co., the USec sums up the People's Movement: "Nevertheless, its desire to put 'an end to exploitation of man by man' and to establish a 'democratic and popular regime' had a very precise class content in the urban centers, *an end to capitalist exploitation, and the power of workers and poor peasants*" (*Africa in Struggle*, October 1975).

The fake Trotskyists of the United Secretariat are trying to portray the MPLA as some kind of a trade union whose humbling and perhaps even misguided leadership tends to hold back the workers' struggles. This is false to the core. Behind the MPLA's collaboration with the Portuguese army, its signing of the neo-colonialist Alvor accords and its wholehearted cooperation with Gulf Oil stand the appetites of a petty bourgeoisie aspiring to transform itself into a bourgeoisie by making a deal with imperialism. The MPLA's proclamations that the class struggle does not exist in Angola are more than verbiage; the MPLA and its army intend to smash the workers' struggles wherever they break out.

The "precise class content" of the MPLA's occasional demagogic talk of "end[ing] exploitation of man by man" was graphically illustrated by its suppression of workers' strikes. Following the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974 and again as the "transitional government" was being installed and independence seemed to be approaching, Angolan workers launched major strike waves in the hope of obtaining some improvements in their own lot. The strikes focused on the key dock facilities. In the spring of 1975 it was estimated that "in the ports of Luanda, Lobito and Moçamêdes... about 60 ships [were] waiting to be handled; the stevedores have been striking for better wages or, as one labor leader said, 'to accelerate independence'" (*Africa*, March 1975).

The position of all three nationalist movements toward the strikes has always been identical: to suppress them, including with the use of military force. In December 1974-January 1975 the port of Lobito was at a virtual standstill as the dockers demanded wage increases of up to 300 percent. *Africa* (February 1975) quotes one nationalist leader as saying about this walkout: "We were finding ourselves during December in the invidious position of restraining the workers to moderate their demands in the interests of Angola. But the question the workers asked was 'Whose Angola?'." The strike was reportedly ended after a personal appeal by UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

One of the very first acts of the four-party transitional government which took office at the beginning of February was to appeal to the workers and unions to suspend the strikes. This was followed up at the end of the month by a decree (the *lei de mobilização*) permitting the coalition government to mobilize strikers into the army and thus place them under military discipline. However, even this did not stop the working-class agitation.

> "A large demonstration against the *lei de mobilização* was held by the Popular Neighbourhood Commissions, an MPLA-influenced movement, on April 9, though Lopo do Nascimento publicly defended the law as in the interests of the Angolan people. Though the dock-workers were placed under military control in accordance with the law shortly after its enactment, they are again threatening to return on strike."
> *Africa*, July 1975

The Luanda longshoremen carried out this threat and walked off the job again on May 28, protesting that dockers with less seniority should get equal pay raises to the 15-30 percent increases granted a few days earlier to high seniority workers. The MPLA-led longshoremen's union SINTAPA duly denounced the strike as a wildcat and called for the government to take "adequate measures" to restore law and order.

"Normalizing" the "People's Committees"

If the "Marxist" MPLA resorted to strikebreaking and militarization of labor under the colonial army, then it should surprise no one that the MPLA of "people's power" should attempt to suppress the neighborhood "people's committees" led by its own militants.

These committees first arose in 1974 in the *mucêques* (African slum districts which encircled the European districts of Luanda) essentially as self-defense groups in response to widespread marauding by racist colonialists that left hundreds dead. Their leaders were reportedly lower-level MPLA cadre, along with some Maoist militants who had returned from Lisbon.

There were numerous indications of tensions between the people's committees and the MPLA. The March 8 demonstration against the MPLA-backed mobilization was one example. Later in the month, the neighborhood committees clashed with FNLA troops in the capital, whom they accused of arrogantly parading around like an

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Former publication of United Secretariat supporters in Luanda.

Capitol Packaging Strike Sold Out

CHICAGO, January — Worn down by the company's vicious strikebreaking tactics and betrayed by their local and national union leadership, workers at the Capitol Packaging plant in nearby Melrose Park voted January 11 to return to work. This ended a bitter 23-week strike during which the union local's vice president was run down and killed by a truck breaking through the picket lines.

By a 68-28 vote the strikers, members of Local 7-507 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), reluctantly accepted the company's offer of a 22.5 cent an hour across-the-board pay increase in each of two years, three months' retroactive increase for the period they worked without a contract, earned vacation pay for 60 laid-off workers and an "annual bonus" (to be retracted next year!) of eight hours pay.

Except for the piddling 2.5 cents an hour added on to the insulting "bonus," this offer was essentially unchanged from the pittance offered by the company in the first place. Particularly galling to the strikers was the company's refusal to meet what had become the pivotal and hardest-fought demand, a full six-months retroactive pay increase. Union members now face new reprisals, as the company has announced its intention to lay off the entire second shift for at least a month.

WV Photo

Rally at Chicago civic center January 10 in support of the Capitol Packaging strike.

The OCAW International bears foremost responsibility for this defeat. Its sole aid to the strikers consisted of providing a measly $25 a week in strike benefits. It failed to implement in any way its call for a consumer boycott against products of the parent Alberto-Culver (A-C) Corporation. Even after the Local officer was killed on the picket line, the International stood by and allowed Capitol Packaging to continue operations. It neither called on the Chicago labor movement to mobilize to smash the anti-picketing court injunctions nor demanded that transport workers refuse to handle A-C products.

Rose Kirk, chief steward at the Capitol plant, told *Workers Vanguard* that both the company and the OCAW International had stepped up pressure to end the strike. In the last week management threatened immediate termination of all workers who refused to return to work, while OCAW threatened to cut off its meager strike benefits. Faced with choosing between continuing a losing strike abandoned by the International or accepting the company's rotten offer, many of the most active strikers simply boycotted the ratification meeting, Kirk said.

In an interview with *WV*, Kirk, who unlike the local union leadership refused to endorse the sellout, said that she had begun the strike with considerable confidence in the OCAW International. However, it soon became evident to her that the Grospiron regime was unwilling to provide any real support to the strikers. Kirk also criticized the trade-union bureaucracy's stifling of militants. Referring to the bureaucratically run Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Kirk said:

> "Addie Wyatt said it's a good movement, but it isn't. It doesn't do anything. Do you know what's the matter with CLUW? They're afraid of people with different ideas getting in there. It's dying."

WV Photo

Rose Kirk, chief steward at Capitol Packaging, speaking at rally.

At a large support rally held in downtown Chicago the day before the ratification vote, Spartacist League spokesman Len Meyers contrasted the courage of the strikers to the do-nothing passivity of the International. Meyers pointed out that workers disillusioned with the labor bureaucrats could only go forward if they based their opposition on a genuine class-struggle program. He concluded his speech to vigorous applause from strike militants when he asserted: "If they [the International] had the foresight to be real labor leaders, instead of giving working people the 'choice' between racist Republicans and millionaire Democrats they would use the power of the unions to build a workers party," which would fight for a workers government. ■

Pittsburgh Teachers....

(continued from page 12)

picketing at all 104 schools received an enthusiastic response. Fewer than 10 percent of the city's teachers reported for work January 5, and later in the day 3,000 strikers rallied to support continuing the strike. Faced with the rebelliousness of the teachers the BPE scurried back to Ziegler who obligingly held the PFT in contempt of court and indicated that fines would be imposed beginning January 12 if the strike continued. Ziegler also attacked Fondy for "anarchy and sedition" and lectured the strikers on their civic responsibilities, teachers, he said, "do not have the same right to strike as the steelworker does" (*Pittsburgh Press*, 9 January).

The city education board, in collusion with the courts, has made it clear that it is not interested in bargaining with the teachers. While hypocritically denouncing the teachers for "disrupting" the educational process, several school board members have absented themselves from the city for long periods of time. Among them is BPE chairman Rev. LeRoy Patrick, who left in the midst of the strike to visit Israel! In another attempt to circumvent collective bargaining, this week Ziegler set up a special "fact-finding" panel of "private citizens" to hear both sides and to recommend a solution. This panel includes Richard Gualtieri, business agent of Boilermakers Local No. 154, who must be harshly condemned for abetting the court's strikebreaking efforts.

While PFT head Fondy has opposed any abridgement of the union's bargaining rights, he has also indicated his willingness to compromise the union's demands. "We're not going to get everything we want," Fondy told strikers at the January 13 rally, but he didn't tell them what part of their demands he considered expendable.

WV Photo

Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers pickets.

Fondy has, in fact, accepted a compromise wage settlement proposed by the Allegheny County Labor Council, the local AFL-CIO body, which amounts to a 45 percent cut in the original demand.

Fondy has also frequently alluded to the fact that the Board would save enough in unpaid wages from a two-month strike to finance the teachers' pay demands for this year. A bill now being introduced in the state legislature would repeal a law requiring a school year of 180 days as a minimum basis to receive state education subsidies. While the sponsors say their aim is to maintain needed subsidy payments in the face of the strike, this bill — sure to be utilized by cost-cutting local school boards — would undermine the already low standards of public education and would be used to deprive students and teachers in Pittsburgh of the opportunity to make up education and pay lost during the strike. Such a deal would wipe out almost the entire wage increase the union is asking for this year, and must be opposed.

Fondy's pledge that no individual will have to pay fines has been backed up by Albert Shanker, national president of the American Federation of Teachers

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(AFT). For either the AFT or Pittsburgh teachers to pay *any* fines on individuals or on the union would be a capitulation. The injunction must be lifted and all fines and criminal actions against strike leaders abrogated! While the Pittsburgh teachers have received support from the local AFL-CIO council, Shanker and even George Meany, "messages of solidarity" and financial assistance are not enough. The entire Pittsburgh labor movement must be mobilized for a general strike to smash court and BPF strikebreaking.

An important component in maintaining the support of the city's working people is the PFT's willingness to oppose increases in class sizes and cutbacks in educational programs. Many of these programs are particularly beneficial to Pittsburgh's black community, which makes up 45 percent of the public school student population. In the past, however, the PFT leadership has failed to vigorously oppose white-segregationist moves for "neighborhood schools" by counterposing an effective program of busing and school integration.

Moreover, one of the demands of the PFT is for greater disciplinary powers for teachers, including leaving corporal punishment as an option. While there is a need for racially-integrated groups of teachers and students to maintain order, the PFT's demands coupled with its refusal to demand removal of the hired "security aides" who patrol the schools can only increase the repressive atmosphere in the schools and exacerbate racial tensions.

Although it correctly cites the importance of taking a strong stand for desegregation, the 13 January *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party (CP), calls on striking teachers to demonstrate solidarity with the "community" by participating in voluntary "alternative schools." Such gimmicks as "alternative schools" only reinforce the argument of the BPE that the strike hurts the public. The reformist CP ignores the real solution: "inconvenience to the public" could be quickly ended were the Pittsburgh labor movement to demonstrate its determination to defend the teachers through militant strike action.

Both the CP and trade-union bureaucrats like Fondy try to solve the problem of education within the framework of capitalism. Public schools in Pittsburgh are financed by a tax that falls most heavily on working people. Fondy favors increasing this regressive tax to provide more money! The CP, on the other hand, calls for shifting the tax burden onto the shoulders of the corporations. In practice this reformist panacea means launching campaigns for tax reform in Congress and state legislatures. The lack of money for education and other social services, however, is a direct result of the current capitalist economic crisis. Not through pressuring the Democrats and Republicans, but only by mobilizing organized labor and forming a workers party to shatter the capitalist system can any significant redistribution of wealth be brought about. ■

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American rocket launcher being demonstrated by UNITA leader.

Angola...

(continued from page 1)

tion the effects of Pretoria's recent efforts at "détente" with black Africa: "The moderates decided to admit openly that they regard South Africa as less an enemy than Cuba and the Soviet Union. 'After all, it is part of Africa,' remarked one African diplomat" (*Washington Post*, 15 January).

The ability of South Africa to buy votes in the OAU is a telling indictment of the chimera of Pan-African unity based on racial solidarity and phony "African socialism." From Pretoria's tiny economic satellites of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, to the glorified "Bantustan" labor reserve Malawi, to the weak bourgeois nationalist regimes of Zaïre and Zambia, South African premier Balthazar Vorster is attempting to use penny-ante bribery to put together a sub-continental "co-prosperity sphere" dominated by Johannesburg capital. Even the fake-"Marxist" regime in Mozambique, while it backs the MPLA, has not stopped supplying contract mine labor to South Africa, a colonial practice established by the Portuguese which subjects the miners to the most barbarous superexploitation.

Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda has been the main broker for Pretoria's attempted "détente" with black Africa and has hailed Vorster as the "voice of reason for which Africa and the world had waited." Zambia—whose copper mines are worked in collaboration with American, Rhodesian and South African capital—backed Senegal's resolution at the OAU calling for a ceasefire, government of "national unity" and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola. Such an apparent gesture of unity and conciliation is, in fact, a demand that the MPLA give up its battlefield victories at the conference table.

At the OAU summit, Kaunda bemoaned the potential loss of the "lives of millions of innocent Angolans," but in fact this fake "anti-imperialist" would happily countenance the slaughter of the MPLA's plebeian supporters in Luanda in order to secure access to the Benguela railroad, the Atlantic Ocean outlet for Zambian copper. While Kaunda praised the Chinese line of opposition to "intervention by superpowers," like the Maoist running dogs his position means concrete support to an imperialist victory in Angola.

OAU: Neo-Colonialist Den of Thieves

Since its founding in 1963, the OAU has preserved "African unity" by defending the artificial political boundaries created by the imperialist division of the continent and maintaining diplomatic silence while member nations ruthlessly suppress political, racial and tribal minorities. As Azinna Nwafor wrote of the OAU in his introduction to George Padmore's *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, its charter did no more than "retrospectively ratify the Treaty of Berlin of 1885 by which the continent was shared out between thirteen European countries without anyone consulting African opinion."

In the name of "national unity," the OAU apologized for Nigeria's genocidal slaughter of Ibo tribesmen in secessionist Biafra in 1967. The Organization of African "Unity" likewise backs the Ethiopian generals in their dirty war against Eritrean secessionist guerrillas. It did not blink an eye at the mass expulsion of Asians from East African countries or the massacre of tens of thousands of Hutu tribesmen in Burundi in 1972-73.

In Field Marshal Idi Amin, the capricious and megalomaniacal president of Uganda, the OAU has a chairman who personifies the despotic military rule that is the legacy of European colonialism. After ordering the brutal expulsion of 50,000 Asians and the assassination of thousands of his political and tribal opponents, Amin received aid from the Soviet Union and Libya. In recent months Uganda has followed the pattern of Egypt's abrupt break with the USSR and, behind official neutrality, has tilted toward support to the imperialist-led coalition in Angola. With this sordid history, Amin is hailed by the conservative black nationalist Congress of Racial Equality as "a true Pan-Africanist" and "one of Africa's most vocal and progressive leaders" (*CORE Magazine*, Summer 1975). CORE, in turn, is now organizing black U.S. veterans to fight as mercenaries with the South African-backed UNITA in Angola.

The first post-independence leaders of sub-Saharan Africa (Senghor, Touré, Nkrumah, Nyerere) propounded theories of "African socialism" which denied the need for class struggle because of the supposedly harmonious nature of village society. Actually representing the ideology of a weak petty bourgeoisie striving to become a ruling class through laying hold of the colonial state apparatus, "African socialism" served as a mask to hide the most virulent tribalism, nepotism and naked repression of the working class. When a handful of military officers effortlessly toppled the corrupt Nkrumah regime in Ghana in 1966 without provoking the least popular resistance, it had a powerful effect in debunking these "theories" and turning many young African militants toward an examination of Marxism.

Pan-Africanism was a corollary of "classless" African socialism. The dream of a United States of Africa was already badly tarnished by the appearance of 47 separate states, most of them now ruled by former sergeants of the colonial armies, and the failure of every effort at federation. Now, at its first real test, the Organization of African Unity has split down the middle and by its inaction actually served the interests of U.S. imperialism and its white supremacist South African junior partner.

The success of U.S. and South African diplomacy has, with a little help from Chairman Mao, removed for the first time the OAU's ostensible single point of political unity. At the same time, the internationalization of the Angolan conflict has polarized the organization between those states most dependent on the U.S. and South Africa and others, like oil-rich Nigeria and Libya, which can maintain a verbally militant opposition to the Portuguese *colon* and South African forces in Angola. Even the pro-MPLA group is no bloc of "progressive" regimes. Left-talking nationalists like Samora Machel are allied with rightist officers in Ghana, Sudan's anti-Communist butcher Nimeiry and the military regime in Somalia whose Soviet aid has not prevented the imprisonment of several thousand leftists.

In the proxy war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Marxists must give military support to the Russian, Cuban and MPLA troops. But the liberation of sub-Saharan Africa does not depend on the foreign policy of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which seeks only the creation of friendly *bourgeois* regimes like that in Somalia. The Soviet Union has repeatedly indicated its willingness to accept a "transitional government with the participation of representatives of various movements." With the eclipse of the FNLA and recent conciliating gestures by UNITA, the possibility of an MPLA-UNITA coalition is not ruled out. But none of the contending factions in Angola, singly or in combination, can address the fundamental problems of poverty and social inequality. Only the emergence of Trotskyist workers parties particularly in South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the continent—and the profound social transformation of African society by the revolutionary victory of the proletariat supported by the poor peasant masses can wrench Africa from the grip of imperialism and resolve the multiplicity of tribal and ethnic rivalries which continually erupt into genocidal conflicts. ■

Photo Trends

South African troops "training near the Angolan border."

MPLA...

(continued from page 7)

occupying army, while the MPLA was still trying to maintain the coalition government. After repeated ceasefires and truces, in June the MPLA (under Portuguese pressure) signed the Nakuru accords which called for disarming the people's committees. But before this could be accomplished, full-scale civil war broke out in Luanda and the FNLA was driven out of the capital, with the people's committees playing a role in the fighting.

Portuguese high commissioner Lopes Cardoso, in reviewing the last months of colonial rule, attributed tensions between UNITA and the MPLA to a "far left" in the MPLA armed forces, the unions and the people's committees. He added, "the MPLA found it necessary to create people's power and to maneuver with the trade unions when the FNLA was in Luanda in force.... then it lost control of them. It began to tail after them" (*A Luta*, 26 December). Later, he said, the MPLA tried to impose its authority. In addition, the 23 October *Le Monde* reported that the people's committees had been dissolved and reorganized under "politically conscious elements." All other armed groups were declared illegal.

From Liquidation to Political Suicide

While refusing to support any of the petty-bourgeois nationalist formations during the three-way power struggle of early and mid-1975 pointing out that there was no qualitative distinction between them the Spartacist tendency noted that unlike the FNLA and UNITA, "the MPLA draws its present support from the masses of urban dispossessed, semi-proletarians and working-class elements" and thus an FNLA-UNITA victory would mean "decimating, demoralizing and dispersing the plebeian mass which can form the basis for a future independent movement of the working people." Therefore, "while never ceasing to attack politically the treacherous MPLA leadership" we recognized that communists in Angola would have to be prepared to engage in episodic "military blocs, with the MPLA forces to defend the proletariat and poor." But we added:

> "We recognize, however, that should communists in the course of this struggle begin to rally around their program and leadership MPLA supporters or especially to split a section of the MPLA ranks away from their bourgeois leaders, then the MPLA would turn on and savagely attack not only the communists but also its own ranks."
>
> *Young Spartacus* No. 35, September 1975

The United Secretariat majority saw only one side of the story: it was blind to the brutal repression which the MPLA would direct at any socialist tendency which threatened to polarize its base on class lines. In polemicizing against the pro-FNLA "neutrality" of the reformist American Socialist Workers Party, leader of the USec minority, the Mandelites' "Africa expert" C. Gabriel writes that the "class-struggle tendency ...in the ranks of the MPLA...knows that if the FNLA reenters Luanda it will be the first target of what Holden [Roberto] called the 'cleanup of Communists'." That is why, says Gabriel, "the question of support for the MPLA is decisive for the further growth of the vanguard" (*Intercontinental Press*, 8 December 1975).

This "class-struggle tendency" actually consisted of supporters of the USec in Angola. The 24 April 1975 *Inprecor* glowingly announced that "a small revolutionary Marxist nucleus has been founded in Luanda around the journal *Revolução Socialista*." It was evidently quite careful to make clear that it was not a rival to the MPLA. "No, it is not yet another party cropping up! It is only a journal, one that owes its allegiance to the workers and is for the workers." Although an editorial in the September 1974 *Revolução Socialista* does call for a "revolutionary party," it purposefully avoids the crucial question of whether this will involve a split from the MPLA or can be done by and through the nationalist organization. Such shilly-shallying only reinforces illusions spread by the MPLA, which has periodically called for a "vanguard party" since at least 1968!

The USec journal *Africa in Struggle* (October 1975) reports of its supporters in Angola that "against the ambiguous response of the MPLA" they are propagandizing for self-defense, supporting workers strikes, denouncing the imperialist grip on the economy and calling for socialist revolution. But if the response of the MPLA was ever ambiguous toward the "Trotskyists" of *Revolução Socialista*, it did not remain so for long. In the same way that the MPLA attacked striking dock workers, in the same way that it tried to disarm and disorganize the people's committees, it turned on leftist militants within its own ranks.

At the time of the reported dissolution and reorganization of the people's committees in late October, some 20 leftist militants (apparently mostly Maoists) were arrested. The 2 January *Rouge* (newspaper of the LCR, French section of the USec) reports that in Luanda the "Amilcar Cabral Committees" (CAC), linked to the Portuguese Maoist UDP, had played a leading role in organizing neighborhood committees and self-defense groups, and had put a great deal of pressure on the MPLA. Now with the deepening of the war, the radio broadcast speeches against the "partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin," MPLA leader Nito Alves said that after the FNLA and UNITA the next target should be the "leftists," and the newspaper *Poder Popular* ("People's Power") was banned. *Rouge* indicates that "the CAC were broken" and implies that the *Revolução Socialista* supporters were also eliminated. The arrested militants were deported to Portugal in November.

Commenting on these arrests, the 20 November *Red Weekly* (newspaper of the IMG, British section of the USec) states, "This move clearly attests to the rightward swing for the petty-bourgeois Neto current." But Marxists did not need to wait for these arrests or a repeat of the 1927 Shanghai massacre by Neto Angola's aspiring Chiang Kai-shek to determine the class character or anticipate the behavior of the MPLA. The press of the Spartacist tendency has repeatedly warned that Neto & Co. would do exactly what they have now done.

This is not a new problem. Already during the 1920's Leon Trotsky, in recognizing that the Chinese Communists should seek to win the best militants away from the nationalist Kuomintang, pointed to the crucial condition for a successful struggle, "the principal instrument of proletarian policy: an *independent proletarian party* which fights under its own banner and never permits its policy and organization to be dissolved in the policy and organization of other classes" ("The Chinese Revolution and the Theses of Comrade Stalin," May 1927).

In the service of its capitulationist policy of tailing after non-revolutionary, anti-proletarian forces the revisionist United Secretariat must ignore and falsify this crucial lesson. From Pablo's "entrism *sui generis*" into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties in the 1950's, to the Pabloist USec's enthusiasm for the Algerian FLN and Castro in the 1960's, to its political support for the Angolan MPLA today, the policy is the same as Stalin's capitulation to Chiang in the 1920's. And as happened in Shanghai in April 1927, political liquidation led to physical liquidation of the cadres. Pablo gave enthusiastic political support to Mao while Mao was locking up the Chinese Trotskyists; the USec gave support to Castro while Castro jailed Cuban Trotskyists. And now, despite the USec's unambiguous *political support* for the Angolan MPLA, Neto returns the favor ... by arresting the leftists and expelling them from the country!

Learn the lessons of history! ■

150,000 Madrid Workers Strike

(continued from page 4)

actually controls lower levels of the CNS structure in certain areas. When the Franco regime permitted a certain democratization of the syndicate elections last May-June, the Communist Party was able to get its supporters elected. In the key Barcelona SEAT auto plant, for instance, more than 80 percent of the votes went to the Stalinist-backed "alliance of worker unity and democracy" slate.

Marxists do not refuse on principle to work in fascist "unions" if this is the only way to reach the workers and provide leadership to their struggles. But if there is a real possibility of enforcing a total boycott and destroying these structures of state control, as has existed in Spain for at least several years, then we must attempt to do so. While the PCE has managed to give the current strikes in Madrid some protective coloration by working through the CNS, this will soon prove to be a powerful lever in the hands of the Francoist regime, which will use its control of the apparatus to regiment the workers.

While the Stalinists talk of using "all forms of struggle" to justify their participation in the "vertical" syndicates, their real purpose is to ensure a means for bureaucratic control should the relatively unstructured workers commissions escape from their control. The same pattern emerged in Portugal after the fall of the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship in 1974. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) had established its influence in the lower levels of the "national syndicate" apparatus, and soon after the April 25 coup it engineered a purge of the Salazarist elements and seized control of the now "democratic" unions. These were joined together in the Intersindical federation.

This bureaucratic apparatus carrying over from the Salazar-Caetano regime made it possible for the PCP to stab the May-June 1974 strike wave in the back, using the Intersindical to recruit strike-breakers and thugs to smash the important postal workers strike in June 1974. The present dramatic lack of labor unity in Portugal, with many plants having two competing unions -the PCP-dominated ex-corporatist Intersindical unions and the "far left"-influenced workers commissions- is the result of the failure to destroy the Salazarist vertical "unions," and a major roadblock to proletarian revolution.

This common response to the question of corporatist syndicates demonstrates the fundamental identity of the "soft" Spanish and the "hard" Portuguese Stalinists. Both in their programs of class-collaborationist alliances tying the workers to a section of the bourgeoisie (whether it is the "enlightened" capitalists or the "patriotic" officers) and in their labor policies aimed at enforcing bureaucratic control of the ranks, the goal of both these reformist parties is to suppress proletarian revolution. Only the formation of Trotskyist parties in Spain and Portugal, capable of intersecting the mass struggles of the Iberian workers and providing a program of transitional demands, can defeat the present Stalinist misleaders and open the road to workers rule. ■

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Kennedy...

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secrecy itself.

Like one of those science fiction monsters which emerge from a slimy black lagoon to rampage in the dead of night, the CIA cannot bear even the first few rays of daylight. Secrecy is not a commodity the CIA can do without.

New-found annoyances appear everywhere. Yesterday's liberal college professor-informant could be fairly certain of doing little clandestine favors for the CIA without soiling his tweedy image. No longer. Foreign governments which supply the CIA with information are now a bit worried about the association. Agents in the field are unsure what will be "leaked."

There can be no CIA without "special operations," and the entire bourgeoisie knows it. Not the Pike committee nor the Church committee nor any "responsible" journalist has suggested that U.S. imperialism should relinquish its covert military arm. The fight is over how soon to clamp the lid on revelations about the CIA: McCone and Colby, Ford and Kissinger say now; yesterday; the liberals say not quite yet.

Cold-war liberals viewed the CIA as an enlightened alternative to the conservative isolationism of Robert Taft and the crude anti-communism of Joe McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover. Today, the dispute over the CIA stems in large part from different strategies for U.S. imperialism. Some liberal ideologues argue that the fight to nail down the "third world" isn't worth the effort; they would prefer instead to concentrate on the Near East and Europe. Perhaps the most "radical" proposal emanates from an interesting article ("The CIA from Beginning to End") by Gary Wills in the 22 January *New York Review of Books*. Wills wants to "abolish" the CIA—and move the same functions into the State Department!

Legacy of Colonialism

The cult of secrecy and lack of "parliamentary control" is inherent in the CIA's purpose as an instrument of U.S. imperialism. Wills' article points out that the CIA was created out of the Office of Strategic Services and tutored by British intelligence (MI-6) which had developed the "cult of secrecy" to a fine art.

Governing the colonies was often a messy business. Given the barbarity of the acts to be performed for British imperialism in the colonies and the upper-crust social status of the perpetrators, secrecy was an iron necessity. The imperialist operatives—organized as an elite corps bound by the "old school tie"—slaughtered the "wogs" and "fuzzy-wuzzies," all in the name of a "civilizing mission" and without losing their status as gentlemen.

Black Star

Fidel Castro

When the U.S. inherited the role of chief imperialist policeman at the end of World War II, the CIA learned the style of domestic aristocrat and foreign killer from the British. Charged with safeguarding U.S. capitalism's global profits, the executive had to be free to act without the restraints of domestic civil custom. Wills is dead wrong in envisioning the possibility of a new, more humane imperialism. The requirements of imperialism in the period of its decay are certainly no less savage than those of 19th century colonialism.

The CIA was developed as the secret agency of an executive with ever more free-wheeling power to conduct secret wars. The construction of a political infrastructure loyal to the president alone was the basis for a tendency for structural bonapartism. Hence the desire for a sacred aura around the office of the presidency, and the recoil from the Kennedy-CIA-Mafia connection.

Of course, Kennedy, the CIA and the Mafia are not alter all such strange bedfellows. In the film "Godfather II," a Mafia family goes to Havana shortly before the Cuban revolution to survey its vast holdings in gambling, prostitution, drugs and murder. The most far-sighted are disturbed by the atmosphere of revolutionary ferment—with good reason, as it turns out. Their gambling houses and brothels, their pimps and pushers were closed down just as surely as the sugar industry was expropriated. The film captures the community of interest between the Mafia and U.S. imperialism.

Sam Giancana does not own an old school tie, but he does have a considerable stake in capitalism; and as the revelations of Kennedy-Mafia-CIA links underscore, the "imperial presidency" has its uses for the Sam Giancanas. It is a small irony of history—which obeys the higher laws of the class struggle—that while the Kennedy administration was beating the drums for its much-publicized "war on crime," the CIA and Mafia were trying to assassinate Castro on orders from the president. Contrary to the pious indignation of the liberals, it is not the White House which is besmirched by the Mafia tie-in. Compared to the massive official Murder, Inc. of the CIA, the Mafia hitmen are small-time criminals.

Cover-Up Continues

A few worms have crawled out of the gigantic can and can be seen in all their slimy detail. The bourgeois press is uncomfortable with what has been uncovered. They have not written the details of Kennedy's role in ordering the Phoenix project, which tortured and killed tens of thousands of Vietnamese villagers. Instead they have written the details of Kennedy's love life. Faced with the sacred office of the presidency grown inescapably into the office of mass murder, the liberal press takes refuge behind sex scandals. *Newsweek* magazine is not atypical when, after noting "the tale" of murder in the Kennedy administration, it tells "a sorrier tale—that a president of the U.S. had for two years shared a girlfriend with two reputed princelings of syndicated crime."

Marzani & Munsell

A CIA B-26 bomber shot down during Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961. State Department claimed that Cuban air force pilots had rebelled. Kennedy called off second air strike after CIA cover story was blown.

Since the CIA investigations began, *WV* has insisted that their primary function is to sanitize what has already been exposed, provide the legislative occasion for streamlining the spy agency, and cover up the rest. The CIA is not an organization that can be reformed into civility by this or that Senate committee. U.S. imperialism demands secrecy and a license for murder for its covert military/political instrument. Only the victorious proletarian revolution which destroys imperialism can abolish the CIA ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 12)

(which was eventually rammed through after three membership votes).

In the recent election, Brown based most of his unpopular campaign on defending this weak-kneed capitulation and attacking the class-struggle program of Gow and Keylor. At the January 15 meeting the "leftist" Brown even managed to come out temporarily to the *right* of the pro-Bridges officials!

These fakers felt the pressure building up for action against the employers and decided to conciliate the membership's discontent. Bridges supporter Mosley introduced a substitute for the strike motions already on the floor, proposing that the Local strike within a week if the PMA did not respond "adequately." As if this deliberate vagueness wasn't enough to ensure that no serious action would be taken, Mosley insisted in his speech that support from other ports "would not be necessary"! Temporarily seizing the initiative by calling for a strike, the Bridges forces managed to pass Mosley's motion and defeat a proposal by Gow and Keylor for an elected strike committee.

The Bridges forces are simply putting on a facade of militancy while carefully limiting their proposals to avoid a real class battle. Most likely Bridges & Co. will try to come back with a compromise settlement to refurbish their image while avoiding a strike, which could easily get out of control of the bureaucracy. However, it is not beyond Bridges to allow Local 10 to walk out alone and then isolate it, in an attempt to permanently wreck a maverick local.

Militants must make use of the strike vote to mobilize Coast-wide resistance to PMA, while avoiding traps and pitfalls laid by the Bridges regime. As in the contract dispute last August, class-struggle militants in the Local are for a strike in which the membership can effectively implement a militant policy and undercut the treachery of Bridges. A strategy to *win* real gains must include striking for the demand of a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, extending the strike to include the entire West Coast, and electing strike committees in each port to provide an avenue for rank-and-file control.

Seething unrest among the ranks was also reflected in the two-to-one membership vote to reject the January 10 election returns, on the grounds that oppositionists like Wing were excluded from the ballot for political reasons and the balloting committee was appointed instead of elected. This was essentially a healthy and supportable rejection of Bridges' undemocratic election procedures. As an unfortunate by-product, however, the challenge puts into limbo the membership vote which repudiated Larry Wing's rigged trial. The motion also failed to set the time for new elections, despite a motion from the last executive board meeting to hold the elections January 31.

Significantly, the Local meeting voted to immediately register all remaining "B-men" into A status. This was a direct slap at Bridges, whose rotten 1975 contract allows B-men to be moved up only through attrition! However, such votes have been passed before, only to be sabotaged by the International in collusion with the PMA.

The way forward for longshoremen is clear: For a Coast-wide strike of the ILWU to achieve a sliding scale of hours and wages, full union rights for all members, and the defeat of all cutbacks! No faith in the Bridges machine—for an elected strike committee, not another 1971 betrayal! ■

Doctors Strike...

(continued from page 3)

and supportable as such. But it could quickly be turned into an attack on the general population by demanding limitations on liability for medical malpractice damages. The doctors' long-range goal is to reform tort law so as to abolish attorney contingency fees, eliminate all "pain and suffering" claims and generally restrict the standards for malpractice suits. The main effect of this will be to sharply limit the right of aggrieved patients to sue for blatant negligence.

There is a growing layer of younger, more radical-minded doctors truly concerned with the social aspects of their profession. But for most physicians, the Hippocratic oath is a vow of hypocrisy incidental to the pursuit of personal wealth. For them, malpractice insurance is an encumbering financial drain. For insurance companies and vulturous lawyers, malpractice claims are but a field of contention for splitting the riches extorted directly or indirectly from the workers and the poor.

For the working class, however, no "reform" of the malpractice system can be satisfactory. Regardless of whether the doctors succeed in their pressure tactics to hold down increases in malpractice rates or not, it is clear that the cost of health care will continue to soar to the benefit of physicians, insurance companies, pharmaceutical houses and medical supply companies. Meanwhile, the "public" hospitals will continue to provide abysmal service to the working class and poor, while the vast majority of medical workers are paid starvation wages and subjected to insane overwork in overcrowded, under-equipped and rapidly deteriorating facilities.

Only the expropriation (without compensation) of the giant insurance companies and health-related industries, and the complete socialization of medicine can open the road to adequate health care. These tasks will be accomplished not by doctors, lawyers, corporate stockholders or legislators, but by victorious workers revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

ILWU Local 10 Invalidates Election

For A West Coast Longshore Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO, January 18 – San Francisco Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has voted overwhelmingly to strike within one week if the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) goes through with its latest attack on jobs and the pay guarantee. This vote at least temporarily reverses the recent series of demoralizing defeats suffered by longshoremen at the hands of the PMA and the sellout Bridges leadership of the ILWU. However, pro-Bridges forces in the Local, forced into this action in order to contain the growing anger of the ranks, are already preparing to sabotage its implementation.

The discontent was quite clear at the January 15 membership meeting, which was attended by about 1,200, more than twice normal attendance for a regular meeting. Recently announced changes in the rules to qualify for Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) payments (requiring a minimum of 200 hours per quarter actually worked instead of merely being available for work) will make collection of the supposedly "guaranteed" pay significantly more difficult for perhaps as much as a quarter of the membership. The changes have already been openly endorsed by Bridges. Members also directed their anger at the Local 10 leadership over the January 10 elections, held in defiance of an executive board decision, in which opponents of the regime such as ex-President Larry Wing were bureaucratically kept off the ballot.

According to several members interviewed by *WV* later, calls for action from the floor dominated the meeting and forced Bridges' supporters onto the defensive. One motion demanded rejection of the latest PGP qualification changes. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, Local 10 executive board members who publish *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle oppositional paper in the Local, proposed as an amendment a modified version of a motion passed by the board last October. This motion had called for a strike against PMA cutbacks, for the full PGP and for a "sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members." To avoid isolation, the Local was to have called on other ports "to join us in solidarity." Active collusion by the Bridges bureaucracy and the shipping companies prevented implementation of this motion and has allowed the PMA to cut two job boards, reduce another by 250 men and slash the PGP by as much as 40 percent over the last six months, thus setting up the membership for new attacks.

Another amendment was then made by Archie Brown, chief spokesman for Communist Party views in the Local, which amounted to a postponement of the whole matter to a special membership meeting in two weeks! Brown's proposal was merely a continuation of his position on the contract last August, when he was against striking because of the danger of sabotage by the Bridges regime. Rather than serving to help change that regime, his defeatist position reflected Brown's capitulation to Bridges' rotten contract proposal

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Cops Seize Union Office

Militant Pittsburgh Teachers' Strike Defies Court Injunction

PITTSBURGH, January 14 – The 45-day walkout by 4,500 teachers, paraprofessionals and technical-clerical workers here remains 90 percent effective despite the strikebreaking efforts of the Board of Public Education (BPE), an injunction against the strike and court-imposed fines on the teachers' union and on each individual striker. During a mass rally yesterday, Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers (PFT) president Albert Fondy pledged that no striker would pay a fine. The fines – $25,000 plus $10,000 a day on the PFT and $100 a day on each of the striking teachers – were imposed by Common Pleas Court judge Donald Ziegler after the union defied the judge's January 3 injunction that attempted to force the teachers back to work without a contract and to prohibit picketing.

At the rally more than 2,000 strikers packed the Islam Grotto on Pittsburgh's north side to hear Fondy's report on the state of negotiations. (The meeting was not held at the PFT hall because Judge Ziegler had threatened to seize the union headquarters if the fines were not paid. A day later sheriff's deputies padlocked the building, and the PFT is now negotiating to prevent the property from being auctioned off!) Fondy's assertions that "the courts aren't going to end this strike" were well received by the enthusiastic audience, who chanted "no contract, no work" and defiantly jeered whenever Ziegler's name was mentioned.

The 1972 contract provided for wage increases of only 3 percent a year, which have been more than eaten away by inflation. The PFT initially asked for wage increases for teachers and other professionals of $1,300 to $3,500 this year and additional raises from $1,400 to $2,500 by 1 September 1977, in a two-year contract. The union also demanded an immediate 15 percent wage increase for the miserably paid paraprofessionals (teachers' aides) and clerical workers, whose pay averages only $5,000 a year! The last offer by the BPE for teachers was $1,200 over two years, including a $700 increase that all teachers who are below top scale (almost two thirds) are entitled to anyway.

The Board proposes to finance any wage increase by cutting back personnel and educational programs. It demanded an increase in class size of at least six students and refused to even discuss the union demand that unemployment coverage be extended to all PFT members. The BPE also wants to sharply reduce the special reading and counseling programs, which are particularly important in working-class and ghetto schools.

Following more than three weeks of fruitless bargaining the Board went to court. On December 23 Judge Ziegler ordered marathon 14-hour daily negotiating sessions, promising that the schools would reopen as scheduled on January 5 following Christmas vacation. However, when it became clear that no settlement would be reached, Ziegler issued an injunction against the strike, arguing that it constituted a "clear and present danger or threat to the health, safety or welfare of the public." The judge acted on the basis of the 1970 Pennsylvania Public Employees Relations Act (Act 195) which recognizes the right of public employees to strike, *except* if they endanger public "health, safety or welfare."

Rally of 3,000 striking Pittsburgh teachers on January 13. WV Photo

The striking teachers were not intimidated. Fondy's defiance of the court ruling and his call for mass

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 94 — 30 January 1976

As Beirut Smoulders...

For Class War, Not Communal War in Lebanon!

JANUARY 27—Since the Maronite Christian Phalange (Al Kataeb) militia ambushed and massacred a busload of 27 Palestinian commandos last April 13, the official estimate is that more than 9,000 Lebanese have been killed in the sectarian strife. Recently over 100 people a day have been killed and 200 wounded in this country with a population of only 3 million.

Watching his 21st "ceasefire" go down in flames, Muslim aristocrat Rashid Karami of Tripoli submitted his resignation as prime minister on January 19. In the face of several Muslim military successes, the temporarily overextended and exhausted right-wing Christian militias and Lebanese army have acceded to a Syrian-imposed ceasefire, and Karami withdrew his resignation. But the ceasefire is based on a "political reform" which the ultra-rightist Christians reject. For the Phalangists the ceasefire is only a breathing space to permit them to regroup their forces for another round of communal terror.

The current civil war in Lebanon is the legacy of Ottoman and French imperial domination and the interpenetration of a myriad of religious communities, combining to retard capitalist development and prevent the consolidation of a modern nation state. Like medieval Europe, Lebanon is divided into various fiefdoms lorded over by tribal chieftains with private armies and divided along "confessional" lines. The country is not so much a bourgeois democracy as a pluralistic theocracy, with Maronite Christian hegemony.

A "Confessional" State

The Maronite community, an outpost of Roman Christianity in the Arab East, has been the patron of French interests since the time of the Crusades. When French imperialism carved out its share of the dismembered Ottoman Empire, it created a "Greater Lebanon" by incorporating large Muslim areas together with traditional Maronite strongholds of the Lebanon Mountains in such a way that the various Christian sects (of which the Maronites were the largest) outnumbered Muslims by six to five.

The unwritten "National Covenant" of 1943 doled out ministerial posts, parliamentary seats and government jobs in post-independence Lebanon according to a proportional representation of the religious communities, while

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Results of a rocket attack in downtown Beirut. UPI

Angola: U.S. Liberals Angle for Deal with MPLA

JANUARY 26—Western press correspondents reporting from Angola and Africa experts in the U.S. State Department have teamed up with nervous Congressional liberals in an effort to decipher the handwriting on the wall for the myopic policymakers of the Ford administration. Their message to Ford and Kissinger is short and simple: the U.S. has backed a bunch of losers in Angola and had better shift gears in order to make a deal with the other side.

This is the friendly advice written between the lines of recent newspaper articles describing the chaos and corruption in southern Angola, controlled by the U.S./South Africa-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and contrasting it with the stability and confidence of the Luanda regime of the Soviet-backed People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). After routing the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in the north, MPLA troops are now reportedly moving south in force, preparing for a showdown with UNITA.

Hard Times in Huambo

A *New York Times* dispatch on 23 January described the ghost-town gloom of Huambo, the "capital" of southern Angola:

> "The streets are nearly deserted, except for a few cars racing recklessly, their tires squealing. Most shops are closed, those that occasionally open have little to sell.
>
> "The banks are locked; the post office does not function. The city water supply stopped running a month ago."

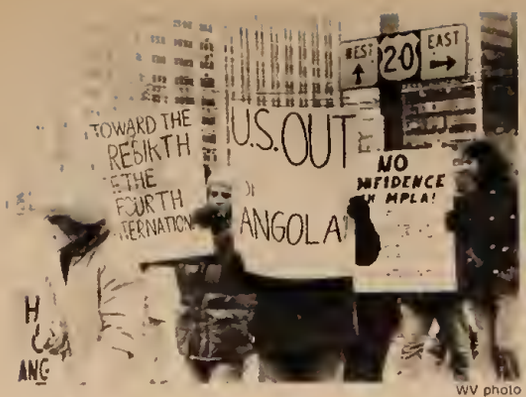
Right next to this was another story from MPLA-controlled Luanda which began, "This is now a self-confident city." After listing well-stocked stores, efficient police and refugees returning from Portugal, the *Times*' message to

continued on page 2

MPLA forces on parade. Gente

From Bandung to NATO

Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal.....6



WV photo

Cleveland

WV photo

New York

Pro-MPLA Demos in NYC, Cleveland, L.A.

Stalinoids Attempt to Suppress Revolutionary Criticism

Under banners ranging from "Victory to the MPLA!" and "Support for the People's Republic of Angola" to "End U.S. Support for South African Invasion," a series of demonstrations have recently been held in major American cities against the imperialist drive on Luanda. True to form, the Stalinists, Stalinoids and assorted "Third World" cheerleaders did their best to suppress Marxist criticism of their latest "revolutionary nationalists"—the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Loudest among the MPLA's apologists in this round of demonstrations was the Workers World Party Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP YAWF). YAWF mobilized supporters from all over the East Coast for a New York City demonstration on January 17. Less visible among the 400-700 participants in the march and subsequent forum were some 25 co-sponsors, including the *Guardian*, MPLA Solidarity Committee, Iranian Students Association (World Confederation), Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Prairie Fire and NYC Hard Times Committee.

YAWF's efforts to curry favor in the ex-New Left radical milieu placed it in the forefront of efforts to build *political* support for the treacherous petty-bourgeois nationalists of the MPLA. YAWF was particularly in a stew over what to do about the Spartacist League (SL), which has unequivocally called for an MPLA military victory against the imperialist-led coalition without placing any political confidence in the MPLA. YAWF goons seized an SL placard denouncing Brezhnev's détente with the Mao-CIA bloc. The YAWF opportunists, known throughout the Maoist movement as "closet Trots," felt obliged to uphold Mao's honor by trying to smother the propaganda of the revolutionary Trotskyist SL.

The Spartacist League was not, however, silenced by the YAWF goon squad. While the Stalinoids were excusing MPLA strikebreaking, SL supporters were handing out a leaflet explaining why communists refuse to endorse a demonstration calling for political support to the MPLA, which seeks to construct a bourgeois Angola. The SL carried signs calling "For a Workers and Peasants Government in Angola."

In a forum at the Mare Ballroom after the march, YAWF speakers read messages from "progressive and socialist countries" such as South Yemen. Of course, they did not allow any discussion from the floor—after all, that's how it's done by the MPLA and in "progressive" South Yemen. Deirdre Griswold, editor of *Workers World*, launched an attack against all "those who do not support the MPLA." After her speech a frenzied YAWF supporter grabbed a leaflet from an SLer, pointed to the criticism of the MPLA and ripped it up, screaming: "Did you hear what she had to say? That was directed at you!"

"Global Class War"

It is a lot easier to rip up a leaflet, however, than to answer the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Griswold knows perfectly well that the Spartacist League calls for military victory of the MPLA against the U.S. South Africa-led cabal. But since the purpose of the Marcyites' "theory" of "global class war" is to cover up for the innumerable betrayals by the Stalinists (from Russian tanks suppressing the workers' uprising in Hungary to Kremlin efforts to achieve a pro-Soviet *bourgeois* Angola), they must deliberately blur the difference between political and military support.

Griswold's big argument was that "imperialism has taken a side." Aside from the fact that the imperialist liberals are just now trying to shift Washington's backing from the FNLA/UNITA losers to the MPLA, this simplistic policy ignores inter-imperialist rivalries and the domestic class struggle. While in Angola effective dissolution of the state has served to internationalize the conflict, turning it into a proxy war between the U.S. and the USSR, in the Near East YAWF's support for Russian foreign policy maneuvers and a classless "Arab Revolution" leads it to support bourgeois Egypt led by the anti-communist demagogue Sadat.

Cleveland

In Cleveland YAWF ran a mini-version (about 80 people) of the New York demonstration. The SL carried placards proclaiming, "U.S. Out of Angola!" "No Confidence in MPLA – For Workers Revolution!" and "For a Trotskyist Party in Angola!" Here also political support to the MPLA was YAWF's watchword, and it denied speaking rights to the SL.

WV photo

Los Angeles

Los Angeles

In Los Angeles 125 people marched in a demonstration dominated by supporters of the Communist Party (CP), its "United Front for Justice in Angola" and some pan-Africanist nationalists. Again the sponsors ran roughshod over political criticisms of the MPLA. The CP decided beforehand on all the demands, even changing them unilaterally between meetings of its phony "coordinating committee," and misdirected people to a scheduled planning meeting in order to avoid political discussion.

The CP-distributed leaflet for the L.A. demonstration was reminiscent of the worst social-patriotic propaganda of the liberal anti-Vietnam war movement. The entire broadsheet was an appeal to the "better nature" of the U.S. not to be stained by association with racist South Africa—as if the United States was not the Number One imperialist in its own right!

In New York, Cleveland and Los Angeles the pattern was the same: As in the antiwar movement of the 1960's, the uncritical cheerleaders for "democratic forces" resorted to the most undemocratic procedures in order to suppress revolutionary politics. ■

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Angola...

(continued from page 1)

Washington strategists was obvious.

Lacking gasoline, exportable commodities, foreign exchange and communications inside or outside the country, and with military control increasingly in South African hands, the Huambo regime does little more than organize demonstrations of devotion to UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. A report in the 22 January *Wall Street Journal* noted that despite the shortage of currency, "UNITA soldiers positively bristle with personal weaponry. One slightly built lad of about 15...was seen striding about with a carbine slung on one shoulder, a grenade launcher on the other, pistols at either hip, a bandoleer of ammunition around the neck and grenades in the pouches of an ammunition belt." The article also described another characteristic UNITA soldier, a Land Rover driver "sporting sneakers and pink, plaid trousers along with his regulation camouflage shirt, topping the outfit with a bright-yellow crash helmet (wise, since the brakes on his vehicle didn't work)."

Gone Fishing

Military collapse of the imperialist-backed National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in the north and the manifest incompetency of UNITA in the south increase the importance of unofficial contacts between liberal U.S. politicians and MPLA leaders. While Kissinger and Ford opted for war by proxy to block potential Russian diplomatic advances in southern Africa, a growing chorus of bourgeois defeatists has argued that major involvement in Angola threatens, like the Indochina war, to jeopardize U.S. imperialism's primary arenas of struggle with the Soviet Union, southern Europe and the Near East. This is also the conclusion of most European capitalist powers, who were unmoved by Kissinger's bid for support at the December meeting of NATO foreign ministers.

Unlike some mindless "Third World" cheerleaders on the left, the liberal wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie knows that the MPLA, like every other bourgeois nationalist formation in Africa, can be bought for a moderate price. An aide to Senator John Tunney, sponsor of the bill cutting off funds for covert military operations in Angola, just returned from Luanda with the message that the People's Movement "would like to have better relations with the U.S." He noted the MPLA's often-stated position that the giant monopolies which drain the mineral wealth of Angola "should operate in a mutually profitable arrangement with the Government" (*New York Times*, 26 January).

This well-publicized junket was by no means the first indication that sections

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of the U.S. bourgeoisie were courting the MPLA. Since the resignation of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Nathaniel Davis in August, Washington has been locked in sharp debate over strategy in Angola. In November the Portuguese press reported a U.S. visit by several representatives of the People's Movement. Basing itself on articles in the bourgeois Lisbon weekly *Expresso*, a pro-MPLA newspaper reported that Senator Edward Kennedy met with this delegation and expressed his opinion that it was "a foreign policy error" for the U.S. to "attempt to resolve the Angola problem by ignoring or passing over the MPLA" (*Revolução*, 7 November 1975).

The Senate vote cutting off covert aid to the UNITA/FNLA coalition was a sharp rebuke to Kissinger's policy. In a report to the Congressional Black Caucus, Representative Charles Diggs, who attended the recent Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit conference and undoubtedly conferred with People's Movement leaders there, denounced "Kissinger's folly" and predicted the emergence of a UNITA/MPLA coalition.

These overtures have not gone unnoticed in Luanda. In a recent speech, MPLA head Agostinho Neto said that he "saluted the Senate for reflecting the sincere attitudes of the American people who are in disagreement with the Angolan policies of their leaders" (*New York Times*, 22 January).

UNITA vs. FNLA

Speculation is rife that UNITA will attempt to mend its fences with Neto at the FNLA's expense. The concentration of MPLA and Cuban troops on mopping up the northern front and driving FNLA forces into neighboring Zaïre, coupled with conciliatory gestures by Savimbi's group, have raised imperialist hopes that a new coalition government may emerge out of a military stalemate on the southern front.

Holding the military advantage, however, the MPLA and its Soviet backers are undoubtedly far less interested in talking to Huambo than in talking directly to Washington. But UNITA's broad support among Ovimbundu tribesmen in the south could well prevent the MPLA from consolidating total control without Savimbi's cooperation. From its position of strength, the People's Movement seems intent on crushing UNITA's military capabilities as a precondition for any new coalition.

For his part, Savimbi has already indicated his willingness to take the back seat. He told foreign newsmen that "Neto is 60 and thinks he should be President. Let him be President. I am 40 and can wait" (*New York Times*, 22 January). Prior to the OAU parley, UNITA held a congress which demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including the South African forces which Savimbi mendaciously claims are operating entirely independently of UNITA. The congress also demanded the "immediate expulsion" from Angola of the Portuguese Liberation Army, the right-wing group allied with General Antonio de Spínola. Reflecting their weakened position on the battlefields, several UNITA leaders declared that they were willing to open unconditional negotiations with the MPLA.

The internal disintegration of the Huambo regime has been hastened by violent confrontations between UNITA forces and the FNLA leader in the south, Daniel Chipenda. UNITA chief of staff Miguel Nzau Puna told reporters that his troops "are fighting alone" while "the FNLA troops stay in town." At the same time, he disclosed that FNLA forces had attacked UNITA in major southern towns. Puna accused Chipenda of being allied with elements of the Portuguese Liberation Army operating from South Africa with the aim of establishing a white-dominated separatist state in southern Angola (*New York Times*, 22 January). In response FNLA spokesmen in Zaïre defended Chipenda and denounced the obvious unwillingness of their ostensible UNITA allies to send troops to their aid on the northern front.

The military strength of the MPLA forces, spearheaded by Soviet-equipped Cuban soldiers, and the fracturing of the UNITA/FNLA coalition opens the way for a realignment of forces. In this now thoroughly internationalized conflict, the decisions will be made not in Angola but in Washington and Moscow.

While imperialist liberals are proffering the olive branch to Luanda, Moscow has also kept the door open to UNITA. An authoritative analysis in *Pravda* last fall, for example, directed its fire exclusively at the FNLA, which it described as "one of the main obstacles in the way of the normalization of the situation in Angola." Noting the FNLA's aid from both the CIA and China, the article contained a single neutral reference to UNITA (*Daily World*, 24 September 1975). More recently, *Pravda* recalled its earlier support to "a transitional government with the participation of representatives of various movements" and added, "The consolidation of Angola's patriotic and anti-imperialist forces, which come out for its genuine independence and territorial integrity, would be undoubtedly met favorably by those who are genuinely concerned about the future of that country" (*New York Times*, 6 January).

Although UNITA's statements of independence from South Africa are largely propaganda fabrications, they are also clearly directed toward rehabilitating its image as an "anti-imperialist force." The USSR is keenly interested in using its position in Angola to force U.S. concessions on strategic arms limitations and to reverse a long string of diplomatic setbacks in Africa: the fall of Nkrumah in Ghana and Ben Bella in Algeria, Egypt's abrupt turn to the U.S. and growing Chinese influence in southern Africa.

While calling for the military victory of the MPLA against the imperialist-led forces, we also continue to insist on the reversibility of the Angolan war. Unlike the struggle of Stalinist-led workers and peasants in Indochina against U.S. imperialism and its puppet governments, no class line separates the contending, tribal-based petty-bourgeois nationalist factions in Angola. This makes an imperialist arrangement with the Soviet-backed MPLA considerably easier than was the case in Vietnam. But the working people will only suffer in such a deal. The way forward for the Angolan masses is the emergence of an independent Trotskyist workers party that can bring to bear in the struggle against imperialism in Angola the tremendous social power of the black proletariat of South Africa.■

Der Spiegel

South African army and Portuguese mercenary prisoners displayed by MPLA at press conference in Addis Ababa.

Mario Soares: No CIA Blood Money on My Hands

WV photo

On January 22 Mario Soares, leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, addressed an audience of 300 people at Yale University. Looking as though butter wouldn't melt in his mouth, Soares piously intoned his devotion to "democracy" and denied that there was any taint of CIA blood money on his hands. He quoted André Malraux, boasting that, "The Portuguese Socialists have proved to the world that the Mensheviks can also beat the Bolsheviks."

When a spokesman for the Spartacus Youth League ridiculed Soares' hypocritical pose as a champion of democracy—branding him a Trojan horse of reaction and pointing out that he had collaborated with Spínola, fronted for anti-communist terror and approved of repression of the press—Soares replied that the hostility of communists always pleased him because it reflected the importance of social democracy. The importance of the social democrats' (and Stalinists') policies of class collaboration is most accurately reflected in the thousands of massacred workers they have betrayed, as in Chile.

Soares is now finding out that his collusion in the repression of the most militant Portuguese workers will not "save the revolution." On the contrary, he simply opens the door for the most reactionary generals, who are already preparing a repeat performance of their November 25 power grab, this time directed against "moderates" like Soares who had earlier been their allies.

CORRECTIONS

There were several minor typographical errors in recent issues of *WV*. In *WV* No. 92 (16 January) the front-page article "Sectarian Atrocities Rock Ulster," the surname of British secretary of state for Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees was mispelled as Reeves. The continuation of the same article on page 8 referred to a Provo attempt to "organize a battle" in a traditional IRA Officials Belfast stronghold; it should have read to "organize a battalion."

Also, the article on "Nazi Scandal Blocks Coalition Government in Austria" in *WV* No. 90 (2 January) refers to a "concentration government" as having ruled the country from 1947 to 1956; actually the SPÖ-ÖVP coalition ruled until 1966.

Finally, the article on "Kennedy, the CIA and the Mafia" in *WV* No. 93 (23 January) incorrectly refers to the Bay of Pigs invasion as taking place in 1960. It occurred in April 1961.

Bosses' "Open-Shop" Offensive Enrages Gulf Coast Labor

1,500 Hardhats Storm Scab Construction Site in Houston

Curtis McGee/Houston Chronicle

Curtis McGee/Houston Chronicle

Aftermath of battle at non-union construction site in Houston: burned-out construction shed and trailer overturned with sign, "Die Rat" and "Build Union, Build Better."

JANUARY 24 Faced with a vicious union-busting drive, construction workers in Texas and Louisiana have erupted in violent struggles against scab-herding employers. These sharp battles may be a foretaste of things to come this spring when contracts covering 800,000 building trades workers expire. In contrast to the relative quiescence of most of organized labor, construction work stoppages have been increasing lately, with more man-hours lost last year than at any time since 1962.

The Gulf Coast violence flared at sites worked by a particularly notorious scab contractor, Payne and Keller. The first incident occurred after the Charter International Oil Company in Houston abruptly terminated a refinery construction contract under which several hundred union members were working and called in Payne and Keller, a so-called "merit" (i.e., open-shop) contractor, to supply lower-paid non-union labor. Charter officials told the local press with a straight face that no labor dispute was involved since Payne had merely "bid to complete the job at a lower cost."

"Build Union—Build Better"

On January 12, the first work day after the sudden contract switch, about 200 union men showed up at the site to protest their layoff. When they came back the next day, police broke up the angry crowd and arrested seven of the demonstrators "on suspicion of inciting a riot."

On Wednesday, January 14, the laid-off workers showed up with about 1,500 supporters from the electricians, pipefitters, boilermakers and other construction trades. Chanting "Give our jobs back," militant "hardhats" reportedly stormed into the refinery, used tractors to overturn construction sheds and heavy equipment and set several small buildings on fire. On one of the overturned sheds, the workers painted "Die Rat" and "Build Union, Build Better." A security guard and maintenance supervisor were hospitalized with minor injuries.

While construction union bureaucrats disclaimed any knowledge of the actions, the president of Charter denounced the violence as "un-American," a state district judge issued a restraining order against mass picketing and 1,000 cops ringed the site.

Shortly afterwards, the violence spread to Lake Charles, Louisiana, where union members had been picketing the Jupiter Chemical Company, another construction site worked by Payne and Keller, and protesting the substandard wages and working conditions. In Louisiana, which unlike Texas permits a union shop, Payne employs workers belonging to a company "union," the "International Federation of Independent Unions." On January 16 about a hundred union supporters crashed a forklift through a gate at Jupiter, overturned cars and trailers and allegedly shot five of the scabs, killing one.

During the same week, union tradesmen at a chemical plant near Baytown, Texas, roughed up cops who entered the construction site supposedly to investigate a bomb scare. The police reported that 300 workers blocked the road and refused to let the patrol car leave. Claiming that a man had tried to grab his weapon, one of the cops fired a shotgun in the air, scattering the workers. "Without that shot, we might have had it," said the cop (*Houston Chronicle*, 17 January).

Offensive of Open-Shop Builders

The outburst of violent labor struggle on the Gulf Coast is a result of the erosion of union strength in the construction industry under the lash of depression-level unemployment and an offensive by open-shop builders, who now control from 50 to 60 percent of total construction nationwide. One of the workers involved in the Houston confrontation pinpointed the source of the unionists' fury: "When they shift to a nonunion contractor like Charter did, you have to fight this trend of union-busting tooth and nail or there won't be any more unions here" (*Houston Chronicle*, 16 January).

Payne and Keller, in particular, is known throughout the area as a vicious scab-herding outfit always at the service of companies facing strikes. During the 1973 Shell Oil strike, for instance, Payne widely advertised for strikebreakers to work the refineries struck by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.

Building trades unions are also smarting under Gerald Ford's double-cross veto of the common site picketing bill which would have allowed a union to close down an entire site in a dispute with a single sub-contractor. Although construction union bureaucrats "sweetened" the measure for the bosses by including a section imposing stringent new curbs on the right to strike (thereby making the bill unsupportable by militant unionists), their cozy deal with Ford nevertheless fell through, enraging AFL-CIO president George Meany. The national leaders of the building trades unions have been ominously predicting an upsurge of construction workers' strikes, a prospect they fear as much as do the builders.

A few days before the flare-up at Charter, Houston-area labor bureaucrats demonstrated that they have even less foresight than militancy. Predicting few major strikes, Harry Hubbard, president of the Texas AFL-CIO, said that labor's major goal in 1976 "is to defeat President Ford by electing a Democratic president." Echoing the same class-collaborationist sentiments, M.A. "Peewee" Graham, executive secretary of the Houston Gulf Coast Building and Construction Trades Council, told the press that "the President has destroyed the chances for labor peace, at least on a national level, because of his failure to sign the common situs picketing bill. However, we have good relations with management here; so it may not affect the Houston area" (*Houston Chronicle*, 11 January).

Bureaucratic Chauvinism

Besides enforcing labor peace and attempting to lead their members into the wasteland of bourgeois politics, these class traitors have latched onto the ruling class' hysterical chauvinist campaign against foreign workers. For months Hubbard and company have been peddling the patriotic hogwash that American workers' enemies are immigrant Mexican workers, not the union-busting capitalists whose decadent system is the cause of mass unemployment. Actually the racist job-trusting practices of the construction unions allow scab contractors like Payne and Keller to use non-union workers as a battering ram against the building trades unions. Nevertheless, coming class battles can open the way for overcoming the racial and national divisions which polarize and weaken the working class.

The powder keg of rank-and-file discontent on which Messrs. Hubbard and Graham are perched may soon

Curtis McGee/Houston Chronicle

Houston police guard scab construction site against crowd of unemployed unionists.

explode, and they like the rest of the labor fakers will find their haunches singed in the process. The workers who stormed the Charter refinery no doubt also added some gray hairs to a few corporate heads and served notice of their determination to defend union jobs. But these outbursts of working-class discontent must be channeled into a broad political and economic struggle to counter the bourgeoisie's offensive against the unions. Setting fires at oil refineries is, to say the least, not the most productive tactic in labor's arsenal. Besides the possibility of blowing themselves to pieces, union militants hand the bourgeoisie an opportunity to slander them as dangerous, anti-social hooligans.

The hidebound building trades bureaucrats usually make little or no effort to organize non-union construction workers, preferring to pressure employers by other means. Most of the time they simply demand that construction work be assigned to union contractors. Periodic acts of violent retaliation against scab construction firms—a frequent occurrence in the industry—are no substitute for a major organizing effort that would make it impossible for builders to take advantage of the currently much lower pay rates of non-union labor. While the labor movement must certainly defend the Texas and Louisiana construction workers against reprisals by the bosses' government, we counterpose to futile acts of random violence a program of militant class struggle, for mass picketing to shut down non-union sites and an aggressive union organizing campaign.

Confrontations such as those in Houston, Baytown and Lake Charles can be isolated and the participants victimized if these struggles are not generalized with an aggressive program of class demands that can mobilize the entire labor movement. The misnamed "right-to-work" statutes which outlaw the union shop in 19 states must be smashed along with all repressive anti-labor laws. The bourgeois politicians who enact these laws must be fought by an independent workers party, based on the unions and built through the fight against the reformist pro-capitalist labor fakers. While placing no confidence in union-busting "affirmative action" plans, construction workers must demand that their unions end all discriminatory practices and actively recruit minority workers. Together with the rest of the labor movement, they must campaign for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a massive, union-controlled public works program to end the ravages of unemployment. Such struggles must not be limited to simple trade-union militancy but instead be oriented toward the necessity of working-class rule, through a workers government and a planned economy. ■

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Bureaucrats' "Social Contract" Shafts British Auto Workers

Letter from London

LONDON, January 17 -Since the *Workers Vanguard* article on the Wilson government's bailout of Chrysler ["Expropriate British Chrysler!" *WV* No. 90, 2 January], the Labour Party tops have succeeded in shoving the deal down the throats of the American corporation's 25,000 employees in Britain. In a series of mass meetings during mid-December the workers had voted overwhelmingly against the massive giveaway (involving more than £162 million, or about US$340 million) and threatened to occupy the plants to stop the scheduled redundancies [layoffs].

However, Chrysler management and government spokesmen warned the unions that unless they agreed to the plan by January 3 the rescue operation would fall through. By the deadline the bureaucrats at all three major factories—Ryton, Linwood and Stoke—had forced a demoralized membership to accept the deal "in principle." The capitalist press described two workers' meetings at Coventry as "brief and sparsely attended" and filled with an "air of total defeat and despondency" (*Guardian*, 31 December).

Responsibility for this defeat rests with the reformist trade-union bureaucrats who, as part of their "social contract" to prop up the Labour government by clamping down on union militancy, made no effort to fight the job-cutting bailout. A leading "left" bureaucrat of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), Bob Wright, who had previously urged import controls as the answer to the difficulties of the British car industry and who has advocated speed-up at British Leyland, lamely commented that, "No one is overjoyed at the prospect of losing 8,000 jobs but failure to reach an agreement would mean the closing of the company and that would mean the loss of more than 25,000 jobs" (*Guardian*, 30 December).

Reflecting this capitulationist sentiment, senior Chrysler shop stewards acquiesced to the layoffs. Ryton convenor Frank McCartney ridiculed the idea of a sit-in as "living in cloud cuckoo land." While some shop stewards and officials tried to exonerate themselves by criticising the workers for lack of interest, the *Times* [London] accurately noted that there was "strong opposition to the package in detail and in total" but that the workers saw "no effective alternative."

This defeat takes place at a time of relative quiescence within the working class. The number of days lost due to strikes in the first eleven months of last year was the lowest since 1968. Symptomatic of this general passivity has been a series of defeats for left-wing candidates in union elections, most significantly in the AUEW elections in November. Nevertheless, the British ruling class remains uneasy, fearful that some struggle might trigger an upsurge of militancy, especially in the spring when new negotiations on wage limits are due to begin.

One union vote which was greeted by the bourgeoisie with particular hostility was the election in December of Alan Thornett, leader of the Workers Socialist League (WSL), to the chairmanship of the 5/293 branch of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), one of several unions in the British Leyland factory at Cowley near Oxford. This branch had originally been set up to cut the influence of left-wingers in the factory after the bitter 1974 dispute over Leyland's revocation of Thornett's status as a steward. Following the branch election, the union right wing and bourgeois papers launched a vicious witchhunt against Thornett and other "extremists" in Cowley who were standing in elections for seven deputy senior shop steward (convenor) posts.

Workers leaving British Leyland's Cowley plant. Workers Press

British Leyland stated categorically that it would not recognise Thornett if he were elected as a shop steward. Right-wing convenor Reg Parsons called a press conference (from which he excluded representatives of the Healyite *Workers Press*) to announce his fear "for the future of my industry as a result of these subversive elements" and that "the activities of such people are eroding the real role of trade unionism." Cowley, he said, is "a beehive for extremist activity," and he named the WSL, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and the International Marxist Group (IMG)—all of them ostensibly Trotskyist—as being active in the plant. Eagerly taking up Parsons' attacks, the mass popular papers launched a virulent red-scare campaign. One front-page headline (*Daily Express*, 7 January) demanded, "Stop the Mole [Thornett] and his Mates."

When the January election results were announced, the press was ecstatic. The *Daily Express* trumpeted "The Wreckers are Routed." Parsons labelled the results as "good for Leyland and good for Britain." Promising two years of "industrial peace and stability at Cowley," he added ominously that he hoped "This tremendous breakthrough will give other people the courage to stand up and drive these people into the ground once and for all." The right-wing victory, however, was not as decisive as Parsons and most of the media claimed. While Thornett himself was not elected, receiving 526 votes out of the 2,642 poll, only five of Parsons' seven-man slate were elected. Of the other two, one was Bob Fryer, a former convenor at the plant who is generally identified with Thornett and the left wing.

Parsons is himself a former Healyite and included on his slate was none other that WRP member Tom White, who polled the third-highest with 1,171 votes. Although Parsons denounced the WRP as "extremists," he had voted for White against Thornett in the December elections for TGWU branch 5/293 chairman. In fact, the Labour "moderates" withdrew their own candidate in favour of White, who was supported by the same people who voted for right-wing branch secretary Jim Barsons.

In the elections for deputy convenor, Parsons again supported White on the grounds that White did not bring his "revolutionary politics" into union affairs. In turn, White did not dissociate himself from this anti-communist support until a week after Parsons issued a leaflet containing his slate. Had the elections not been postponed at the last minute, this would not have occurred until after the vote. And in the capitalist press White was referred to favorably as a "moderate"!

In response to this flagrant example of the WRP's two-faced opportunism, the Healyites have sought to brazen it out, attempting to link the WSL to Parsons and even claiming that the witchhunt in the bourgeois press was actually aimed principally at the WRP. White's election, according to these political bandits, "is not a vote for 'Trotskyism'" but for his "unchallengeable record" for having "defended all union agreements and principles" (*Workers Press*, 15 January). Certainly we can agree that this was not a vote for Trotskyism...or even militant unionism. White is the same staunch defender

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From Bandung to NATO

Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal

There are movements whose professed principles and aims so condemn their practice that their adherents must suffer periodic crises of faith. In the world of politics, Stalinism is such a movement. There comes a point at which every supporter of a Stalinist organization, if he is to remain organizationally loyal, must abandon the values and attitudes which drew him to revolutionary politics in the first place.

For thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of Maoists throughout the world, Angola is such a point. China is

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in open and direct military collaboration with the U.S.-South Africa-Portuguese colonialist bloc against the Soviet-allied Angolan nationalists of the MPLA. To support this policy Maoists must deny their original spark of subjective revolutionary commitment. Their acquiescence, however, has been prepared by years of ritual apology for Stalinist class collaboration.

Many of the Maoist cadres of today—particularly the older ones—were first drawn to radical politics by the Cuban revolution and the great personal authority of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Today these same individuals are called upon to cheer those who are killing the most dedicated soldiers of the Cuban army, now serving—no doubt as volunteers—in Angola. Many Maoists, especially American Maoists, have visited Cuba. It is possible that they met some of the soldiers now serving in Angola: drank with them, played baseball with them, sang the *Internationale* with them. The members of the Revolutionary Communist Party or October League do not want to think about the Angola question in this way. Yet surely the knowledge that Mao's men are collaborating with the murderers of Che Guevara must be breaking through routinism and narrow organizational loyalties.

"Old Left" Maoism

The early Maoists in the West were not really Maoists so much as they were old-line Stalinists who rebelled against Khrushchevism. They were drawn to Mao as the apparent defender and continuator of Stalintern-style orthodoxy. Some of the 1950's Communist Party (CP) supporters who remained firmly committed to the cult of Stalin following the 20th Congress of the CPSU did so out of sheer sectarian sclerosis. But many were reflecting in part a motivation which was not unhealthy.

With the onset of the Cold War, the bourgeoisie had turned Stalin into a political hogeyman used to frighten children with visions of 1984-style totalitarianism. Bourgeois public opinion was assisted in the vilification of Stalin because he was a real villain; Stalinism's monumental and undeniable atrocities (the purge trials, the chauvinist brutalization of nationalities, the sledge-hammer repression of political and cultural dissidence) could not but produce a deep-going revulsion among millions of ordinary, non-ideological working people in Western Europe and the U.S. Stalin, the bloody and sadistic tyrant, was the great cross that CP members had to bear. Many of the most dedicated Communists, aware that the trajectory of liberal anti-Stalinism led straight to reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, resolved to bear that cross with defiance and even pride.

Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin was motivated by the Russian bureaucracy's overwhelming need to end irrational state terror against its own members. Many of the delegates to the 20th Congress of the CPSU (e.g., Kosygin) had themselves barely escaped Stalin's murderous arbitrary hand. But some Western Stalinists saw in Khrushchev's repudiation of Stalin an abject apology to bourgeois liberalism.

Among those who resisted Khrushchev's new line were many of the most serious and leftist members of the CPs—a type best represented in the U.S. by Milt Rosen and Nelson Peery. While maintaining essential elements of traditional CP opportunism, the anti-Khrushchev Stalinists wanted a harder posture. They rejected the strategy of pressuring middle-class liberal or social-democratic circles and the labor bureaucracy in favor of orienting toward the working-class ranks and radical student youth. The core of the founding cadre which, headed by Rosen, broke and formed Progressive Labor was based upon the trade-union section of the New York CP.

These old-line Stalinists were drawn to Mao not primarily because of his supposedly original contributions to Communist doctrine: "people's war" and the peasant-guerrilla strategy. Nor were they enthralled by the "Chinese road to socialism" as the key to the world revolution. Rather, the anti-Khrushchev Stalinists placed themselves in the Mao camp because Mao seemed the most powerful and prestigious spokesman for the old Communist faith.

New Left Maoism

But Maoism in the West could not have become a significant force had it been restricted to the unreconstructed Stalinists of the 1950's. To become a substantial political current, Maoism had to intersect a new political generation whose path to "Marxism-Leninism" was very different from that of the old-line CPers, and who proved more loyal to Peking.

The New Left of the early/mid-1960's was a student-centered phenomenon conditioned by the explosion of violent social upheaval in the colonial world (the Cuban revolution, the Algerian war of national independence, the Vietnam war) combined with relative quiescence of the industrial working class in the advanced countries. This quiescence—particularly the failure of the workers movement to support the colonial revolution as did the students—was impressionistically seen as evidence that the proletariat of the metropolitan centers had become corrupted, junior partners of monopoly capital sharing in the super-profits of imperialism.

Mao Tse-tung greets Nixon in Peking, February 1972. Daily News

New Leftists were attracted to the Maoism of the Cultural Revolution period, not because it seemed the continuity of orthodox Stalinism, but because it seemed the highest expression of ascetic repudiation of the spoils of imperialism and of the "Third World" nationalist-populist fervor toward which the student New Left looked as the impetus for the world revolution. People's China was seen as the vanguard of the non-white, "Third World" poor struggling against the advanced white nations—a category that definitely included Russia.

There is no doubt that the New Left's preference for Mao's China over Khrushchev/Brezhnev's Russia was based largely on a healthy subjective impulse. The Russians' frank espousal of "peaceful coexistence" was condemned as a cowardly attempt to conciliate American imperialism at the expense of the insurgent colonial peoples. Our purpose is not to idealize the old New Left (although it is inconceivable that New Left Maoist radicals as they were ten years ago could support today's U.S.-South Africa offensive against an African nationalist movement). 1960's New Leftism was rife with dilettantism, faddishness, personalism, sexism, intellectual snobbery, thumbing one's nose at the bourgeoisie—the typical vices of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Yet the New Leftists drawn to Maoism wanted passionately to create an egalitarian and just society; the apologists for the Kremlin did not.

It is ironic that although the USSR was North Vietnam's main military ally, it was the protracted war in Indochina that was key to winning New Leftists to Maoism and to Stalinizing them. Despite Hanoi's obvious alliance with Moscow rather than Peking, the Vietnam war was seen as proof of Maoist doctrine: "people's war," the peasant-guerrilla road to power.

At the same time, the indisputable continuity of Ho Chi Minh's party with the Stalinized Comintern tended to refurbish the image of traditional Stalinism in the eyes of young radicals. The heroism of the Vietnamese people, led by a traditional CP, did much to restore the moral authority of Stalinism for a generation whose attitude toward orthodox "Communism" had been shaped by the gray philistinism of Khrushchev's Russia and the abject reformism of the Western CPs.

It was the French general strike of 1968, the "workers control" wave sweeping Italy the following year and the general upsurge of class struggles within the advanced capitalist countries which broke down the last barriers between New Left Maoism and traditional Stalinism. It was the orthodox Stalinists' professed orientation to the industrial working class which was the most difficult for New Left radicals to accept. But when the revolutionary capacity of the working class was made manifest by life itself in the late 1960's, student-centered radicalism received a lethal blow. The inclusive, amorphous student movement disintegrated and out of it emerged competing organizationally "hard" formations, all claiming adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Thought, all seeking to "conquer the masses." A new generation of Stalinist organizations—some centrist, some left reformist—had come into being.

U.S. Imperialism Opens the Door...

It is unquestionable that during the early 1960's the U.S. strongly tilted toward the Kremlin in the Sino-Soviet dispute. This fact was decisive in creating New Left Maoism. In view of

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60,000 Bronx Tenants Fight NY State Rent Gougers

Co-op City on Strike

Cancel the Debt! Mobilize NYC Labor to Defend the Strike!

For small-town Yankees traveling south on the New England Thruway as it crosses Hutchinson Parkway on the outskirts of the Bronx, the first sight of the colossal complex of somber, grey high-rise apartment buildings known as Co-op City must be a stark and frightful vision of life in New York City. There, nearly 60,000 people live packed together in the largest low- and moderate-income housing project in the country.

For its inhabitants, Co-op City was supposed to be a haven from the brutalizing conditions of the decaying capitalist metropolis. Separated from the dirty streets, crowded subways and run-down neighborhoods by a moat of superhighways, in many respects the complex is as self-contained as it looks from afar. Co-op City residents shop at three Co-op City shopping centers; they go to the Co-op City library and amusement center; their children go to a Co-op City school.

But despite its isolation, the project is intimately connected to the social and political realities of New York City. Should a suburban Sunday driver turn off the freeway and enter this mammoth labyrinth he would quickly become aware of a jarring note in the middle-class atmosphere. On the door or window of many apartments there is a small sign: "No Way—We Won't Pay!" Ever since last June the tenants of Co-op City have withheld their rent payments. Like the rest of New York City, they are fed up. They are on strike.

The typical rent strikers at Co-op City are not young firebrands. More than likely they are Jewish and elderly. Probably they put in many years in the garment industry, where they were schooled in trade unionism by social-democratic and Stalinist leaders. They are no doubt worried about decaying social services and crime in the streets. Perhaps they even come from the South Bronx, where landlords and vandals take turns burning down the tenements. This was the New York City they hoped to escape—to what some residents now mockingly call "the Jerusalem on the Hutchinson."

Then as the rents went up and up in a spiral of graft and inflation, they felt cheated. When a hike of another 25 percent came in June, tenants simply refused to pay. Instead they joined together in daily and weekly meetings in every lobby on every floor of every building. Together they shook their fists in defiance of the rent-gouging management, the rapacious bankers and the thoroughly corrupt governmental machine, chanting "No Way—We Won't Pay!"

A Giant Swindle

The Co-op City rent strike has been 85 percent effective and its leadership has collected over $20 million in withheld carrying charges (rents), leading the state of New York to retaliate by attempting to foreclose on the $436 million mortgage. Strike leaders are facing possible jail terms and have accumulated over $750,000 in fines against them. The state has cut back on maintenance and security at Co-op City and has laid off almost half of the project's employees. It has also challenged the right of the tenants to pay an electric bill due Consolidated Edison out of the withheld rent, raising the possibility that the power may be turned off.

Co-op City was built seven years ago under the Mitchell-Lama housing bill through which the state of New York financed a long-term mortgage for the apartment complex. The prospective residents of the 35 towers and six townhouse clusters were charged a down payment of $450 per room and were expected to pay monthly carrying charges of $23 per room. The monthly charges were to go toward paying off the 40-year mortgage and for maintenance and utility costs. The cooperators, while they would never become individual owners of the apartments, could get back the amount of money they had paid in (without interest) if they decided to leave.

The newspapers have given the impression that the residents of Co-op City are typical upwardly mobile condominium buyers. This is simply false. The tenants had to pass a means test (originally the income ceiling was $10,000) or else pay a surcharge on rent. Over 12,000 of the tenants are senior citizens, living on small fixed incomes.

To get into Co-op City, many of the tenants gave up their entire savings. They left their rent-controlled apartments elsewhere in New York City, expecting to find equally moderate housing in an area of trees and grass, an area free of the dangers of the increas-

WV Photo

ingly perilous streets of New York. Some day, they or their children would be independent of the landlords as well.

That was how it was supposed to be, but it didn't work out that way. It turned out that the mortgage alone cost almost double the intended $236 million. In the last five years alone the carrying charges paid by the tenants increased by 60 percent. The last increase, which provoked the strike, was only the first part of a projected 105 percent hike over the next five years!

As for the "members" of this "cooperative," they soon discovered that they were legally powerless. The 15,372 resident cooperators are only Class B shareholders in Co-Op City, while there are three Class A shareholders, the officers of the sponsoring organization, the United Housing Foundation (UHF). The board of the Riverbay Corporation, the UHF subsidiary which operates Co-op City, had 15 directors, of whom only five actually lived there. (Since the rent strike began, the entire board resigned and their place has been taken by six interim appointees assigned by state housing commissioner Lee Goodwin.)

WV Photo

The United Housing Foundation is the organization which sponsored Co-op City. It is largely dominated by trade-union bureaucrats who used their credentials as labor leaders to enroll workers' families in programs like Co-op City. When the project was dedicated in November 1968, the directors of UHF included Bayard Rustin, Albert Shanker, Harry Van Arsdale and Jacob Potofsky (then president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers). Once lured into Co-op City under the assumption that the "unions approved it," the tenants have been systematically swindled ever since. Not one of these labor "leaders" has lifted a finger on the tenants' behalf. Several have resigned from the UHF out of embarrassment, but this does not lessen their responsibility for allowing their names to be used as a front for real-estate speculation.

Graft and Capitalist Politics

The tenants note, among other things, that:

—CSI, a wholly owned subsidiary of UHF, was selected by New York state as the general sales agent and contractor. During construction the cost estimate increased five times without notice to prospective tenants. CSI received a $2-million fee for "home office overhead" alone.

—The UHF owns all three supermarkets in Co-op City, along with the credit union and the pharmacy.

—Leon Kazan, son of the founder of UHF, was hired as an architect. Kazan built, at the cost of $27 million, a power plant labeled "worthless and redundant" by various federal experts. The plant has been used only once in six years.

One of the more interesting facts about the apartment complex is that it has fully 35 percent of the registered Democratic Party voters in the Bronx. The Co-op City Democratic Club, with 1,500 dues-paying members, is the largest in the state. And almost every Democratic politician in New York has been approached in vain—by the residents.

In the Democratic gubernatorial primary in 1974, Hugh Carey visited Co-op City. He promised $10 million outright in legislative relief for the tenants. A few days later the Co-op City Democratic Club switched its endorsement from Howard Samuels to Carey. The project's voters polled six-to-one for Carey. But since being elected, the new governor has done nothing at all to help the tenants.

The latest run-in with the politicos involves Steven Kaufman, a resident who represents Co-op City as Democratic city councilman. Kaufman claimed to be supporting the strike and paid his rent to the steering committee. Now it has been exposed that he was secretly paying a second rent to the Riverbay Corporation. Kaufman will not be re-elected.

The strike steering committee's publicity director, Natalie Lange, told *Workers Vanguard* that the committee would soon designate politicians who had been "friendly" to the Co-op City residents. Frustrated by the hardened attitude of the local Democratic Party regulars, the steering committee leadership appears prepared to underwrite a major effort by reform Democrats to unseat the machine of Bronx Democratic Party boss Patrick Cunningham, who is already under investigation for allegedly selling judgeships.

The strike leaders may find it more difficult than they think to recruit politicians who are not involved with, or committed to covering up, the current mismanagement and swindling at Co-op City. Be that as it may, *no* Democratic Party politician is willing to challenge the private property system which is the root cause of the victimization of Co-op City tenants.

The bourgeoisie, as well as charlatans and opportunists in the workers movement, has always tried to tempt workers with the possibility of becoming small property owners. This illusion, in fact, exercises a major conservatizing influence over the proletariat, particularly in the United States. Over a hundred years ago, Frederick Engels in his pamphlet on "The Housing Question" definitively demonstrated the utopian-reactionary character of the demand for individual house ownership for the workers.

As Engels pointed out, the general

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CWA Bureaucrats Stall While...

Pacific Telephone Prepares Layoffs

SAN FRANCISCO, January 23—Directory assistance operators in the Bay Area have finally received the bad news they knew was on the way about their threatened jobs. Pacific Telephone (PT&T) has announced it plans to connect a recorded message to discourage Directory Assistance (information) calls.

According to the January 1976 issue of *Militant Action*, newsletter of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 (San Francisco), the taped message is scheduled to start on February 1 in San Francisco and March 1 in the East Bay. A similar tape ("let your fingers do the walking") installed in Stockton, California, reportedly cut Directory Assistance traffic by 46 percent!

Militant Action adds that an even more drastic reduction in traffic will occur when PT&T gets the green light to charge for Directory Assistance calls. The charges are expected to go into effect in six months.

Bureaucrats' Response—"Dial 411"!

The response of the local CWA bureaucrats has been predictably pathetic. According to Militant Action Caucus members interviewed by *Workers Vanguard*, the CWA Bay Area District Council has formed a "Jobs Committee" which has suggested the union print "Dial 411" buttons and hold small demonstrations to build "consumer support" to oppose PT&T's job-cutting volume control plans.

This is the same bureaucracy which has vociferously defended PT&T's demands for $229 million in rate increases since last June. PT&T defends its monopolistic price gouging on the grounds that wage increases are eating up its profits. It threatens to reduce service and lay off workers if it doesn't get its way. And the CWA bureaucracy, identifying the interests of the phone workers with those of their exploiters, meekly falls in step behind the company—which gets its rate increases and continues to harass and fire, speed up and lay off and automate thousands of jobs out of existence.

Defend Jane Margolis!

Local 9410 recently held elections for new officers. The most noteworthy thing about the elections was the successful effort of the reactionary bureaucracy of Local president Kirkpatrick, supported by his chief opponent, Jack Whitehouse, to keep fired MAC leader Jane Margolis off the ballot. Due to her dismissal by the company on trumped-up charges, Margolis, a long-time class-struggle militant in the union and a former executive board member of East Bay Local 9415, was deprived of her union membership by Kirkpatrick & Co. and forced to run a write-in campaign in the election! Nevertheless, Margolis was the only candidate in the campaign to warn Local 9410 members of PT&T's coming attacks, and to propose the way to fight them. Her exclusion from the election and union only served the interests of the company, giving it one more green light to go ahead with its assault on jobs and working conditions.

Recently Margolis won an important victory in the struggle to regain her job. PT&T's challenge to her unemployment insurance benefits was thrown out by the State Employment Board, despite the record this reactionary body has in withholding such benefits from fired militants. In addition, CWA District 9 (West Coast) officials have reportedly recommended that the International take the Margolis firing to arbitration with the company. Such a step, unusual in most cases, would represent grudging acceptance at the top levels of the union of the importance to the membership of stopping this high-handed victimization. All union members have an interest in demanding that the CWA leadership follow up the defense of Jane Margolis!

New President—Old Sellout

Local 9410 did throw out the incumbent president, Kirkpatrick, who ran on his reputation of being an anti-communist neanderthal reactionary. In Kirkpatrick's place now sits Whitehouse, a former president of 9410 who ran on a program of militant talk. But militant talk is cheap, especially at election time. Any illusions that Whitehouse represented a new deal for Local 9410 were shattered at the first union meeting of his term, held on January 20.

In the face of demands for action to meet the company's attacks on the Directory Assistance operators all Whitehouse could recommend were the limp proposals of the CWA Bay Area Council Job Committee. When asked about the company's draconian "absence control program," Whitehouse replied that a "survey" was being taken for "review" by the International.

MAC supporters at the meeting rejected Whitehouse's do-nothing suggestions and proposed that Local 9410 take the lead in organizing a Bay Area-wide phone strike to oppose the volume control recording, charging for Directory Assistance calls, absence control plans and all layoffs and downgrades. MAC added that the strike must call "for a shorter work week with no loss in pay and a full cost-of-living escalator to provide jobs for all and prevent layoffs and downgrades."

Other militants, including members of the Progressive Labor Party Phone Club (PLPPC), also called for some form of strike action. Whitehouse, however, wanted no part of any kind of strike action and took the opportunity to pay back Progressive Labor for providing a left cover to his electoral campaign ("supporting the issues, not the man," said PL) by adjourning his first meeting with the announcement that he would not permit union meetings to become forums for the PLPPC!

PLPPC: Idiot Anti-Communism, Reformism and Adventurism

More serious is the vicious anti-communism PL spreads within the workers movement. PLPPC "explains" the U.S. depression and squeeze on U.S. workers in the following terms:

"Let's look at the big picture. Internationally U.S. imperialism is declining and Russian imperialism is picking up power just as once British imperialism declined and U.S. imperialism picked up world power. The U.S. bosses lost control of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Portugal and Angola just to name a few countries. Losing the imperialist competition is why the U.S. is going into a depression and why the U.S economy isn't going to get any better for workers."

—PLPPC leaflet, undated

Thus for PLPPC, the reason workers are being squeezed is that "Russian imperialism" is winning. Further, Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians have supposedly gained a new set of imperialist masters...to the apparent economic detriment of the U.S working class! Class-conscious workers who supported the victory of the workers and peasants of Indochina over U.S. imperialism and who recognize that the historic gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917 have not been totally dissipated despite the counterrevolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucrats can only denounce such propaganda for what it is: vile and poisonous anti-communism.

PLPPC's panacea for the current wave of attacks is to build "strike power." But PL has not only been a back-handed supporter of the anti-strike Whitehouse. PLPPC has also been the foremost advocate of ill-conceived adventures, insignificant "wildcats" that only enable the company to pick off the best union militants. PL supporters' last attempt to whip up a little "strike power" accomplished nothing except to get 10 union militants fired.

Members of the PLPPC and all CWA militants must turn their attention to another question: what will be the CWA's answer to the rising line of company assaults on the union, jobs and working conditions? *Not* needed are the reformist do-nothingism of the CWA bureaucracy or the mindless anti-communist militancy-mongering of the PLPPC, but rather the construction of a class-struggle leadership committed to a program that meets the objective needs of the telephone workers and leads them forward in the struggle for a workers government, the only means by which these needs will be realizable. ■

WV Photo

Bay Area CWA administrative assistant Robert River crossing picket line of the union's office workers in front of CWA District 9 headquarters in San Francisco. The nationwide strike against the CWA by the OPEIU involves some 500 union employees. Although the OPEIU negotiators are asking only to maintain the (inadequate) cost-of-living escalator, hardnosed CWA bureaucrats are opposing any raise and demanding elimination of the c-o-l clause. Unwilling to fight for real wage gains and job protection for the membership, it is not surprising that CWA misleaders oppose the office workers' just demands. Class-conscious militants must support the OPEIU strike!

The Fight Against Racist and Cop Terror—For Labor/Black Defense!

Guest Speaker:
MARC FREEDMAN
Labor Struggle Caucus

Saturday, January 31
at 7:30 p.m.

University of Illinois
Circle Center Building
Room to be announced

CHICAGO

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Beirut...

(continued from page 1)

maintaining the hegemony of traditional tribal chiefs and clerical leaders. Thus the president – who can dismiss parliament, call elections, appoint and dismiss all ministers, including the prime minister – is a Maronite Christian; the prime minister is a Sunni Muslim; the president of the Chamber of Deputies is a Shi'ite Muslim, and so on.

But the 1943 covenant is based on a 1932 census. No census has been taken since, as it would reveal that the Muslim population has grown much faster than the Christian, now outnumbering the latter three to two. Further, within the Muslim population the more oppressed Shi'ites have grown faster than the Sunnis and now constitute the largest religious sect. Thus a reapportionment based on a new census would turn the Lebanese "confessional" state on its head.

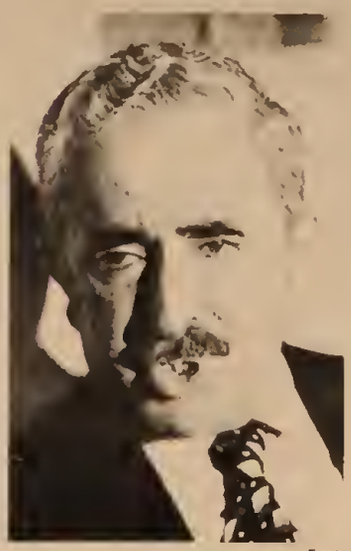
However, the Sunni Muslim chieftain Karami is opposed to "deconfessionalizing" the parliament and settled for a 50-50 split of governmental posts and jobs between Christians and Muslims. He also demanded a strengthening of the prime minister (who would remain a Sunni) at the expense of the president, by transferring to the former the power to appoint ministers and providing for a prime minister elected by a majority in the chamber. Karami is approvingly eyed by the U.S. bourgeois press as a "moderate" – his moderation consisting in always finding the middle ground between Muslim landlords and Christian capitalists, always at the expense of the workers, poor and dispossessed of Lebanon.

The 22 November 1975 *Economist* comments: "Indeed Mr. Karameh, who is not noted for his sense of humour, is suggesting that the disparity between the powers of president and prime minister is due to mistranslations into Arabic from the French original of the Lebanese constitution promulgated 30 years ago." But the Maronite rulers are having nothing to do with such constitutional reform through lexicography, and are adamant on retaining their privileges.

Palestinian Refugees

More important to the present conflict than constitutional reforms is the question of stateless Palestinian refugees. After the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war the Palestinian refugee population in Lebanon swelled to 315,000. Like other tribal and religious communities in Lebanon, the refugees brought with them their own "government," the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and their own army, the Palestine Liberation Army. The large influx augmenting the Muslim population was seen by the Maronite businessmen and ecclesiastics as a threat to their rule.

Consequently, the Maronite-dominated Lebanese army, supplemented by the fascistic Phalange militia and



Time

Lebanese premier Rashid Karami.

other ultra-right private armies, continually attacks the refugee camps and provokes battles with the Palestinian commandos. One such clash in April 1969 between the army and Al Saiqa, the commando group affiliated to the Syrian Ba'ath Party, led to a general strike and riots in Beirut, the resignation of the ever-present Karami as prime minister, and continued army-refugee clashes. Israel took advantage of the strife to join the Lebanese army in attacking Palestinian camps by launching raids south of Beirut. Egypt interceded to mediate and a "ceasefire," the so-called Cairo Agreement granting extra-territoriality to the Palestinian refugee camps, was negotiated in early November. However, the Cairo Agreement in no way ended Lebanese army attacks on the camps, often carried out in conjunction with Israeli "reprisal raids."

Widespread popular support for the beleaguered Palestinians was demonstrated in the 250,000-strong funeral march for the victims of an April 1973 Israeli commando raid on PLO headquarters in Beirut. The funerals were followed by an effective general strike in the Lebanese capital. Had the Palestinian masses thrown in their lot with the workers and students during the 1973 general strike, the resulting popular upsurge could very well have swept away the rickety "confessional" system. The Palestinian cause had become the rallying point for the grievances of the Lebanese oppressed. But under the treacherous slogan of "non-interference in the internal affairs of the Arab states" the PLO refused to lend its support even to these demonstrations backing its own national claims.

Once again, even though the present communal civil war was precipitated by a Phalangist attack on Palestinian commandos, the Palestine Liberation Organization has attempted to play a bonapartist role as "neutral" policeman. Not only are such Muslim towns as Sahra, Tariquel and Jedide policed by the PLO, but according to the 11 January *New York Times*, "The Palestinian military force known as the Armed Struggle Command jointly guards the elite Ras Beirut section of the capital with Lebanese gendarmes." Thus "non-interference in the internal affairs" of Lebanon has been translated by Arafat & Co. into military defense of the anti-democratic "confessional" system.

Partition?

For the Phalangists and other Maronite rightists the only way to defend their prerogatives is through savage terror and eventual expulsion of the Palestinians, or by forcing a partition. Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel recently stated: "We reject partition. But for artificial and external reasons, it may be impossible for the present coexistence to continue and therefore partition may take place" (*New York Times*, 1 January).

Presently the Phalangists have blockaded the Palestinian refugee camps of Tel El Zaatar and Jisr El Pacha in the eastern suburbs of Beirut, after seizing and systematically destroying the Dbaiye settlement (whose 3,500 inhabitants were Palestinian Christians) seven miles northeast of the capital. The Phalange militia has been joined by the private army of Camille Chamoun, presently minister of the interior. In order to draw off forces from the attacks on refugee camps, Palestinian commandos countered by overrunning Chamoun's Maronite fiefdom at Damur, then reportedly putting Chamoun's own seaside mansion at nearby Saadiyat to the torch.

In the 1950's Chamoun was president of Lebanon and the only Arab leader to accept the "Eisenhower doctrine" of American intervention against "Communist subversion." In 1958 he called in the U.S. Marines to suppress an insurrection led by none other than Karami. True to form, last week Chamoun again called for Western intervention, presumably to save his villa. But he has had no takers.

Both Israel and Syria have threatened direct military intervention in the Lebanese civil war. Ultra-right Zionists call for the annexation of southern Lebanon up to the Litani River, so that the "final solution" may be meted out to the Palestinians. Syria, although it is the military supplier for Lebanese Muslim and Palestinian refugee armies, has tried to present itself as a neutral arbiter.

While some cafe politicians in Damascus may dream of reconstructing ancient Assyria by hacking a Maronite partition and annexing the Muslim portions of Lebanon, the shaky bonapartist regime of nationalist military officers is horrified at the thought of governing a matrix of conflicting communities which would only add to its own minority problems (Kurds, Druzes, etc.). The Ba'athist colonels in Damascus, the Zionist rulers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the Christian capitalists and Muslim landlords in Beirut, and the PLO are all wedded to maintaining the basic framework of feudalistic confessionalism in Lebanon. Its collapse would threaten their fragile authority in their own fiefdoms.

The struggle for genuine democracy in the Levant and for national emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily sweep away the bonapartist regime in Syria, bring down the rotten medieval theocratic structure of Lebanon, shatter the Zionist state power and rip the Arab and Hebrew masses from their reactionary misrulers who lead them into endless and senseless national and communal wars. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can only find its fulfillment in a socialist federation of workers states in the Near East ■

Chauvel/Sygma

Pierre Gemayel, leader of the fascistic Christian Phalange, surrounded by guard.

British Auto Workers...

(continued from page 5)

of "union principle and socialist policies" who recently stood for election for a government speed-up committee (the Ryder Plan Joint Participation Committee).

Apart from the WRP, most of the groups to the left of the Communist Party extended virtually uncritical support to Thornett. The WSL, in turn, calls for a vote for other "militants" in Cowley, though without specifying who or clearly stating the basis of this support. In the case of Bob Fryer their support is based on his opposition to the participation scheme and on the vague assertion that he is "regarded in the plant as a Trotskyist" (*Socialist Press*, 31 December). Presumably this call also includes support for Tony Homer, a supporter of the IMG who is referred to in the bourgeois press as Thornett's "chief ally."

Thornett has taken principled positions opposing protectionist import controls and workers' participation in the speed-up schemes at Leyland; he has fought against redundancies with demands for opening the company's books and for work sharing with no loss in pay. On the other hand, it is not entirely clear whether Thornett fights in the plant for a full transitional program or simply on a two- or three-point "minimum program."

It is, however, clear that the WSL has not broken fundamentally from Healyite economism. Its use of the traditional Healyite slogan "Make the lefts fight" expresses an appetite for the comfortable womb of the Labour Party. The policy of pressuring the Labour lefts is counterposed to the struggle for a revolutionary, authentically Trotskyist party capable of smashing the Labour Party's reformist stranglehold on the British working class; and it lays the ground for capitulation to anti-communism and employer government attacks on the unions, a road which Parsons has travelled and which WRPer White has already gone down some distance. ■

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Co-op City...

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unavailability of land at reasonable prices makes such ownership prohibitive for most workers. At the onset of a depression or even a long strike, the property is invariably heavily mortgaged, and serves only as a fetter on the mobility and militancy of its "owner." The banks, who collect the interest and are in a position to foreclose on the property, are the only ones to profit from this operation.

Socialists of course defend the homes of workers and small petty bourgeoisie from the encroachments of the banks. The vast majority of workers and poor, however, live in rented housing. In New York City alone, there are 2 million rental apartments and over the last five years while tenants' incomes increased only 17 percent rental charges rose 57 *percent*. Over *half* the city's tenants are paying more than 25 percent of their income for rent. For these people "individual" houses, condominiums or cooperatives provide no answer. It is in their interest to *abolish* landed property and *confiscate* the apartment buildings from the rent-gougers and banks who own them. And as opposed to the hideous mismanagement of Co-op City and government housing projects generally, militants must fight to impose tenant-worker control.

The Strike

The rent strike at Co-op City is highly organized and involves genuine mass participation. Two steering committees (I and II) had been formed previously to institute law suits and carry on legislative lobbying. Steering Committee III runs the strike. The project is divided into several areas, for each of which an area marshal is responsible. The area marshals coordinate the activities of various buildings, which are led by building captains and back-up captains. All decision-making is subordinated to the steering committee, which has overall responsibility for the strike. The steering committee, whose meetings are open to all residents, consists of elected tenant members along with representatives from various civic associations, minority groups and senior citizens. Using some 1,500 volunteers it collects the rent during the first few days of each month.

The residents are enthusiastic about the strike. They have given their leadership a considerable amount of support. The solidarity and will to fight, among elderly tenants also, is impressive. But the danger comes from the contradictory character of the leadership. On the one hand, it has been generally militant and courageous under fire; on the other hand, it is parochial, ignoring the labor movement as a potential ally while never really breaking from illusions in either the capitalist system or its politicians.

The steering committee's 22 negotiating demands are one-shot administrative reforms: give tenants voting control over management of Co-op City, slash the inflated supervisory fee, lengthen the mortgage term, sell the power plant to the state, etc. These demands do not go beyond correcting the obvious mismanagement perpetrated by UHF and the state housing division.

Such reforms may cut current costs sufficiently to avert the projected increase. However, they do not provide any protection to tenants against future increases. By failing to demand that, *as a minimum*, the monthly charges on tenants be frozen, the steering committee has guaranteed that rapidly rising costs generated by the high rate of inflation will be passed on to tenants.

Moreover, the steering committee's response to the state's cutback in maintenance services all too much typifies the parochialism of many tenants' struggles. The cutbacks in services included a layoff of over 200 of the 460 employees at Co-op City. In response, Local 32-E of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), which represents the workers, called a "sick-out" of the remaining employees. Although it is clear that it was a supportable (if not very bold) response to a provocation by the state, a steering committee spokesman denounced the "sick-out" as irresponsible and injurious to the tenants. He boasted that the tenants committee had successfully applied pressure in Albany to get the remaining employees back to work after one day, and asserted that tenants were being mobilized to do the work of the laid-off workers!

This despicable scab-herding attitude is matched only by the leadership of Local 32-E itself. A Local official asserted that the tenants committee had violated the law by withholding rent payments and that its leaders deserved to be in jail!

Both the membership of Local 32-E and the tenants have been injured by the apparently successful attempt of the state Housing Division to drive a wedge between them. Tenant support is certainly necessary for the service employees to win their demands. On the other side, the steering committee should not only have respected the picket lines of Local 32-E, but it could easily have paid the wages of the laid-off workers out of the funds it has collected. The argument that "the law" would prohibit such payment is a feeble capitulation to bourgeois respectability, and downright ridiculous considering the tenants' own well-established history of defying "the law."

Unite with the Labor Movement!

The massive cutbacks in social services and government employment in New York make amply clear the ruling-class attitude toward any major subsidization of the rising housing and rental costs of working people. In an obvious reference to Co-op City, Governor Carey announced on January 21 his intention to ask for $22 million to help defray the rental costs of the elderly and poor residents of moderate-income housing developments that receive city and state aid. (Carey's less-than-generous offer would only exempt elderly people with incomes of less than $6,500 a year from paying more than *one third* of their incomes for rent or carrying charges.) Such miserly assistance to the most disadvantaged residents notwithstanding, Carey reasserted the general principle that "it was necessary to keep the state's housing program operating through increased rents and carrying charges to cover rising costs" (*New York Times*, 22 January).

Carey's iron insistence that tenant payments be increased reflects New York's fiscal woes. The state's Housing Finance Agency, which collects Co-op City mortgage payments, is already in serious difficulty with its bondholder creditors. These robbers are increasing the financial pressure, which can only lead to more expenses for tenants of city and state-subsidized housing. Only by canceling the debt to the bondholders can tenants attain any relief!

There is an obvious convergence of the interests of Co-op City strikers and the city labor movement here. City workers are laid off by the thousands, wages are frozen and municipal unions held in thrall by the banks' and corporations' demands that the city pay off usurious debts. The way forward for city labor lies in mobilizing the unions to demand cancellation of the debt to the blood-sucking financiers and expropriation of the banks. In a city beset by economic devastation at the hands of the corporate moguls, such far-reaching demands can win broad support even from sectors of the population normally hostile to the workers' struggles.

In the current siege atmosphere reigning in New York City the Co-op City rent strike has captured the imagination of a beleaguered petty bourgeoisie as a symbol of middle-class resistance to capitalist decay. A *Village Voice* (24 November) article saw a "war in Co-op City ... the transforming war of ordinary people rising up against the institutional stranglehold beneath which they labored all their lives." But while the rent strikers have won wide public sympathy, they have neither sought nor received active support from the only force with the social power and class interest to achieve a victory for them: organized labor.

Rather than reliance on the capitalist parties including "reform" elements—who must uphold the property relations which are at the origin of the Co-op City tenants' plight, real victory requires a political struggle for a workers party which can lead the necessary revolutionary struggle to break the bonds of capitalist exploitation. And just as the government of big business bases its hard-line opposition to the Co-op City strike on the undoubted fact that a major concession here could open the floodgates of labor struggles, the rent strikers must fight for militant support from the union movement, including city-wide strike action. This can only be achieved by struggling to oust the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—the Shankers and Van Arsdales, who bilked Co-op City tenants and stand in the way of effective working-class action. ■

Co-op City on the outskirts of the Bronx, New York City. WV Photo

Mao Foreign Policy...

(continued from page 6)

the subsequent turnabout in American foreign policy, it is legitimate to ask why the U.S. bourgeoisie was ever disposed to regard China as the "main enemy" in the first place.

The early attitude in U.S. ruling circles toward the Sino-Soviet split was conditioned by the Cuban revolution and the peasant-based revolution in Vietnam that was engaging ever more American blood and treasure—both shockingly unexpected developments. The ruling class was worried about the "peasant-guerrilla road to power": perhaps a handful of radicals, inspired by Castro and Mao, could indeed go into the countryside, agitate the peasants and topple the Batistas and Diems throughout the colonial world. The political leadership of American imperialism was a bit scared of the calls for people's war emanating from Havana and Peking; they knew that the USSR of Khrushchev and Brezhnev was a force for conservatism and the global status quo.

During the mid-1960's, U.S. imperialism threw its strength against the radical followers of Mao-Guevara and the regimes espousing "Third World" militancy. It won easy and even unexpected victories. The Latin American guerrilla bands were wiped out without significant U.S. military intervention; China's left-talking "friends" (e.g., Ghana's Nkrumah) were toppled and replaced by pro-Western military dictatorships. Most decisively, the pro-Peking Indonesian Communist Party (then the largest CP in the world not holding state power) was annihilated in a CIA-abetted domestic bloodbath.

By the late 1960's, the most capable American political ideologues knew there were not going to be "two, three, many Vietnams" (a point which the New Left radicals implicitly acknowledged as they turned from "Third World" adventurism toward workerism). Bourgeois strategists realized that the existence of Castro's Cuba a mere 90 miles from Florida and the military successes of the Vietnamese were, in the final analysis, based on the strength of the USSR. For

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American imperialism, a reassessment of China's role in world politics was in order.

Peking's denunciation of the Russians for overturning the "soft" Dubček government in Czechoslovakia and its solidarizing with the pro-Western Rumanian regime demonstrated that Mao was far less committed to maintaining an orthodox hard-Stalinist stance within the "Communist" movement than to seizing a chance to line up with any tendency which was anti-Russian.

America's alliance with Mao's China was facilitated by the emergence of Henry Kissinger as the strategist of U.S. foreign policy: a pessimistic conservative. Kissinger has oriented to long-term balance-of-power politics undisturbed by episodic, localized quarrels or formal ideological posture. By the early 1970's, the leaders of U.S. imperialism realized that throughout most of the world they had no immediate diplomatic competition from Mao's China while sharing a common enemy: the USSR.

More than five years ago, while Maoist rhetoric was at its "radical" zenith, the Spartacist League predicted the possibility of a U.S.-China bloc:

> "At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the USSR's avowed policy of 'peaceful coexistence' while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union of a U.S. deal *with China*. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long-run interests (which would take time, as such factors as U.S. public opinion would have to be readjusted), the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build 'Socialism in One Country' through deals with imperialism at the expense of internationalism."
>
> "Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part II, 30 August 1969

Former followers of the Mao trail who find themselves bewildered by China's pro-NATO stance would do well to examine the Trotskyist methodology which enabled the SL to see through Mao's "anti-revisionist" veneer while subjective leftists were mindlessly waving their Little Red Books.

...and China Walks In

Because of the more closed nature of Chinese political life, tracing the evolution of the Mao regime's attitude toward Nixon/Kissinger is a more tentative undertaking. Clearly, 1965 was an important turning point. In that year of U.S. escalation in Vietnam, a section of the Chinese bureaucracy (Peng Chen, the armed forces chief of staff Lo Jui-ching) pressed for improving relations with the USSR and preparing for a military intervention of the Korean War type. Mao quashed the impulse to mend fences with the Russians in support of the Vietnamese, maintaining de facto military neutrality during the Vietnam war and scarcely (and sometimes not at all) permitting the USSR to send military aid via Chinese territory.

Yet de facto military neutrality, though a crime from the standpoint of the international working class, is a long way from an actual and active alliance with U.S. imperialism. What was China's global strategy in the mid-1960's? Mao is given to utopian voluntarism and quite possibly believed that the moral example of the Chinese people combined with "revolutionary" rhetoric could inspire popular nationalist movements which would erode the Russian and American power blocs. But while the trumpet blasts of Mao Thought excited students from Berlin to Mexico City, the walls of the Kremlin and the Pentagon could be breached only by a more solid substance.

By 1968, the unreality and all-sided failure of Mao's "radical" policies had become manifest and the Chairman was forced to change course sharply. The disastrous Cultural Revolution was halted; the Red Guards were packed off to the countryside; the army and party imposed order at gunpoint. A campaign to break out of diplomatic isolation was undertaken. The 1969 border clash with the Russians may have convinced the Mao regime that the immediate military threat came not from the Americans in Vietnam but from the Russians on China's northern frontier. By the early 1970's, the Chinese bureaucracy realized that throughout most of the world it had no immediate conflict with the U.S. while sharing a common enemy: the USSR.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Camera Press

Body of Che Guevara after he was murdered in Bolivia, 1967. Today Mao's men are collaborating with Che's murderers.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Woodcock...

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class collaboration which hamstrings the workers' fight against capital.

Protectionist Fervor

Only one proposal gave rise to lengthy and fiery discussion. The union's Ford Department director, UAW vice-president Ken Bannon, introduced the resolution on subcontracting with an impassioned tirade against imports. Denouncing engines from Brazil, transmissions from France and imported cars from everywhere, Bannon set the tone for a discussion dominated by naked protectionism. Delegate after delegate called for import bans, railing against "Big Three" plants in foreign countries, the Toyota-Datsun invasion and the ubiquitous Volkswagen.

Preferring a somewhat more liberal and sophisticated facade, Woodcock took the mike to counsel that the real problem is in countries with no free trade union movement (thereby trying to equate Spain and the Soviet Union!). As head of the Auto Council of the International Metalworkers Federation, Woodcock felt compelled to make some pretense of moderating the blatant chauvinism which grabbed front page headlines the next day in Detroit newspapers. But it is Woodcock and the other UAW brass who sparked the protectionist frenzy. When the worldwide plunge in auto production hit the U.S., idling almost 300,000 auto workers last year, Woodcock reversed the UAW's traditional position for free trade, began calling for import controls and initiated a super-patriotic "Buy an American car" campaign.

Of the various opposition groups in the UAW, only one at this conference countered the UAW's turn to reactionary protectionism. The Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC) of Chicago's Local 6, aided by Detroit UAW militants, distributed a leaflet opposing the substitution of "jingoist patriotism for the international fight for parity in wages and conditions" and explaining that "import restrictions merely serve to whip up national rivalries between workers of different countries, paving the way for escalating trade wars that, sooner or later, will lead the advanced, industrial capitalist countries to new world war" (*Labor's Struggle* special supplement, 22 January).

The LSC newsletter also raised critical issues facing auto workers in 1976: the need for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay ("30 for 40") and combatting speed-up through the unrestricted right to strike, together with workers control of production, nationalization of the floundering auto industry without compensation, the need for a political fight for a workers party and independence from the back-stabbing Democrats currying UAW support in this election year.

In contrast, the fake-oppositionist United National Caucus (UNC) has created a super-minimalist "Coalition for a Good Contract," which distributed a brochure outlining its demands for 1976. The Coalition calls for a shorter workweek, but is not quite sure what that means. Its brochure calls for "30 or 32" for 40, while Local 122 president and Coalition sponsor Bob Weisman distributed a leaflet which could have been titled "How to coax the capitalists into a sort-of shorter workweek." Weisman, concerned about a "prohibitive 25% increase in the companies' total labor costs," counsels UAW members to combine their five "personal days" off and current paid holidays with 13 new days off in each year of the contract to—abracadabra—produce a 32-hour week by 1979!

Only one part of the Coalition program was presented on the conference floor—predictably, the most minor and ridiculous. Jordan Sims, Local 961 president and UNC co-chairman, spoke on the need to insert in the contract National Labor Relations Act language which states that refusing to work because of abnormally dangerous conditions shall not be deemed a strike. Vice-president Fraser effectively parried this "innovative" proposal by noting that since federal law supersedes all contracts, such "protection" already obtains. However, the burden of proof still falls on the individual to prove unsafe conditions. The UNC/Coalition group implicitly sees as "unrealistic" the demand for the local right to strike without International approval over health and safety and job standards. In search of a lowest common denominator that will insure it instant popularity, the UNC has hatched a front group which abstains on auto workers' most vital needs.

As the UAW enters the 1976 bargaining round, it is the clear-cut crisis of leadership at the union's summit that is the auto corporations' biggest ally. The absence of an authoritative, nationwide class-struggle opposition to rally the union's ranks and expose Woodcock's treachery leaves auto workers discontented but without leadership. Both the Coalition, prominently backed by the International Socialists, and the seldom-hear-from Auto Workers Action Caucus (which did not even bother to make an appearance at the conference), touted by the Communist Party, refuse to pin the blame for bringing the union to its knees before the corporate offensive on Woodcock's do-nothing policies. Groups like the Labor Struggle Caucus, however, point the way forward for both a militant contract fight and the construction of the necessary class-struggle leadership for the UAW and the entire labor movement. The expansion of such groups' influence nationally is the key ingredient to halting Woodcock's plans for betrayal. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

At UAW "Production Workers Conference"

Woodcock Rehearses Contract Sellout

WV Photo

DETROIT, January 23—Standing in the corridor while the 1976 United Auto Workers (UAW) Production Workers Conference wore on, one high-ranking union official candidly commented, "it's a state of siege mentality in there." Indeed it was. As discussions begin on the upcoming contract negotiations, the UAW regime led by president Leonard Woodcock is already making clear its intention to wield rigid bureaucratic control in order to ram a sellout settlement down the members' throats next fall.

Most rank-and-file union members (and even a few officials!) who came to observe the proceedings were turned away unless they had sufficiently influential connections permitting them past a phalanx of sergeants-at-arms. No agenda was ever presented. A hand-picked Resolutions Committee reported out ten dreary resolutions one by one during the three-day conference, precluding both advance consideration and knowledge of what would be coming up next. No resolutions were allowed from the floor, and the conference rules even prohibited amendments! To top it off, all economic issues (a shorter workweek, Supplemental Unemployment Benefits pay, wages, pensions) were "out of order," to be taken up only at the Special Bargaining Convention in March.

The undemocratic nature of this conference was merely a procedural corollary to the policy Woodcock will pursue this year: accommodating the depressed auto industry's drive to jack up productivity and hold down labor costs. In particular, the UAW leadership seeks to divert and break up growing sentiment in the union for a shorter workweek to create more jobs. Fearful that discontent with the massive layoffs of the last two years could coalesce around the historic UAW demand of "30 hours work for 40 hours pay," Woodcock and his International Executive Board cronies will work overtime to suppress such a movement.

Serving the Bosses

The UAW tops are marching in step to the tight-fisted dictates of the auto monopolies. In a speech to the Economic Club of New York last November, General Motors chairman Thomas Murphy made clear the industry's stance: "The solution to joblessness lies not in shortsighted make-work or share-the-work programs. These do nothing to increase productivity or to curtail costs" (*Wall Street Journal*, 13 November). Woodcock knows full well that only the most vigorous fight culminating in an industry-wide strike could wrench a shorter workweek—or any other important gains from the stockholders and executives intent on a permanent workforce reduction and profit-bolstering rationalization.

Like the rest of the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy, especially during a year when contracts covering 4.5 million workers expire, the UAW officialdom fears such a labor mobilization more than it fears the pummeling its membership has taken and still faces. Capitalist mouthpiece *Business Week* aptly summed up the U.S. labor leadership's predilections when it recently dubbed 1976 "Labor's Year of Compromise."

Woodcock's strategy at this early point is to combine vacuous proposals with rhetoric sufficiently "tough" to maintain a reasonable profile before the ranks. This well-worn route has already been prepared by two National Ford Council meetings which passed "Short Work Time" motions that in reality amount to nothing more than an "absentee control" plan allowing one half hour to be "banked" for every week of perfect attendance. After 16 weeks of no absences, a worker would get one day off! Not only has this scheme proved almost totally ineffective in curbing absences at the agricultural implements companies where it was "won" in 1973, but it is transparent demagogy to describe it as a job-creating "shorter workweek."

Sidestepping the central issues, Woodcock's strategy was well served at this conference. In the main, the ten resolutions passed were either mere tokens (calling for holiday pay on the basis of seniority), so vague as to be meaningless (the "health and safety" and "no overtime during layoff periods" proposals contained no specific solutions) or missed the point entirely (resolutions on plant closures and technological change meekly called for "humane" attrition and retraining, not a fight for jobs).

On three issues (company discipline, subcontracting and production standards) which cry out for the unfettered right to strike at the department and local level without International authorization, resolutions pointedly omitted this obvious demand. Most characteristically, the resolution expressing UAW resentment of corporate resistance to unionizing new plants pleaded "that each company and the Union agree in writing that their relationship is one of mutual respect and responsibility." This supposed "mutual respect" has never organized a plant nor won a strike; the "harmony clause" in many UAW contracts is but literary testimony to the

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ILWU Longshore Strike Scuttled

SAN FRANCISCO, January 25—A threatened strike by International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10, set for January 22, was bureaucratically scuttled after the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) reportedly agreed to retract the most glaring recent abuse under the current longshore contract. Last week's vote for strike action reflected seething discontent in the ranks against the vicious job-slashing employer attacks, including elimination of several job boards and the recently imposed "200-hours rule" (requiring longshoremen to work 200 hours per quarter in order to qualify for pay benefits supposedly guaranteed under the Pay Guarantee Plan [PGP]).

In the face of numerous strike motions coming from the floor of the well-attended January 15 Local 10 meeting, pro-International forces, including acting Local president Watkins, cooked up a purposely vague substitute motion which called for a strike only if there was no "adequate" response from the PMA. Predictably, the bureaucracy quickly returned with what it considered an "adequate" concession namely retraction of the 200-hours rule—and then very quickly killed any strike action without calling a membership meeting. Nevertheless, the cancelling of this disastrous job-cutting rule—a rule which had been openly endorsed by ILWU president Harry Bridges—demonstrates what the power of the strike weapon could do to reverse the defeats suffered by longshoremen at the hands of both the employers and their union "leaders."

The fact that the pro-Bridges forces, as well as the fake-oppositionist Wing forces, settled for so little in order to kill the strike is simply another sign of the complete bankruptcy of these false leaderships. The PMA retraction leaves the 1975 contract intact, allowing the devastating erosion of jobs to continue. Furthermore, the concession by the shippers is purely verbal at this point and could be reversed later when the opposition has been dispersed.

Not surprisingly, the Communist Party (CP) continues its tradition of covering for the ILWU bureaucracy by strongly insinuating that a strike would be a mistake: "With union elections coming up soon, some members of Local 10 are wondering if going out independently of the other locals is really a good tactic at this time" (*People's World*, 24 January). The CP, of course, does not challenge the pro-Bridges forces' position of limiting the strike to a single port, and thus excuses killing the strike entirely.

As a diversion, the article notes approvingly that Los Angeles Local 13 president Rudy Rubio "did not feel that a work stoppage was the way to handle the present issue," but rather suggested "putting heavy rank and file pressure on the Coast Committee until they are forced to go back to PMA to renegotiate." The article fails to mention that Rubio supported the 1975 contract.

The only union oppositionists who pointed the way forward were Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, who publish *Longshore Militant* and members of the Local 10 executive board. In a leaflet of January 20, Gow and Keylor pushed for militant strike tactics—including elected strike committees to avoid sabotage by the International and its local flunkies, and spreading the strike to other ports to mobilize the full strength of the union. More importantly, only Gow and Keylor pushed for a strike "to restore *all* the cutbacks on boards, gangs and PGP" by demanding "jobs for all longshoremen through a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members." They also called for immediate promotion of all "B-men" to full "A" status. Only this perspective of militant class struggle points the way toward victory for longshoremen. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Smash the Capitalist Austerity Program!

Reaction Mounts in Portugal

FEBRUARY 3 "To save the revolution it will undouhtedly be neeessary for some heads to roll," said Major Melo Antunes in an interviow last November. Shortly afterward, following the crushing defeat of a left-wing military revolt in Lisbon on November 25, the purge began. First to go were the leading "progressive" generals, Fabião (army chief of staff) and Otelo de Carvalho (head of the Lisbon military region). While the top brass were left at liberty, their subordinates were arrested. Soon more than 100 leftist officers were sitting in the Custóias military presidio in the conservative northern center of Porto.

November 25 broke the back of the "military left" in Portugal. The Western bourgeois press hailed this as "A Victory of the Moderates." But in a matter of days the "moderates" became strangely uneasy about their "vietory." Antunes, leader of the "Group of Nine" formed last summer, had brought down the Communist Party-backed "fifth provisional government" of General Vaseo Gonçalves in September. Now the "far left" military units in the capitol district were dissolved. Yet it was not the technocratic-liberal "military politicians" who held the reins of power.

The fruits of victory over the paratrooper uprising went instead to conservative "operational commanders" who had lain low ever since the abortive rightist putseh of March 11. Ramalho Eanes, the new army eommander, had been out of the limelight so long that most people in Lisbon weren't sure where he stood politically. Jaime Neves, operational chief of progovernment forces on November 25, onee had the confidence of Carvalho; now he shaved off his beard and beeame the strongman of the right. At a ceremony rendering homage to his unit for the role it played in putting down the rebels, Neves told President Costa Gomes, "The Commandos regiment is not satisfied. It thinks there is still mueh to do and is firmly determined to follow through to the end."

In his belligerent interview which appeared on the eve of the parachutist revolt Antunes had said, "We are sure that inside the army there is a plan—a Communist plan to systematically disorganize the structures." The day after, in Porto, Socialist Party (PS) leader Mario Soares accused the Communist Party (PCP) of responsibility for the "coup" (*Le Monde*, 25 and 28 November). Now, realizing that it was not they but the right that was capitalizing on November 25, the "moderates" suddenly changed their tune. Antunes declared himself convinced that there was no attempted coup on November 25, and both he and Soares insisted that the PCP must remain in the government.

Sharp Right Turn

"November 25 was our military victory just as 25 April 1975 was our eleetoral victory," said a PS leader in early December. Soares & Co. had been demanding for months that there be a reestablishment of discipline in the armed forces, that workers militias be dissolved, that the workers and tenants commissions be regimented. Otherwise, they said, reaction would profit from growing middle-class desire for order. Earlier, when they were riding high in Lisbon, the PCP sang the same song, denouncing strikes and ealling for "winning the battle of production."

Marxists, unlike the rèformist social democrats and Stalinists, understand that smashing the germs of dual power and reinforeing the authority of the bourgeois state will kill, not save the revolution. This supposedly "peaceful" road has been traveled many times before, most recently in Chile, resulting in the most bloody defeats for the workers. Only energetic measures attacking the foundations of bourgeois rule, generalized in a transitional program and under the leadership of a Leninist party, ean bring the wavering petty bourgeoisie over to the workers' side. Capitulation only paves the way to disaster.

Already a seant three weeks after the leftist revolt, the *New York Times* (14 December) quoted a Socialist Party militant as saying, "The backlash has reached a frightening level. The trouble is that with the recent left-wing purges in the military, the right feels it can do and say what it wants." Thus the ultra-rightist Christian Demoeratic Party, which disappeared after its leaders were implicated in the March 11 putsch, has raised its head again. The probable presidential eandidate of the conservative Democratic Social Center, General Galvão de Melo, said at a rally in the farming town of Rio Maior that "the Communists must be driven to the sea. In our Christian Portugal there is no room for atheistic Communism." Franeisco Sá Carneiro, head of the liberal Popular Demoerats, put his party on a rightist course by demanding the ouster of the PCP from the cabinet.

The sharpest turn has been in the military where the 12 elected soldiers committees, which appeared in Lisbon-area units by late fall have now been banned and "advisory" unit assemblies dropped. Eanes announced that "politics stops at the barraeks door" and seleeted as his right-hand man Colonel Firmimo Miguel, whom ex-president Spínola unsuccessfully tried to install as prime minister in July 1974. Other notorious right-wing hutchers such as General Kaulza de Arriaga, former commander of Portuguese colonial troops in Mozambique, have been quietly released from jail, while Carvalho, the organizer of the 25 April 1974 "revolution of the carnations," was arrested in late January. Today almost all of the remaining military prisoners are the leftists detained following November 25. Even many of the hated PIDE spies and torturers arrested after April 1974 have been set free.

The other main focus of the rightist offensive was the communications media, and here, too, the positions of the left have been wiped out one after another. Rádio Renaseença, täken over by leftists in May, has been returned to the Catholic Chureh hierarchy. The military editor of *República* resigned in mid-December, whereupon the Maoist/syndicalist coalition that determined editorial policy after printing workers took it over in the early summer

L'Expresso

promptly fell apart and the newspaper stopped publishing. While last summer the Communist Party had dominant influence in all the state-owned newspapers of Lisbon (which came under government control as a result of the nationalization of the banks in March), now it is limited to one.

Meanwhile anti-leftist repression and terror attacks have heen mounting daily. When militants demonstrated outside the Custóias prison in Porto on January 1 demanding release of the arrested left-wing soldiers and officers inside, they were fired on by the Republican National Guard (GNR) leaving three dead and 15 injured. In addition civilian anti-communist terrorists have been at work, with over 60 separate assaults on leftists reported this month alone, primarily bombs and burning down offices.

Generals Tighten the Workers' Belts

Despite some audacious moves by the center-right government and the ultra-right reactionaries their social base of support is still limited, although growing. On November 25 and after, the new military masters of Portugal have been careful to avoid a head-on collision with the militant working class. That they have been able to go so far already is not the result of their strong position but of the failure of the reformist misleaders to put up any serious resistance to the rightist offensive.

Contrary to the myth perpetrated by the capitalist press, that the Portuguese Communist Party attempted a coup on November 25, the Stalinists wanted only to pressure for more cabinet seats and kept their distance from the paratroopers' action. Thereafter, seeing that conservative officers had gone on the offensive the PCP aequiesced totally in the state of siege instead of ealling a general strike which could have swept away the repressive measures and the isolated government in a matter of hours.

In the last two months the government has again managed to stir up widespread opposition to itself by implementing a drastic capitalist "austerity" program. Announcing the day before Christmas that the workers would have to "tighten their belts," Prime Minister Azevedo announced that gasoline would be jacked up to $2.40 per gallon (the highest priee in Europe), with similar increases for meat, potatoes, transit fares and other essential commodities. A genuine communist party could organize the discontent provoked by such anti-working-class measures into a powerful revolutionary offensive. But if there is no resistance—if the capitalist speculators, hoarders and belt-tighteners are able to drive down the living standards of the masses and ereate chaos in the consumer market the resulting demoralization of the workers and alienation of the petty bourgeoisie ean greatly aid the reactionaries in preparing their bloody work.

During late January two major demonstrations were held against inflation and unemployment, one sponsored hy the PCP and the other by the Maoist UDP. However, both failed to provide

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Editorial Notes

Algeria, Morocco Clash in West Sahara

Heavy fighting between Moroccan and Algerian troops erupted over the past week along the northeastern border of the former Spanish Sahara, leaving many dead. In addition, guerrilla fighters of the indigenous Polisario Front used Algerian-supplied Russian anti-aircraft missiles to bring down a Moroccan jet fighter.

Intent on realizing his irredentist dreams of a Greater Morocco and to corner the world phosphate market, King Hassan II moved quickly to occupy the northern two thirds of the mineral-rich territory as the last Spanish garrison departed in mid-January. By joint agreement, Mauritania simultaneously grabbed the barren southern section.

However, the rapid-fire invasion was greeted with hostility by the 40,000 to 80,000 inhabitants, mostly blue-robed nomads. In the north, the few towns emptied as young men joined the guerrillas while the women, children and elderly fled to refugee camps in Algeria. To the south, the small port of Dakhala was in contention between the Moroccan and Mauritanian armies. One of the hapless residents told an American reporter: "When the Spaniards were here, we were Spaniards. When the Moroccans came we were Moroccans. Now the Mauritanians are here and I guess we will be Mauritanians" (*Newsweek*, 26 January).

In order to deny mobility to their guerrilla opponents, the Moroccans have resorted to systematically shooting every camel they come across. The Polisario Front was nevertheless able to blow up a

Gerard Sebag/Sygma

Polisario guerrillas in the western Sahara

section of the nearly one hundred-mile conveyor belt which transports phosphate ore from inland mines to the coast. The insurgents also gained a propaganda victory by convincing three quarters of the members of a hand-picked colonial assembly of notables to sign a statement calling for independence and recognizing Polisario Front leadership.

In an earlier article ("Morocco Invades Spanish Sahara," *WV* No. 90, 2 January) we recognized the right of self-determination for the population of the territory. However, we also warned that the militarily weak Polisario Front could "only come to power in the baggage cars of the Algerian army, if at all." We added:

> "In the event of a military confrontation between Morocco and Algeria over the Spanish Sahara, the victory of either will subordinate the right of self-determination of the Saharan populations, and Trotskyists would call for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, just as in the 1963-64 Morocco-Algerian border war."

The interests of the impoverished inhabitants of the western Sahara desert will not be served by an Algerian victory, which would only set up a puppet regime dependent on Algiers. Only socialist revolution based on the Moroccan and Algerian proletariats and led by a Trotskyist party can overcome reactionary nationalism and unite the oppressed of the Maghreb (northwest Africa) to overthrow their exploiters.

SWP Waffles on Angola

The Angolan war has provided the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) an opportunity to exhume the worm-eaten crypt of the class-collaborationist anti-Vietnam War movement.

The SWP's social-patriotic campaign to prevent "another Vietnam" in Angola neatly dovetails with the election-year maneuvers of gun-shy Congressional liberals. Imperialist dove John Tunney advises his Senatorial colleagues against pouring "more money down this rathole" (*New York Times*, 19 December 1975). SWP Congressional candidate Pat Wright told a Columbia University audience during a January debate on Angola that "millions of dollars are being poured into a useless war."

These renegades from Trotskyism refuse to take sides in what they disingenuously refer to as a "fratricidal conflict" and a "factional war." Since late October, one of these "factions"—a shaky coalition of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—has included and been led by CIA operatives, right-wing Portuguese *colons*, and a several-thousand-man South African army expeditionary corps. The other "faction" in this thoroughly internationalized war consists of Russian equipment and advisors, Cuban officers and soldiers, and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

But the reformists of the SWP can only wring their hands and scratch their heads. In an authoritative SWP Political Committee report to its National Committee plenum, Angola "expert" Tony Thomas was studied ignorance from top to toe: "It is difficult at this distance to assess all the ins and outs of the factional war between the three groups. But we have no difficulty in seeing what our main job is, as Fred [Halstead] and other comrades said. This is to organize opposition to American imperialist intervention..." (*Militant*, 23 January). Those SWPers who sought further enlightenment received no more help from the less-than-profound contribution of SWP leader emeritus Joseph Hansen: "Whatever one's opinions may be of the issues at stake in the conflict between the MPLA, the FNLA and UNITA, it is clear that the main enemy in Angola is imperialism" (*Militant*, 26 December 1975).

What is the correct position for Marxists to take on the present stage of the Angolan war? Military victory to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the U.S./South Africa-led coalition; siding with the USSR in the proxy war with American imperialism? Not for the SWP, if you please. Replying to the Spartacus Youth League spokesman during the debate at Columbia, SWPer Pat Wright asked "Do we want to take into the streets a lot of talk about what the FNLA does, what the MPLA does, what UNITA does and so forth or what the Soviet Union does? People who are being laid off, who are being affected by the budget cuts in this country, especially blacks and Puerto Ricans, I don't think if we bring all this information and confusing terms to them that they will be able to understand and be ready to move."

Such vile philistinism is an attempt to hide the SWP's criminal abstentionism. But no amount of political gymnastics will get the SWP off the hook. Employing a device worn thin from years of unprincipled factional maneuvering, the National Committee report raises orthodox-sounding criticisms of the SWP's opponents within the "United" Secretariat (USec), who give *political support* to the MPLA, in order to deflect criticisms from its own refusal to call for military defense of the Soviet/Cuban/MPLA forces under imperialist attack.

But the SWP's stock has sunk so low in the deeply divided USec that even its normal bloc partner, the ultra-reformist Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) of Argentina, has come out for the victory of the MPLA forces in the battlefield confrontation with the imperialist-led coalition. It is a measure of the pervasive cynicism of the USec that the PST, which stands in its far *right* wing, should most closely approximate a revolutionary line on Angola.

The SWP's feigned ignorance approaches almost heroic proportions in Thomas' report: "Because of the South African censorship and the efforts of the FNLA and UNITA to cover up the South African moves, it is not clear at the moment which field of [South African troop] operations is primary, pursuit of SWAPO [the South-West African nationalist guerrillas], occupation of the Cunene valley [southern Angola site of a South African financed hydroelectric power plant], or military thrusts against the MPLA." This "analysis" was written *two months* after a motorized South African column, UNITA camp followers in tow, led a major drive up the coast as far as Lohito and Benguela and fanned out along the entire southern front. Perhaps Thomas is still reading last year's UNITA press releases describing the pale-blond soldiers with Afrikaans accents as "Norwegians" (*New York Times*, 8 December 1975).

Aping the Maoist line of calling for "superpowers out" and "a government of national unity," Thomas attempts to distill a winning combination by betting on all the domestic contestants. First, his report argues that all three Angolan nationalist formations "follow procapitalist, anti-working-class and class-collaborationist policies"—a correct statement which should lay to rest the hoary SWP dictum that "consistent nationalism equals socialism."

Second, Thomas maintains that each group "maneuvers with imperialism" and "is willing to make political and economic concessions to gain imperialist support." Right again! But in the next breath, we learn that all three are "real nationalist movements with mass support; consequently they are not dependent on imperialism"! This conclusion is a thousand times wrong.

For the pseudo-Marxist pundits, imperialist control over Angola does not result from the dominance of the world market and the absence of a revolutionary proletarian party which could break the stranglehold of imperialism by smashing capitalism. Rather, what is needed according to the SWP is simply unity among three "procapitalist, anti-working-class" nationalist organizations. While calling on all three to unite (in order to get on with the job of stabilizing a strikebreaking bourgeois regime), the SWP closes its eyes to the fact that the FNLA and UNITA are not simply recipients of "aid from abroad," but are militarily subordinated to imperialist powers.

The SWP line shares another characteristic of the Maoist position. Its neutrality on paper is a smokescreen designed to conceal its political sympathies for the FNLA. Vigorously defending the FNLA against old MPLA charges that it was a "tool of Western imperialism and of Tshombe's regime in the Congo," Thomas conveniently omits mention of FNLA head Holden Roberto's long history of funding by the CIA. Decrying the MPLA's threat to turn the Bakongo tribal areas into "another Biafra," Thomas overlooks Roberto's threat to "kill every Communist in Luanda." Criticisms of the MPLA are abundant, harsh and

London Daily Mail-Eschave Associates

Cuban soldiers in Angola

largely accurate. Criticisms of the FNLA are few and generally abstract statements applying to all three formations. Crudest of all is Thomas' attempt to simultaneously condemn UNITA and the FNLA "for blocking with the South Africans," while arguing away the political significance of this bloc.

Leaving no stone unturned, Thomas and company even toy with a revolutionary defensist policy, albeit without specifying on *which* side: "If the imperialist intervention increases, as seems quite likely, we may decide to favor the victory of one or another of the groups on tactical grounds...." Perhaps if the Portuguese Liberation Army and 5,000 South African troops are replaced by thousands of "our boys," the SWP would then finally call for smashing the imperialist-led coalition? Militants who recall the SWP's Vietnam war policies of wallowing in the trough of bourgeois pacifism and "guns or butter" liberalism will rightly scoff at the prospect of the SWP *ever* forthrightly calling for the military defeat of U.S. imperialism.

While veteran SWP peacenik Fred Halstead is busily dusting off his "Out Now" button, a "Bring the Boys Home Movement" is growing apace in South Africa. The white supremacist regime of Prime Minister John Vorster is under extreme pressure from the right to withdraw its troops from Angola. Like the SWP, the "Out Now" forces in South Africa support none of the nationalist groups. In a widely-publicized letter advising his son to resign from the military if forced to serve in Angola, a Transvaal doctor wrote that "even a single drop of Afrikaner blood is too much" for "helping one Communistic black terrorist gang against another" (*Washington Post*, 10 January).

Now these, admittedly, are not the views of the SWP. *They are merely expressions of the racist, isolationist and anti-communist ideology of bourgeois elements not different in kind from those whom the SWP consistently conciliated in the antiwar movement.* Thomas' proposed slogan of "Not one penny, not one bullet, not a single adviser or soldier into Angola" can be as suitable for South African racists as for American social-democratic opportunists.

RSL: Russia Always Capitalist?

Dunce Caps for State Caps

On January 31 the clique-crippled Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) came limping into New York on the last leg of its "national" tour (venturing as far west as...St. Louis). Speaking on "State Capitalism and the Fight for Socialism," RSL boss Ron Taber was forced to bring an entourage of supporters with him, since the New York RSL leadership around Sy Landy and Walter Dahl had just been expelled while their New York supporters remaining in the RSL have revolted against Taber in the third (!) clique fight to rend this dwindling sect. With its New York local rapidly disintegrating the RSL local organizer last Wednesday informed the Spartacist League that the RSL was withdrawing from the long-planned RSL-SL debate on busing. Permit us to recall that the RSL demanded this debate and then threw a tantrum in its *Torch* blaming the SL for a delay caused by their own organizational foul up!

At the forum the pompous Taber spewed drivel about "state capitalism" which carried the political odor of renegades of the past like Max Shachtman and James Burnham. In his struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy Leon Trotsky contemptuously dismissed all attempts to portray the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, as "state capitalism." In the USSR the bourgeoisie has been economically expropriated in a social revolution which established over the principal means of production collectivized property forms corresponding to the class rule of the proletariat. But the Russian proletariat has been politically expropriated by the Stalinist bureaucracy which destroyed the revolutionary Bolshevik party and the soviets, establishing an anti-proletarian regime parasitically feeding upon the social conquests of the October Revolution.

Strutting as a self-annointed "creative Marxist" and even a "Trotskyist," Taber resurrected the Burnhamite clap-trap that German fascism, the Scandanavian welfare state and various "Third World" bonapartist regimes resting upon nationalized economies (such as Burma) all represented societies "along the way" to the "pure type of state capitalism" existing in the USSR today. For the RSL "state capitalism" emerged in backward Russia under Stalin when the workers lost all "control" and "leverage" over the state (allegedly during the Moscow Trials of 1936-38). Yet Taber simultaneously implied that the Soviet economy all along had been capitalist! Even though "all the laws of capitalism have always applied" and the "law of value applied all through this process," the only difference between Russia under Lenin and Stalin was that under Lenin the workers at least exercised "control" over the state. With the rise of Stalinism Russia "slowly but surely" became "a fully developed capitalist state."

Sounding like an anarcho-syndicalist New Left moralist Taber railed at "production for the sake of accumulation" and "proved" that the USSR was a capitalist society by histrionically decrying that the Russian workers must work for wages while the state appropriates the surplus value produced.

In the "discussion" period, when the RSL would recognize only two SL speakers, the first SL supporter ridiculed Taber's bombast which could not discover in the planned Russian economy any of the fundamental features of capitalism, such as competition between capitalist enterprises, production for the sake of profit, cyclical crises resulting from the tendential decline in the profit rate and the compulsion to export capital to realize monopoly superprofits.

The SL speaker pointed out that the RSL, like Shachtman and all social democrats, must trample over the Marxist understanding of the state in order to glorify abstract "democracy." In the Soviet Union workers democracy based upon soviets was destroyed by the Stalinist counterrevolution in 1924, not 1936-38; but the Soviet *state*—armed bodies of men defending the prevailing nationalized property forms—was not overturned. Only petty-bourgeois democrats like the RSL could contend that a social counterrevolution does not require the smashing of the state but only the erosion of democracy—even workers democracy—"slowly but surely."

The SL speaker added that with its petty-bourgeois moralism on wages and "workers control" the RSL would have opposed the Bolshevik government under Lenin. In the early years of the Russian workers state, production certainly was "for the sake of accumulation" and the state indeed appropriated the surplus product while "forcing the workers to work for wages." Finally, the SL speaker blasted the RSL for its opportunist spasms in adapting to those Stalinist-led forces which are *popular* in petty-bourgeois radical milieux. For example, like the International Socialists, its parent Shachtmanite organization, the RSL supported the victory of the Indochinese Stalinists, even though according to its "state capitalist" schema the Stalinist-led armies were bourgeois forces no different than the Saigon/Phnom Penh cabal and their Russian overlords were "imperialists" no different than the U.S. The second SL speaker pointed out that the RSL, while wailing about democracy in the USSR, refuses to support elementary democratic de-

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Dallas News/Larry Reese

Ann Foreman and Mary Jo Risher (right).

Stop Discrimination Against Homosexuals!

Texas Courts Take Child from Lesbian Mother

On December 23 a jury in a Dallas, Texas, Domestic Relations Court took custody of Mary Jo Risher's nine-year-old son, Richard, away from her in a 10-2 verdict. Risher's former husband, from whom she was divorced five years ago, brought her to court to gain custody of Richard, charging that her lifestyle was not conducive to the young boy's proper upbringing. Actually, the lifestyle which the self-righteous guardians of bourgeois propriety find so objectionable is led in a four-bedroom house in suburban Garland and is not much different than in the neighboring homes. Except for one thing: the household unit consists of two divorced women and two children.

Evidence that Mary Jo Risher, 38 and a homosexual, is an "unfit mother" is nil. To the contrary, courtroom witnesses, including several psychologists, repeatedly observed that Richard's home life is "excellent, happy and normal." The chaplain of the hospital where Mary Jo Risher works as a nurse described her as "hard working, very compassionate, very sensitive." As a guest in her home he described "a relaxed, loving relationship among all members of the family."

Such public scrutiny and judgment of the character and lifestyle of Mary Jo Risher and her companion, Ann Foreman, is a gross violation of their privacy and democratic rights. The father's concern for Richard's emotional well-being is pure pretense. In the first place, the child wants to remain with his mother. And if anything is designed to cause emotional damage to Richard, it is the atmosphere of public scandal surrounding the court proceedings.

The testimony of the father, Doug Risher, and an older son, 17-year-old Jimmy, against Mary Jo Risher is focused on her lesbianism, which Jimmy finds an embarrassment. Such bigotry must be fought, not used as an excuse to deny the democratic right of sexual choice. Unfortunately, however, Jimmy's "shame" results from genuine social pressures exerted by a society that treats sexual non-conformity with revulsion.

In an interview with a *WV* reporter Mary Jo Risher, presently on tour to gain support for her appeal of the decision, described two incidents the psychologist testifying for the petitioner brought out to indicate her "bad judgment" as a mother. First, she had allowed Richard to wear a YWCA t-shirt. Her reason: "Richard is, indeed, a member of the YWCA," where he takes a gymnastics class with other children, male and female. Secondly, she had dressed Richard in a girl's hand-me-downs. Anne Foreman's 11-year-old daughter outgrew a pair of *jeans* and denim jacket, fashionable for both boys and girls, and Richard inherited them!

This is the rubbish which constitutes the case for taking Richard away from his mother. It is hard to imagine such ridiculous "evidence" not being laughed out of court. Mary Jo Risher thinks it would be in another region, as on the West Coast where judges recently ruled in favor of lesbian mothers in two similar cases. She connects the jury's decision to the fundamentalist Baptist mentality of the "Bible Belt."

While the South may be more notorious for bigotry than other sections of the country, discrimination against homosexuals is pervasive in bourgeois society, for the nuclear family institution is important to the maintenance of capitalism. Mary Jo Risher is the victim of reactionary persecution and needs the support of class-conscious militants in her appeal. Sexual choice is a basic democratic right—End discrimination against homosexuals! Stop this victimization! Donations for legal expenses, expected to require $30,000, can be sent to: Friends of Mary Jo Risher, P.O. Box 174, Dallas, Texas 75221. ■

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OCI Resurrects the London Bureau

The international incarnation of the French Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) has proudly proclaimed the abandonment of even its previously minimal pretenses to upholding the Trotskyist program as the basis for its political existence. With triumphant fanfare, OCI-aligned Latin American groups recently called for a conference "for organizing anti-imperialist unity" which would be open to all Latin American tendencies which recognize the "class independence of the laboring masses"; closer to home base, the OCI is now engaged in a blossoming romance with the organization Trotsky castigated as the epitome of centrism, the Spanish POUM.

A communiqué dated 6 November 1975 reported the results of the Second Latin American Conference held under the auspices of the OCI-led Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI) on November 1-6. The communiqué proclaimed that "over-all agreement" was reached "concerning the tasks implied by the struggle for the construction of revolutionary parties in each country, integrated into the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International."

However, what is really being undertaken by the OCRFI and its Latin American adherents (Bolivian POR, Argentine Política Obrera, Mexican LOM, Peruvian POMR, Chilean POMR and a Venezuelan group) is not the reforging of the Fourth International. It is the inauguration of another "London Bureau"—a rotten bloc of the sort Trotsky fought in the 1930's as the most dangerous centrist roadblock to the struggle for the Fourth International.

The real political thrust of the Latin American Conference can be seen from the communiqué's enumeration of the political conditions projected for a future conference

> "of all organizations, tendencies and currents who in Latin America take a position in favor of the following three points:
> "1) for organizing anti-imperialist unity,
> "2) for the class independence of the laboring masses and the workers organizations;
> "3) for organizing anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles in conformity with the motto of the Workingmen's International [First International]: 'the emancipation of the toilers will be the task of the toilers themselves'."
>
> *Correo Internacional*, December 1975

What is being proposed here is nothing but an international Kuomintang, simply a more dishonest version of the class-collaborationist "anti-imperialist" alliances with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists constantly being pushed by the Mao, Castro and Brezhnev Stalinists.

But bourgeois forces would certainly not agree to the "class independence of the laboring masses and the workers' organizations," the OCI will doubtless reply. On the contrary, bourgeois leftist demagogues are not only prepared to sign such statements, especially when they are out of power, but one among their number –a certain General Juan José Torres, ex-president of Bolivia – has already gone the OCI one better and signed a document calling for the "hegemony of the proletariat."

This was the declaration of the Bolivian Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front (FRA), which the OCI will well recall since it wrote of the FRA that, "Even Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang joined the Third International" (*La Vérité* No. 557, July 1972). At the time the OCI implicitly criticized the Bolivian POR's accolades to transcendental virtues of the FRA; now, however, the OCI is on the prowl looking for its own Banzers and Chiangs, and has evidently already signed up the Venezuelan MIR.

The Latin American Conference brings the OCI's rhetoric into line with its opportunist practice, breaking with past verbal claims to Trotskyist orthodoxy. Previously, it had insisted—correctly, if formalistically—that the Transitional Program is primary. After breaking with its former British cohort, Gerry Healy, in 1971, the OCI had stressed the need to

> "cement together the authentically Trotskyist elements, groups and organizations, however few they may be....
> "We know that it is not an easy thing to bring about a principled and organization regroupment...but precisely because this is difficult, it should be undertaken only with those who want to remain faithful to the [Trotskyist] program and who are not afraid to break with Pabloite liquidationism."
>
> —*Correspondance Internationale*, June 1972

OCI-SWP Rapprochement

Ironically, according to the minutes of an October 1974 meeting between the OCI and the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the OCI's Pierre Lambert had stated:

> "If there weren't any link with the Fourth International founded by Trotsky, each of us [i.e., the OCRFI and the United Secretariat, with which the SWP is politically linked] would be nothing but London Bureaus. Neither of us are London Bureaus since we claim the authority of Trotsky."

To be sure, appeals to the authority of Trotsky are an insufficient criterion for defining authentic Trotskyism. But the Latin American Conference has formalized the unprincipled practice of the OCI with unprecedented clarity. It has transcended earlier vacillations and capitulations in favor of frankly advocating a loose conglomeration of "anti-imperialists" without any reference whatsoever to Trotskyism. By its own admission, the OCRFI is fostering nothing but another London Bureau.

The OCI supplanted its long-standing hostility to the SWP by suddenly discovering in 1973 that the SWP is "Trotskyist" and "not centrist." The OCI plunged headlong into its pursuit of Joseph Hansen & Co., unrestrained by the full flowering of the SWP's social-democratic appetites placing the SWP in the right wing of the United Secretariat (USec). In the period preceding the USec's 1974 World Congress, the OCI advised any supporters it might have or acquire within the USec to join the SWP-led right-oppositional minority, the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

Even before the SWP-OCI meeting in October 1974, the OCI's Argentine affiliate, Política Obrera (PO), stated its readiness to enter into extensive discussions with the Argentine PST of Moreno-Coral, then solidly in line with the SWP. Relations between PO and the PST appear to have improved considerably; recently the PST has even proposed a fusion of their respective youth groups this March (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 December 1975).

Oddly enough, while the OCI and PST have been romancing, rumors of dissension between the PST and SWP over Portugal and Angola have been circulating in Europe. These have now been confirmed with regard to Angola: the SWP's *Militant* (23 January) claims that the PST agrees with the USec majority position of support to the MPLA as against the SWP's "neutrality." Further USec reshuffling may put the OCI—which originally had expressed nothing but scorn for the PST while flattering the SWP outrageously—in a quandary.

OCI Chases the POUM

The OCI has spent more than twenty years professing "orthodox Trotskyism" and "anti-revisionism." It is no accident that its sharp right turn on French political terrain—support to the popular-front candidate in the 1974 presidential elections—is linked with an equally sharp right turn internationally. The question of popular frontism is the axis around which the OCI's intensifying degeneration turns.

In Europe, after the OCI lost its Spanish group to the Vargaite sect, it increasingly adopted political positions identical to those of the Spanish POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity)—an organization which historically has expressed the quintessence of capitulation to popular frontism. For at least the past six months, the OCI has limited itself to raising central slogans for Spain which are identical with those of the POUM: "Down with the monarchy," "For a Spanish republic," "For a constituent assembly." These slogans embody the Menshevik notion of two rigidly separated stages of revolution at bottom, an attempt to justify political confidence in bourgeois democracy during the supposed "first" stage.

OCI newspaper headline reads: "Down with Francosim! For a Republic in Spain!"

In a civil war situation the workers movement must give military support to bourgeois democracy against bonapartist and fascist reaction (thus the Bolsheviks fought alongside Kerensky against Kornilov). But the proletariat never subordinates its independent organizations and program to such military blocs because it places no political confidence in the bourgeoisie. The slogans of the POUM/OCI for Spain today are openly reformist. It was one thing to fight on the side of the endangered Spanish republic against the Francoist generals' coup; it is quite another to advocate the formation of a bourgeois republic.

POUM's Record of Betrayal

In 1936, Trotsky broke with the Communist Left of Andrés Nin over its unification with Maurin's Workers and Peasants Bloc to form the POUM. Subsequent events rapidly confirmed Trotsky's evaluation of the POUM as a centrist obstacle to proletarian revolution. In the crucible of the revolutionary situation, the POUM abdicated to the reformist misleaders and ultimately allowed the bourgeoisie to recapture political control through the popular front, thereby objectively ensuring the defeat of the Spanish revolution and the victory of the Francoist forces.

In typical centrist fashion, after months of campaigning against a coalition with the Spanish bourgeoisie, the POUM overnight entered the electoral coalition of February 1936 in Catalonia. After the elections, it would of course renounce the coalition. But on the very eve of the civil war the POUM again capitulated, calling for "an authentic government of the popular front, with the direct participation of the Socialist and Communist Parties (*La Batalla*, 17 July 1936). Instead of demanding that the reformists assume governmental power without their bourgeois partners (thus the Bolsheviks' June 1917 slogan, "Down with the ten capitalist ministers"), at the critical moments the POUM showed itself incapable of putting teeth into its periodic verbal opposition to the popular front.

On 7 September 1936 Nin made a speech criticizing the Madrid coalition with the bourgeoisie, raising the slogan "Down with the bourgeois ministers." But on 18 September *La Batalla* published a resolution declaring:

> "The Central Committee believes now, as always, that this government must be exclusively composed of representatives of the workers parties and trade-union organizations. But if this point of view is not shared by the other workers organizations, we are willing to leave the question open."

On 12 December 1936 the POUM showed what was really meant by "leaving the question open"—it entered the bourgeois government of Catalonia!

The POUM's political capitulation to popular-front coalitionism was decisive confirmation of the correctness of Trotsky's bitter struggle. The central thrust of the POUM's disorientation, rendering it impotent to provide revolutionary leadership, was the same inability to pose a proletarian program aimed at the independent mobilization of the working class counterposed to the bourgeois state apparatus. The POUM in practice opposed the central task facing revolutionists in an incipient dual power situation: the creation of soviets.

In the armed forces, the POUM forbade the election of soldiers committees. It acquiesced to the militarization and mobilization decrees of September and October 1936 providing for the conscription of regular regiments ruled by the old military code. On 27 October 1936 *La Batalla* published without comment the bourgeois state's decree disarming the workers.

Nin explicitly justified the abandonment of the Leninist conception of soviets, referring to the absence of democratic traditions in Russia. "Our proletariat, however, had its unions, its parties, its own organizations. For this reason, the soviets have not arisen among us" (*Batalla*, 27 April 1937). What this statement reflected was Nin's long-standing refusal to contest with the reformist anarchist bureaucracy of the CNT for leadership of the organized workers. When the CNT joined the popular front, so did the POUM; when

LA VOZ LENINISTA

Organo de la Sección Bolchevique-leninista de España

(por la IV Internacional)

Barcelona 1 Abril 1937

Año I — Núm 1

El camino de la victoria empieza en el Frente Revolucionario del Proletariado

Sobre la Conferencia Internacional de Barcelona

Carta del Buró Internacional para la IV Internacional al Secretariado Internacional del POUM

During Barcelona "May Days" in 1937 Spanish Trotskyists called for general strike and revolutionary proletarian front (right). POUM called on workers to lay down their arms.

the CNT called on the workers to lay down their arms before ferocious bourgeois and Stalinist repression, the POUM did likewise.

After the leftist Barcelona section of the POUM voted for the immediate organizing of soviets on 15 April 1937 the POUM leadership undertook massive bureaucratic repressive measures against its left wing, including the expulsion of dissidents (charged with being Trotskyists) brought back from the front under guard.

The final step was predictible. In early May the Barcelona working class had taken over the city in response to a Stalinist-led attempt by the republic's Assault Guards to take control of the Telefonica workers. Alone among the left groups, the Trotskyists (the Bolshevik-Leninist Section of Spain) and the left-anarchist "Friends of Durruti" issued leaflets on May 4 calling for a general strike, disarming the Assault Guards and the formation of a revolutionary proletarian front. But *La Batalla* (6 May 1937) told the workers to "leave the streets" and "return to work." At the instruction of their leadership, the POUM militants abandoned the barricades. This betrayal was instrumental in causing the defeat of the heroic May Days uprising. Such are the "differences" between genuine Bolshevism and centrist betrayal.

The POUM's Apologists

At the time of his intransigent political fight against the centrist POUM, Trotsky also had to combat a considerable appetite for softness toward the POUM's political line within organizations formally claiming to stand for the Fourth International.

In July 1936, Trotsky wrote a letter to the Dutch RSAP attacking its sympathetic attitude toward the POUM and its reluctance to take any position on the London Bureau, of which the POUM was a mainstay. Trotsky wrote:

> "One does not fight for the Fourth International by flirting with them [the POUM and its allies] in a closed room, by attendance on them, by parlor visits to them, etc.... no, one fights for the Fourth International only by pitilessly exposing these little gentlemen and calling them by their right name."

In the same letter, Trotsky took up the POUM's policies:

> "The question of questions at present is the People's Front. The Left Centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to practice their little business in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism... All the People's Fronts in Europe are only a pale copy and often a caricature of the Russian People's Front of 1917...."
>
> *Writings, 1935-36*

After World War II, the POUM also played a major role in the Shachtmanite "International," the bizarre regroupment of those who had broken to the right from the Fourth International. In addition to the Shachtman group, which had split from the SWP in 1940 in opposition to the Trotskyist policy of military defensism of the Soviet Union, this international centrist swamp encompassed the German IKD (which authored the Menshevik "Three Theses" in 1941 advocating a "democratic" revolution against Hitler rule), the post-war Goldman-Morrow split from the SWP and the right breakaway from the French POI led by Parisot and Demazière. This is the historical tradition to which the OCI is returning.

OCI Rewrites History

Not content to cuddle up to the POUM today, the OCI is also busily attempting to prettify the POUM's capitulationist role in the 1930's. Pierre Broué, the OCI's leading historian, has recently edited a large volume of Trotsky's writings on Spain. Broué's footnotes and commentary go to great lengths to "explain" (i.e., justify) the POUM's policies.

Broué is particularly positive about the Maurin wing's trade-union policies and the founding of the POUM, which Trotsky opposed. According to Broué, the POUM was constituted by the "common struggle for the workers united front" between the Workers and Peasants Bloc (Maurin) and the Communist Left (Nin). Broué terms "coherent" POUM leader Juan Andrade's explanation for the founding of the POUM and quotes Andrade and other POUM leaders at length and approvingly concerning their differences with Trotsky.

In the context of editing Trotsky's Spain writings, Broué has gone as far as it is possible for an ostensible Trotskyist to go (he cannot, of course, openly repudiate Trotsky's struggle against the POUM) to justify the POUM against Trotsky. He implicitly solidarizes with the vacillators who wanted to associate themselves with Trotsky's trenchant analyses while shrinking from the iron necessity for pitiless political struggle against the centrists, obliquely noting that Trotsky's "often fierce" polemics against the POUM were "often consid-

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Free Dennis Banks!

UPI

Dennis Banks, left, with Russell Means. Banks, executive director of the American Indian Movement, faces a possible 15-year sentence.

Dennis Banks, a founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM), was arrested as a fugitive on January 24 at the home of a friend in El Cerrito, California. A heavily armed FBI unit surrounded the house of Lehman (Lee) Brightman, a Sioux Indian from South Dakota, and gave the two unarmed men just one minute to surrender (presumably before the cops would go in shooting). Banks and Brightman both surrendered peacefully.

Brightman, who heads the Native American Program at Contra Costa Junior College, now faces federal charges of harboring a fugitive who crossed state lines. He has since been released on his own recognizance.

Banks, however, is wanted on two separate sets of charges and remains in jail on $100,000 bond. In Portland, Oregon, where authorities claim he was one of two men who fired at a state trooper last November, Banks was indicted for illegal possession of destructive devices and firearms. In South Dakota he is wanted on state and federal charges dating back to February 1973.

In late January of that year, a gang of white youths in Custer, S.D., abducted a young Indian from a dance, tortured and stabbed him to death. When the Indian youth's accused assailant was simply charged with second-degree manslaughter, clearly about to get off scot-free, Banks declared February 6 a national day of Indian rights and called for a demonstration in Custer to protest this racist injustice.

The protest grew into what Banks called a police riot, during which the Custer County Courthouse and the Chamber of Commerce were burned down, a bar was ripped up and several police cars were destroyed. Convicted on riot and assault charges stemming from this incident, Banks faced a 15-year prison term. Banks failed to appear for sentencing last August. After Banks' recent arrest in California his attorney said that, "Being sent back to South Dakota might mean his death" in the racist prisons.

Dennis Banks and Russell Means were the main leaders of the Wounded Knee occupation at Pine Ridge Reservation (South Dakota) which began shortly after the Custer incident in 1973. Although the government's trumped-up charges resulting from the occupation were later dismissed, state and federal authorities have not dropped their vendetta against the AIM leaders.

A coalition of Indian organizations have formed the Dennis Banks Bicentennial Legal Offense Fund to raise bail for Banks by February 9, when a judge will rule on whether to remove him to Portland to stand trial. The coalition, which plans a campaign to pressure the governor to block extradition to South Dakota, has scheduled a march to the California state capitol for February 6. The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee urge support for Dennis Banks against these frame-up charges. Contributions for his defense can be sent to: Dennis Banks Bicentennial Legal Offense Fund, P.O. Box 601, Oakland, California 94604.

From Bandung to NATO

Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal

The New Left Maoists' hostility to Brezhnev's Russia flowed from a leftist impulse: the Kremlin was seen (correctly) as betraying the colonial masses for the sake of collusion with U.S. imperialism. But outside the radical student milieu, a powerful objective basis has always existed for Maoist anti-USSR rhetoric to intersect an anti-communist matrix.

In West Europe, the only popular basis of support for U.S. imperialism is

Part 2 of 2

fear of Soviet conquest and consequent national oppression along the lines of Poland or Hungary. Popular anti-Russian sentiment is particularly strong in West Germany, where the USSR is seen as occupying half the nation and the Kremlin's continual denunciations of German revanchism affront national chauvinist backwardness among the German workers and petty-bourgeoisie.

The possibility of appealing to anti-Russian bourgeois nationalism among the masses may be a factor in the relative strength of Maoism currently in West Germany and Sweden. The Maoist line is an acceptable way for a layer of young intellectuals and militant workers to express conventional anti-Russian nationalism without thinking of themselves as reactionaries.

Certainly, when Ernst Aust, head of the West German KPD-ML (one of the larger European Maoist organizations), brought court action against the federal defense minister for not guarding the eastern border vigilantly enough against a Soviet attack, he was not gritting his teeth and reluctantly carrying out Mao's orders. Mao gave no such orders. Aust was playing for the crowds that cheer nuclear sabre-rattler Franz-Josef Strauss, former West German defense minister who has led the rightist opposition to détente and last year flew to Peking to demand a holy alliance against Russia. Behind Strauss stands the legacy of Nazism and the anti-Comintern pact.

The relation of U.S. Maoism to national chauvinism is less extreme. The U.S. is the guardian of capitalism on a world scale, so that anti-communist attitudes have a general form not solely focused on the Soviet Union. Yet the American masses see Russia as the main enemy, the only nation capable of destroying the U.S.; China and the colonial world appear remote. American Maoism can take advantage of this greater popular fear of the USSR. A youth joining a Maoist organization will have less trouble from his conventionally-minded family and friends if he is pro-Chinese rather than pro-Russian. The former seems faddish and idiosyncratic; the latter is really dangerous.

"Khrushchevism Under the Gun"

One does not really become a social democrat, syndicalist, Stalinist or Trotskyist simply by joining an organization and believing in its general principles. Individuals become the living embodiments of political tendencies only through serving them during great historical experiences.

In this sense, Western Maoism does not begin in the late 1960's when student-centered radicals became overwhelmingly enamored of the Little Red Book. Rather, the New Leftists became Maoists in the 1971-72 period by abandoning their former subjective principles out of loyalty to Peking. Many of the New Left Maoists did not make that jump. Some dropped out of serious organized politics entirely; some rejected Stalinism outright and joined groups claiming to stand in the Trotskyist tradition; others broke with Peking to become eclectic "Marxist-Leninists."

To be sure, there was never anything revolutionary about Mao's policies in the 1960's. The fundamental ideology of Maoism—like its tamer twin, Khrushchevism—has always been "Socialism in One Country": the Stalinist bureaucracy's nationalist justification for sacrificing the international revolution in favor of diplomatic deals aimed at taking the pressure off its own deformed workers state.

China's willingness to shore up reactionary nationalist military regimes against their own working masses had been amply demonstrated at the "Asian-African Solidarity Conference" held at Bandung, Indonesia in 1954, where Chou En-lai had propounded the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," including a pledge to refrain from exerting pressure on other nations to change their economic systems. Peking's diplomatic agreements with regimes such as the Congo (Brazzaville) or Tanzania, and its applauding of Boumediene's reactionary coup in Algeria, were apt implementations of the "Spirit of Bandung." The "anti-imperialist" rationale for such betrayals was exposed as threadbare by the Maoists' simultaneous policy of peaceful coexistence with Japan, the imperialist powerhouse of Asia.

The foreign policy aspirations of the Chinese were never basically different from those of the Russian Stalinists: the greater verbal militancy of the Mao regime flowed from China's far more limited ability, due to American intransigence, to put its sellout appetites into effect.

Militant Maoism was "Khrushchevism under the gun." It was a more or less simple product of the far greater pressure which the Chinese state—diplomatically more isolated and industrially/militarily far weaker than the Soviet Union—suffered from U.S. imperialism in the 1960's. The pro-Chinese Western radicals who accepted Mao's "revolutionary" bromides as good coin can be condemned for light-mindedness and, to a certain extent, for cynicism. But those who followed Mao through the increasingly transparent and immediate betrayals and now line up behind U.S. imperialism against the USSR have undergone a corrosive process which made them much different political animals than formerly inhabited the New Left zoo.

Toward the New Alliance

It was in 1971 that the Mao regime's right turn manifested itself in nakedly counterrevolutionary foreign policy moves. The Bandaranaike regime in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) had pretensions to being among the leaders of the "non-aligned Third World." In the spring of 1971, the radical Sinhalese-nationalist JVP attempted a rural-based uprising which was put down with wanton savagery by the government. To maintain Bandaranaike's good will in competition with Washington and Moscow, the Chinese denounced the JVP as objectively counterrevolutionary and solidarized with its bloody suppression.

In late 1971 the Bengali masses rose up in a struggle for national independence against the Punjabi-centered military regime of Yahya Khan in Pakistan. The Pakistani regime responded with a campaign of mass terror comparable to the worst nationalist atrocities of this century. Since Pakistan was the main rival of Indira Gandhi's India, the most important Soviet ally in South Asia, Mao's China fulsomely endorsed Yahya Khan's murderous efforts to maintain Pakistan's territorial integrity. The Maoists demonstrated that they would not be outdone in treachery by the Russians, who had earlier militarily backed India in its border war against China.

Capping Peking's counterrevolutionary policies was the new alliance: China and the United States. In February 1972, while Nixon's planes were bombing Hanoi, the imperialist chieftain was effusively welcomed in Peking.

Angola

The Maoists who accepted Bandaranaike, Yahya Khan and Richard Nixon as friends of China (and many did not) had become more

Mrs. Bandaranaike received diplomatic and military support from Peking as her government carried out the 1971 massacre of JVP youth rebels in Sri Lanka.

Daily News

AP

Left: Nixon and Chou En-lai toast "peaceful coexistence." Right: American B-52's drop bombs on North Vietnam.

hardened and cynical; the New Left naïveté and enthusiasm had been ground off. The events of 1971-72 were important steps toward State Department Maoism, but they were not the final plunge. Chinese policy had limits and ambiguities which allowed Maoists to claim—not just for public consumption but also to assuage their own consciences—that they were still committed to liberating the toiling masses of the world from the domination of both "superpowers."

China's support to the reactionary butchers of the "Third World" was diplomatic in character. Likewise China's subsequent campaign to strengthen NATO was mainly limited to oblique references in the pages of *Peking Review* and private encouragement from Chinese leaders to their American and West European "colleagues." China's withdrawal of aid from the Omani rebels in order to befriend the Shah of Iran, and from the Eritrean liberation fighters in order to conciliate the Ethiopian junta, are more substantive betrayals; the oppressed masses pay for these acts with their blood here and now. Yet these, too, remained negative acts. Chinese pilots are not strafing PFLOAG camps and Chinese advisors are not telling the Ethiopian regime how to take Asmara.

But Chinese intervention in Angola is direct and active military support to counterrevolution. Maoists who could swallow Yahya Khan's butchery in East Bengal cannot stomach the South African army in Angola. The scale of Chinese aid to the anti-MPLA bloc required direct collusion of Peking's agents with those of the imperialist powers. Chinese military attachés must have attended meetings with CIA agents. South African officers and Portuguese colonialist politicians in which they planned the capture of Luanda, knowing full well that the annihilation of the Cuban soldiers and the most advanced elements of the Angolan working class would follow. In addition, the battle over Angola is grabbing front-page headlines throughout the world, making China's support for the U.S./South Africa axis an international scandal which cannot be covered up.

For those who, fully realizing the nature of Chinese involvement in Angola, still choose to support it, nothing will now be impermissible for the sake of China's alliance with the U.S. Post-Angola hard Maoists should logically be able to inform to the FBI on CP members and other leftists, to break strikes at Boeing or General Dynamics for the sake of "national security," to serve in America's colonial wars without experiencing any inner moral crisis. Once again, Stalinism will have taken subjectively revolutionary militants and twisted them into willing servants of counterrevolution.

The Future of Radical Maoism

Unlike the Maoist movement, Stalin's degenerated Comintern could still claim direct descent from the world's first socialist revolution, had the material support of the USSR and was rooted in mass parties. Stalin's atrocities in Russia and monumental betrayals of revolutionary struggles internationally generated hundreds of thousands of embittered ex-CPers, but the "Stalintern" retained its unified mass character. In a looser fashion, a Kremlin-led world movement continues to this day.

In contrast, the international Maoist movement is organizationally weak, has always been faction-ridden, receives little material (or other) support from Peking and is much more dependent upon ideological loyalty. If China continues its all-out and overt alliance with U.S. imperialism, it is doubtful whether Maoism can remain a significant political force. Except where there is an indigenous basis for left-wing anti-Sovietism, as in West Germany, the hard-line pro-Peking groups will deteriorate into isolated and despised sects.

Since 1971-72, there has been a tendency for Maoist organizations to break with Peking and become nationally limited formations espousing their own idiosyncratic brands of "Marxism-Leninism." In the U.S., the Progressive Labor Party, loyal only to Milt Rosen's bizarre apotheosis of Joseph Stalin, is a good example of this phenomenon. The West German Kommunistischer Bund (Nord) is another such organization, now seeking to develop positions to the left of mainstream Maoism but still based on Stalinist doctrine.

The tendency of Maoism to be displaced by centrist eclecticism is, understandably enough, most developed in Portugal. There are several substantial groups to the left of the pro-Moscow PCP. Yet the Peking-loyal Maoists (the PCP-ML) are a small minority, hopelessly and justly isolated from the most militant workers. While the Chinese maintain that the main enemy in Portugal today is "Soviet social-imperialism"—and are willing to align with anyone from Mario Soares' Socialists to openly fascist forces against the PCP—the only Portuguese Maoists who have attained a mass following are those who have broken with this line. The MRPP claims that fascism and "social fascism" (the PCP) are equal dangers, publicly acknowledging differences with Peking on this score, and the larger UDP openly tails after the PCP.

Thus the main challenge to Trotskyism will come not from the dwindling band of post-Angola hard-line Maoists, but from the critical Maoists, dissident Maoists and ex-Maoists. A main orientation of Trotskyists at present must be to prevent the deep crisis of Maoism from dissipating itself in a new layer of nationally limited, impressionistic, inherently unstable Stalinoid formations.

It is not enough to dissent from the outright counterrevolutionary acts of Chinese foreign policy. It is not enough to support whatever forces appear to be battling imperialism or domestic reaction at any given moment. The counterrevolutionary policies emanating from Peking and Moscow must be destroyed at their root. And that root is the rule of a privileged bureaucracy which "defends" collectivized (proletarian) property relations by intriguing with imperialism—in a word, Stalinism. It is the historic task of Trotskyism, and no other tendency, to lead the working class to the overthrow of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and place the enormous resources of the Sino-Soviet states totally in the service of world revolution. ■

"Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal" is the introduction to the recently published Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, "China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism," available for $1.00 from Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal Street P.O., New York, N.Y. 10013.

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Extend the Busing—
Smash the Racist Roadblock to the Suburbs!

Token Desegregation in Detroit

DETROIT, January 29—A court-ordered school busing program opened in Detroit this week with only minimal disruption. The plan, virtually tailor-made to the racists' objections, neutralized resistance from the city's white neighborhoods by minimizing desegregation.

In a last-ditch effort to whip up anti-busing hysteria, a caravan of more than 250 cars converged on downtown Detroit last Sunday and circled the City-County building, honking their horns. However, the most prominent anti-busing organization, Mothers Alert Detroit, was unable to sustain a school boycott (labeled the "yellow flu" in reference to the school buses). Within two days absenteeism declined from about 40 percent to a "near normal" 17 percent.

The uneventful implementation of Detroit's busing plan, in contrast to the violent racist backlash in Boston and Louisville, is not hard to fathom: it is one of the most limited in the country, and consequently no major figure in city politics has called for active opposition.

Unlike busing in Boston, which (although confined to city limits) has sharply changed the racial composition of the public schools, and Louisville's plan of desegregating both city and suburban schools, the Detroit busing program involves fewer than 10 percent of the city's 247,500 school children and leaves vast stretches of the predominantly black inner city untouched.

The plan affects only 107 out of a total of 280 schools and is aimed primarily at altering the racial balance of those few schools which were over 70 percent white. Even C.L. Golightly, president of the school board, who had previously opposed the NAACP plan for extensive cross-district busing, assailed the current scheme as "minimal tokenism."

This hollow mockery of school integration fits squarely into the increasingly reactionary mood of bourgeois opinion on busing and the race question in general. It was drawn up by federal judge Robert DeMascio after the 1974 Supreme Court ruling prohibiting cross-district busing except where it can be shown that suburban schools share the responsibility for existing school segregation. That ruling overturned a broad metropolitan-wide plan ordered four years ago hy a federal district court. Judge DeMascio himself is notorious for his racist conduct of the trial of Detroit cops accused of murdering three young black men at the Algiers Motel during the 1967 Detroit ghetto uprising.

DeMascio's final court order contained a strong appeal to white parents to accept the plan as the absolute minimum which the Supreme Court would permit. The judge said that he was "fully aware" of the opposition to the "burdens imposed" by busing, adding that he had made certain that no student would be moved to a school "which is not comparable in all respects" to the school he previously attended (*Detroit Free Press*, 5 November 1975). For example, none of the student transfers which had been protested by white parents in the Denby High School area on the northeast side were included in the final plan. In contrast, the burden imposed on black students forced to attend run-down ghetto schools because of "de facto" housing segregation along race and class lines was not the concern of Judge DeMascio and the capitalist courts.

The NAACP responded to this setback in typically legalistic fashion by filing an appeal of the DeMascio plan and initiating a new suit seeking to prove the complicity of surrounding suburbs in enforcing segregation in the metropolitan area. Numerous suburbs have already filed counter briefs asking to be dismissed from the suit, claiming no responsibility for the existing pattern of segregation. At this pace, the whole process will take years, and in the present political context it is hardly likely to produce a decision in favor of cross-district busing.

Racists Undaunted

While the limited nature of the Detroit plan and the majority black population in the city have so far deterred violent opposition, the racists were hard at work in the period leading up to implementation of the plan. Mothers Alert Detroit, whose origins are traceable to the ultra-right Breakthrough organization, earlier conducted partially successful school boycotts against busing. Last November it turned two rump school board meetings in predominantly white northeast Detroit into thinly veiled anti-busing rallies. At one of the meetings, pro-busing members of the Communist Labor Party were assaulted by racists and escorted from the meeting by reluctant local police. As a result of its activities in recent months, the Mothers Alert group has swelled in membership to 4,000.

Even more serious is a series of attacks over the last few months against black families living on the northeast side. The attacks have included threatening phone calls and letters signed by the Ku Klux Klan, assaults on black school children, cross-burnings and several serious shooting incidents. Evidence points to collusion between the police and young white thugs in the area. The cops have been extremely reluctant to even report these attacks, much less issue warrants for the arrest of those identified as participants.

Mobilize Labor to Extend Busing

A busing plan confined to Detroit alone can barely begin to ameliorate the segregation inherent in a system of decaying all-black schools. Since 1970 the city has become predominantly black due to the phenomenon of "white flight" to the suburbs. Among families with school-age children, the phenomenon is even more pronounced, producing a school system over 70 percent black. At the same time, the ring of suburbs surrounding the city remains virtually all-white. Years of "red-lining" by real estate agencies, barely disguised discrimination and outright physical intimidation have produced the rigidly segregated conditions which exist in the area. As the exodus of whites from the city continues, the race line increasingly coincides with the city limits.

The labor movement has the social power and particular responsibility to lead the fight against the oppression of black people. The United Auto Workers (UAW), representing several hundred thousand black workers in the Detroit region, must fight for a sweeping city-wide desegregation program and the extension of busing to the suburbs. This would mark an important victory against racial discrimination as well as threaten to undercut segregation in housing which now forces black people to live in miserable conditions of the economically and physically devastated inner city

WV Photo

Participants in January 23 Detroit pro-busing demonstration.

Yet the "socially conscious" UAW bureaucracy has utterly capitulated before the racist mobilization nationally and in Detroit. Despite a traditionally "progressive" paper stance on the race question, the UAW leadership has not lifted a finger to actively support busing. Maintaining a diplomatic silence while the cross-district plan was before the Supreme Court, the bureaucrats explained after the 1974 decision that, while they were of course in favor of a metropolitan busing plan, they could not support a Detroit-only plan. This back-handed support to the racists became even more explicit last fall when aspiring UAW presidential hopeful Douglas Fraser indicated that the union was reconsidering its tepid support to busing because it was a "losing issue" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 November 1975). The struggle for the democratic rights of black people cannot depend on the likes of Fraser or UAW head Leonard Woodcock who slavishly tail every twist and turn of bourgeois opinion.

Phony "Leftists" Tail Racists and Liberals

The reformists nibbling at the fringes of the bureaucracy are little better. The misnamed Revolutionary Communist Party—which applauds the "fight-back" of Klan-inspired racists in Louisville and Boston—was obviously disappointed by the absence of howling lynch mobs in the streets of Detroit. Substituting themselves for the racists, these Jim Crow Maoists and their front group, the "Committee to Fight the Attacks on Our Schools," held a pathetic anti-busing demonstration at the Schools Center Building on the first day of the busing program.

In Boston the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) attempted to outdo the liberals with calls for reliance on the imperialist army and racist local cops to protect black school children. But in Detroit, where the bourgeois political establishment lined up behind peaceful implementation of the token DeMascio plan, making it unnecessary for the racists to go beyond pro-forma placid protests, the ex-Trotskyist SWP and its Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) quickly fell into step with the "city fathers." SCAR demonstrations called prior to the initiation of the busing plan were notable for the absence of any call for the extension of busing to the suburbs, or even criticisms of the minimal DeMascio plan. SWP and SCAR members volunteered, along with local clergy and 32 police department chaplains, to act as monitors at bus stops throughout the city.

Only the crystallization of a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement can take forward the battle for racial equality. The struggle for the liberation of racial minorities (for democratic demands as well as an end to capitalist social and economic oppression) must be welded to the proletarian struggle for power. The greatest obstacles to this course are labor's present misleaders and their opportunist would-be successors. ■

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Not Torrijos, But Workers Revolution in Panama!

Drive Uncle Sam Out of the Canal Zone!

New York Times

Last month, Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos paid a state visit to Cuba in an effort to shore up his sagging image, which has suffered as a result of the present deadlock in negotiations over the fate of the Panama Canal. Castro was only too willing to pledge his government's unconditional support to the "progressive" general, but cautioned patience in negotiating a new treaty with the United States. Fidel reminded Torrijos that the U.S. still occupies Guantanamo Bay, part of Cuban territory, adding that "We are not in a hurry" to recover it (*New York Times*, 13 January). Soothing words for Torrijos; but hardly comforting to the masses of exploited Panamanians, half of whom live in squalid slums clustered at either end of the 10-mile-wide strip of U.S.-owned land which literally cuts their country in two!

The popular mood in Panama is far from patient. Opposition to the bonapartist Torrijos regime has been mounting on all sides and rumors have been circulating of plans for a right-wing coup to oust him. In response, Torrijos exiled 14 prominent conservatives to Ecuador on January 20, charging them with "plotting to undermine the economy and the current Panama Canal negotiations with the United States." A government statement linked the expelled men to U.S. presidential candidate Ronald Reagan and exiled Panamanian ex-president Arnulfo Arias. The statement referred to a meeting in December in Miami where Arias reportedly promised Reagan that he would be more flexible than Torrijos over the canal issue if Reagan would promote his cause (*Washington Post*, 22 January).

Reaction from business interests to the expulsions was swift. A successful lock-out was organized, shutting down banks, stores and some factories. The two largest banks, Chase Manhattan and First National City, closed completely. (One of the exiled businessmen was Rubén Dario Charles, Jr., local vice president of Chase Manhattan.) According to news reports, within a few days 60 percent of the economy was paralyzed. In response, workers' and students' organizations threatened to reopen the banks and stores by force unless the lock-out was ended. Clearly shaken, the Torrijos regime quickly capitulated and allowed the 14 exiles to return.

An Imperialist Cancer

The nub of the recent crisis in Panama—and the overriding political question in the country since its creation—is the status of the canal, now wholly in the hands of the U.S. government. The present "negotiations" (begun 11 years ago!) concern the drawing up of a new pact to replace the gunboat-imposed treaty of 1903 which is still in effect. This treaty turned Panama—which had just separated itself from Colombia through a "revolution" engineered by Teddy Roosevelt and backed by the Marines as part of his "Good Neighbor" policy—into a semi-colony of the United States. Barely two weeks old, the tiny "republic" signed a treaty with the U.S. turning over the projected canal and the land around it to the imperialist colossus "in perpetuity."

The U.S. first saw the need for the waterway during the Spanish-American War of 1898, when the battleship *Oregon* had to sail all the way around Cape Horn to get from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Protecting the canal has remained a major military objective of U.S. foreign policy ever since, despite the fact that modern supertankers cannot squeeze through it. The entire Canal Zone and most of the 40,000 U.S. citizens who live there are intimately linked to the ability of American imperialism to make war.

Since 1949 the U.S. Army has operated at Fort Gulick in the Zone the infamous "School of the Americas," prototype of the "counterinsurgency" torture school shown in the movie *State of Siege*. This murder academy has turned out thousands of officers, dictators and CIA agents for Latin America, including the killers of Che Guevara who were trained by Green Berets there. The blood-stained Chilean junta boasts at least six graduates among its top generals and admirals. Another notable product of this school is none other than General Torrijos himself!

The presence of the U.S. and a 15,000-man American army in the Canal Zone has been a festering cancer for the 1.5 million people of Panama and a major target of anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America for decades. The movement to throw out the U.S. was given impetus in 1964 when a clash erupted between Panamanian students attempting to raise their national flag outside Balboa High School and American students who tore it down. This led to mass demonstrations in the Zone of over 5,000 Panamanian leftists. At that point the U.S. Army was called in to put down the demonstrators, killing over 20 students and wounding 200 more.

This brutal display of "Yankee" muscle was so revolting that even the pro-American government was forced to make a show of breaking off diplomatic relations with the U.S. After these incidents, negotiations to revise the 1903 treaty began "in earnest." Since 1964 there have been many protest actions against the U.S. occupiers, mainly by the large and politically important Revolutionary Student Front (FER) dominated by the pro-Moscow People's Party. During Kissinger's visit to Panama in 1974 Torrijos permitted the FER to stage a demonstration which drew over 20,000 people. The students shouted, "Get tough with the Americans, Omar!"

Torrijos "Negotiates" With Kissinger

Getting "tough" is not exactly what Torrijos had in mind. This phony nationalist demagogue is occasionally given to outbursts of bluff and bluster, hoping to wring a few concessions from the Americans by summoning up the spectre of revolution. Last July when he accused U.S. president Ford of stalling negotiations, Torrijos suggested that any further delay would bring about a student uprising, and in that case "we have two alternatives, to smash it or to lead it, and I'm not going to smash it" (*New York Times*, 21 August 1975). Yet, as one Panamanian oppositionist said, "the Government desperately needs the money from a new treaty in order to stay alive.... So instead of the United States, Panama is making the concession in the negotiations." A social democrat added that "a system of joint defense will strengthen Panamanian militarism in the name of defending the canal" (*New York Times*, 8 October).

Torrijos made his intentions clear when he signed a pact with Kissinger in 1974—the "Joint Statement of Principles"—which abolished the hated "in perpetuity" clause of the original treaty but granted the U.S. "the right to use the lands, waters and airspace which may be necessary for the operation, maintenance, protection and defense of the canal and transit of ships" (*Panama Canal Spillway*, 15 February 1974). The general insists, however, that his policy is to "liberate" the Zone eventually. "2000 A.D." is the magic number according to this "anti-imperialist"!

General Torrijos came to power at the head of the National Guard in a 1968 coup by toppling the venal, virtual puppet regime of Arias. The general's political stance was captured by a widely displayed government billboard: "Every people has its aspirin. Neither with the left nor with the right; with Panama! Torrijos." Upon taking over he immediately banned political parties, abolished freedom of the press and closed down the university for one year. Some 50 radical students suddenly disappeared from the campus.

AP

Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos visited Fidel Castro in Havana last month.

If Torrijos has a reputation of being "anti-American" and "for the little people" it is solely due to public relations efforts by the Stalinist People's Party, which supported the 1968 coup and is today the only legal party in Panama, and the left cover given by Castro. Torrijos' occasional rhetorical flourishes (e.g., "when all peaceful roads are closed to the people, they must resort to the liberation struggle as Ho Chi Minh did") are nothing but eyewash to hide his subordination to the oligarchy of bankers and landowners who control the country, and who are themselves tied bag and baggage to U.S. imperialism. His timid land reform, one of the complaints of the rightists temporarily exiled in January, goes no further than settling a few thousand landless peasants on uncultivated land belonging to United Brands (the ex-United Fruit which dominates the economy of most of the Central American statelets).

U.S. Out of the Canal!

Panama is today a semi-colony of the U.S., with the Canal Zone representing an imperialist encroachment on the order of Western enclaves in China in the early years of this century or the Pratt Amendment limiting Cuban "independence" after the Spanish-American War. Communists must unhesitatingly demand the immediate expropriation of the canal from the imperialists and the removal of all U.S. bases in Panama! Placing no confidence in the Panamanian generals and oligarchs, revolutionaries call on the working class to take the initiative in kicking Uncle Sam out of the Canal Zone—abolishing American "sovereignty" and seizing the Panama Canal Company and all other U.S. installations—as part of the broader struggle for workers power by expropriating the pitiful "branch office bourgeoisie" which currently ministers to imperialist interests in Panama.

Should Torrijos or some other capitalist ruler eventually nationalize the canal under pressure from the masses, class-conscious workers would defend this limited measure against attempts to reverse it, just as the Spartacist League defended Nasser's 1956 nationalization of the Suez Canal against the ensuing French-British-Israeli attack. But this does not mean that revolutionaries would in the slightest degree slacken their defense of the wages and working conditions of the canal workers, sure to be one of the first objects of attack following a bourgeois nationalization. A foretaste of what a Torrijos nationalization would mean

continued on page 10

Building a Base for Gangsterism and Economism

PL Thugs Assault Trade Unionists at Conference

SAN FRANCISCO, January 27 The West Coast "International Trade Union Conference" held here last weekend by Progressive Labor Party (PL) was supposed to be built around "the need and opportunity to organize a communist-led revolutionary trade union movement in the United States to win immediate demands for the workers and to smash the bosses' profit system and establish socialism." While the militant-sounding statement of purpose may have been expected to send a small shiver of apprehension up the spine of the hidebound pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, the conference provided no guidance to militant unionists seeking to smash that bureaucracy. In fact, the only significant event of the two days of otherwise boring sessions was the brutal *exclusion* of class-struggle militants of the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

These unionists, four members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of San Francisco's CWA Local 9410, had responded to a verbal invitation to the conference made by a member of the PLP Phone Club in the union meeting. (Public PL literature had furthermore "urge[d] all *Challenge-Desafio* readers to attend" the conference.) But when they arrived, two of the MAC members were seized without pretext, dragged through the conference room and pulled and pushed down a flight of concrete fire-escape stairs. Two others were hustled out the front of the posh Jack Tar Hotel (site of the conference), where PLers threatened to throw hot coffee in their faces. One PLer, with a hotel manager in tow, tried to flag down a San Francisco police prowl car to get aid in tossing the MAC members off hotel property!

After such a display of vicious gangsterism, in which the conference leaders aped the trade-union bureaucracy in suppressing all visible signs of dissent, it is little wonder that many people who patiently sat through the meeting came away with more questions than answers.

Toilet Paper and Socialism

According to one trade unionist who attended the conference, "PL's theory of building party leadership consists of combining demands for toilet paper and air conditioners with calls for socialism. People were constantly raising questions of how PL planned to get from demands for toilet paper to revolution. The answer they gave was, 'Tell the workers, even if we get something like toilet paper today the capitalists will take it away tomorrow'."

The keynote speaker at the conference, Epifanio Camacho, was billed as one of the original organizers of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union. His speech was a critique of the pacifist, class-collaborationist strategy of the UFW leadership of Cesar Chavez & Co., but he failed to spell out a counterposed strategy. His only advice was, "Build PL to smash the bosses"—hardly a sufficient guide to action for mobilizing large numbers of workers behind a program of workers power.

The rest of the conference was more of the same. Workshop leaders kept discussion at a very low level, not really going beyond the ABC's of simple trade unionism. Key questions from the floor went unanswered. PL leaders ducked discussion about going to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) to fight sexual discrimination in employment. They also failed to respond to a speaker who urged support for police strikes and union organization of cops. The question of how to fight job discrimination while opposing government control of the unions apparently is of no concern to these "revolutionaries," and ditto for treacherous proposals to include strikebreaking hired guns of the capitalist class in the labor movement!

The trade unions, their structure and bureaucracy were hardly mentioned throughout the conference. The core of PL's present course is instead to *substitute* itself for the unions, the only existing mass organizations of the working class, rather than to struggle for revolutionary leadership within them. This is clear from PL's record of sparking an endless stream of ill-prepared wildcat strikes which usually result in little more than firing of the leaders.

The theme of the conference was building PL-led "communist caucuses" at the workplace. A general formula of self-criticism—"If we hadn't hidden the party in our struggles we would have a much larger party now and be closer to smashing capitalism"—simply dismissed out of hand years of PL's earlier "work" in the trade unions. For most of the 1970's, PL supporters in the unions were organized around a three-point program for "30 for 40," largely through the Workers Action Movement (WAM). Now a new lurch to the left is being undertaken: both "30 for 40" and WAM went completely unmentioned at the conference.

PL Zigs and Zags

Such zig-zags are nothing new for PL. In 1973 we printed an article by two ex-PL members, Art Carling and Jay Franklin, who incorporated considerable experience in PL trade-union and army work. They reported that after years of unrewarding suh-reformist campaigns in the 1960's (fighting to change meal times in the cafeteria and set up plant softball teams),

> "there was a sharp 'rectification' in early 1970. Two lessons were drawn from these [earlier] failures: the job of communists is to fight for the proletarian dictatorship, not to initiate reform fights or reform organizations, and most PLers from middle-class backgrounds should be pulled out of the unions...."
>
> *WV* No. 18, April 1973

During the 1970-71 "left" period PL went on an adventurist binge in which it equated the unions with the class enemy, blaring forth headlines like "Battle GM-KKK-UAW Gang-Up" (*Challenge*, 14 September 1970).

It was after this that PL again shifted gears and set up WAM around the single theme of "30 for 40," trying to "implement" this demand by recruiting union officials and running reformist electoral campaigns. Among the favored bureaucrats were fakers like Dennis Serrette of New York's CWA Local 1101 and IUE Local 201 president Farnham at the Lynn, Massachusetts, General Electric plant. If PL had continued on this course it would probably now be in the arms of the top leaderships of the United Auto Workers and United Steelworkers, both of which are now mouthing watery versions of "30 for 40"!

But Progressive Labor once again temporarily applied the brakes on its fundamental reformist impulses, demonstrating that its "leftist" sectarianism is merely opportunism standing in fear of its own shadow. How many times has PL leader Milt Rosen already discovered that past PL work has been characterized by "hiding the party from the masses"? How many times has the response been to scuttle PL's opportunist front groups such as WAM in favor of "open communist" work in the unions? By now even veteran PLers—the few that are left after endless years of demoralizing line shifts—must have lost count.

In reality, PL has changed little. Whether it be a WAM conference or one on "a new communist movement in the unions," PL offers the same tired formulas for mindless militancy, sub-reformist demands and brutal gangster attacks on other working-class organizations. PL's current "left" swing will surely be short-lived, to be followed by a long period of new reformist gimmickry, as Rosen & Co. lurch drunkenly down the road to oblivion.

PL's veering between idiot adventurism and the most abject reformism, with a minimum of resistance from the party membership (dissidents being generally obliged to vote with their feet, by leaving PL), does not build a cadre capable of organizing and leading the working class in a successful struggle for socialism. It only builds cynicism and anti-communism, burning out good militants who mistook PL for a communist organization. For this reason PL must be subjected to merciless criticism and exposure: revolutionary-minded militants are too valuable to be thrown away by the Rosen school of treachery. ■

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Panama Canal...

(continued from page 9)

was his 1973 move to grant special permission to a Panamanian-registered company, Del Cargo, to employ stevedores on the canal for substantially lower wages than the National Maritime Union (NMU) longshoremen whose jobs they were taking.

A real attack on imperialism cannot be mounted by the pusillanimous bourgeois nationalists but only by powerful international working-class action. In the NMU, which represents many of the Panamanian canal workers, a program for such militant class struggle has been put forward by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC). During the 1973 campaign for NMU president, the Caucus actively took its campaign to union members in Panama, calling for expropriation of the canal and the extension of full U.S.-level pay and standards to canal workers.

In a press release issued on 4 February 1974, following the signing of the Kissinger-Torrijos pact, the M-SC denounced the "Joint Statement of Principles," demanding nationalization of the canal and a "government run by the workers" of Panama. Pointing out that workers are denied the right to strike both in Panama and the Canal Zone, the Caucus called for militant action for the right to strike and full union-scale wages. Tying this to the issue of "runaway ships," the statement declared, "The slave wages and working conditions aboard Panamanian flag vessels are the direct result of Torrijos' collaboration with the very same capitalists who control the Canal." The Caucus calls for organizing all seamen, canal and dock workers into a single international maritime union, an important step toward organizing the world working class against its common capitalist enemies.

Vital international means of communication and transport such as the Panama Canal can be wrested from the imperialists and made to serve the interests of the working people not by relying on bourgeois demagogues of the Torrijos stripe, which is the policy of the Stalinists, but only through common working-class struggle—for a Socialist United States of Latin America and world proletarian revolution! ■

OCI...

(continued from page 5)

ered excessive even by many of Trotsky's partisans."

And he has not stopped there. In at least one important instance, Broué's volume truncates the section of Trotsky's letter to the RSAP dealing with Spain so that a central component of the polemic against the POUM (in particular the passage we have quoted above) concerning its capitulation to the popular front is eliminated.

Broué's evident embarrassment over Trotsky's struggle against the POUM was not shared by the Fourth International, whose founding document, the 1938 Transitional Program (with which the OCI cannot claim to be unacquainted!) forthrightly states:

> "Intermediate centrist organizations centered about the London Bureau represent merely 'left' appendages of Social Democracy or of the Comintern. They have displayed a complete inability to make head or tail of the political situation and draw revolutionary conclusions from it. Their highest point was the Spanish POUM, which under revolutionary conditions proved completely incapable of following a revolutionary line."

The OCI's rapprochement with the POUM cannot be taken as a mere flirtation, for the OCI has put its money

where its mouth is. Its publicity for an autumn 1975 fund drive (for "international solidarity" and to "reconstruct the Fourth International") centered on two organizations: Política Obrera (which has had a number of militants imprisoned and killed by the Perón regime) and the POUM. Occasional caveats concerning "differences" with the POUM aside, the OCI obviously believes the POUM can be an important element in its reconstructed "Fourth International." Thus it states its support for the POUM, which "fought in the Spanish revolution, bearing the brunt of the blows by the coalition of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists (Nin's assassination by the GPU) and which is continuing this fight against the Franco regime on its deathbed" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 10 September 1975).

The OCI repeatedly presents its fund-raising campaign as being, "via its support to the POUM, an act of militant solidarity with the proletariat and the peoples of Spain. Their fight is ours" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 6 November 1975). Clearly, the OCI looks to the POUM as toward a Spanish section of its organization, as the conduit for its political line. For the OCI leadership, the POUM's betrayal in the decisive days of 1936-37 no longer exists. The POUM is presented as fully deserving of the confidence of the Spanish workers—and incidentally of a share of the almost $120,000 collected by the OCI.

The OCI's claims to represent authentic Trotskyism and the struggle to uphold the Trotskyist program against revisionism stand exposed. Far from the principled regroupment it once proclaimed its intention to embody, the OCRFI is an unprincipled conglomeration of inveterate centrists whose dominant organization lusts after consummating its relationship with the reformist SWP. The Fourth International must be reforged as the world party of proletarian revolution, tempered in the class struggle and tested in the vital political combat against those who would refound the London Bureau. ■

State Caps...

(continued from page 3)

mands in the U.S., such as busing to end desegregation in education, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

In "reply" Taber huffed and puffed about Lenin's references to "state capitalism" in Russia as "proof" that "all the laws of capitalism" operate in the USSR. But even the blowhard Taber knows that Lenin sharply distinguished between the planned sector of the Soviet economy and the state-supervised "state capitalist" sector, including the foreign concessions, the joint enterprises and the agricultural cooperatives. And the RSL also knows well that the "state capitalism" of the New Economic Policy was phased out by state-owned industries even before the First Five Year Plan.

Next Taber dumbfounded the audience by blurting out that the Soviet trusts are locked in fierce "capitalist competition"...under the rigid control of the central state plan! As for "capitalist crises" in the USSR, Taber, the pupil of economic charlatans like Lyn Marcus and Paul Sweezy, asserted that just as the monopolized Western economies have enjoyed crisis-free prosperity for decades (!), so the completely monopolized Soviet Union for the last four decades has managed to "push off into the future" all capitalist crises!

When the RSL split from the IS on a cliquist basis, the SL warned that its refusal to re-examine and reject its anti-Marxist position on the degenerated and deformed workers states would drag the RSL into disintegration. Hardening into cynicism after recurrent cannibalistic clique warfare, the RSL now flaunts crude distortions of fact and history and flirts with the worst traditions of anti-communist anti-Sovietism. Steeped in anti-Leninist political functioning and motivated by liberal anti-communist hostility toward Russia, the RSL cadres today crawl the same path to social democracy and the State Department blazed by renegades such as Shachtman and Burnham. ■

Journalists...

(continued from page 12)

charade of investigations, has been busy trying to sweep the dirt back under the rug.

Congressional liberals are fast reaching a consensus with die-hard CIA loyalists on the need to protect the CIA from painful exposure. The House of Representatives voted on January 30 by an overwhelming majority not to make public its Intelligence Committee's report. Otis Pike, the Committee's chairman, said that the Committee's report for publication already contained changes to "obscure intelligence gathering techniques." Further, he told reporters that "deletions were made to prevent the public exposure of CIA operatives, to avoid embarrassing the United States diplomatically and to tone down criticism of members of the Ford Administration" (*New York Times*, 24 January). But although the House of Representatives voted to suppress the report, even in expurgated form, the *New York Times* has already published substantial portions received via a "leak."

After a year of investigation the Pike Committee is closing up shop, to be followed shortly by the Church Committee in the Senate. The Senate, which did publish a (whitewash) report, said not one word about the Phoenix project which assassinated upwards of 30,000 in Vietnam. If the U.S. public is to become wiser about such matters, the information is likely to come from the press and not from Congress. What is most ominous in all of this is the concerted drive for some sort of "official secrets act," perhaps as part of the dreadful Senate bill No. 1. Such an act would give an aspiring bonapartist executive the legal sanction to dam up the leaks with stiff jail sentences—giving the CIA the needed cover of darkness in which to incubate its dirty tricks. ■

Free the Wilmington 10!

The Wilmington Ten were denied bail last Friday by Logan Howell, magistrate of U.S. District Court in North Carolina. Facing sentences totalling 282 years, they must immediately begin serving their terms rather than being released during an appeal to the U.S. District Court.

Convicted in 1972 on arson and conspiracy charges, the Wilmington Ten have been fighting a vicious frame-up which grew out of the 1971 "Siege of Wilmington." For four days, racist vigilantes and local police carried out an armed attack on black youth who had barricaded themselves in the Gregory Congregational Church for safety. The church had been the center of pro-integration rallies and an organizing center for a boycott of schools prompted by racist treatment received by blacks.

During the siege city officials ignored the black community's plea for a curfew to keep vigilantes at bay, and emboldened Klansmen rode by the church firing shots which wounded at least ten people. A young black student was shot at and killed when he tried to leave the church; no one has ever been charged with the murder.

That same night a nearby white-owned grocery store caught fire, and during intense crossfire from the vigilantes the next morning a racist who had driven his truck right up to the church barricades was killed. Only after *this* death did the city enforce a curfew and call for the National Guard. When the Guard stormed the church they found it evacuated by the students and their supporters.

For a year after this shootout, Wilmington was run by an organization called Rights of White People (ROWP) whose leader said its members would shoot down black people "like rabbits." Both police and vigilantes continued their attacks on blacks, and a judge commented from the bench: "Maybe we should have brought in Lt. Calley to clean the place up."

Defense attorneys were successful in having the trial of the Wilmington Ten moved to the next county, but the ten were eventually found guilty of arson and conspiracy in connection with the burning of the grocery store. Initially a jury of 10 blacks and 2 whites was seated, but following a long illness of the prosecutor a new jury of 10 whites and 2 blacks was selected with the judge blocking defense questions about racial prejudice during the selection process.

No evidence was presented about the setting of the fire, and the only evidence against the Wilmington Ten was testimony from two men who had once been part of the integration efforts, but also faced long prison sentences themselves. One tried to physically attack Rev. Ben Chavis—leader of the defendants—and his attorney while in court.

After they were railroaded in the trial court, an appeal by the Wilmington Ten to the North Carolina Court of Appeals was denied. State and U.S. Supreme Courts have subsequently refused to hear appeals on their case.

The defense of the Wilmington Ten has been a focus for the Communist Party-dominated National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, which has called for the dropping of charges and recently for telegrams of protest against the bail denial. The Partisan Defense Committee has telegraphed North Carolina officials demanding release of these frame-up victims, and urges *WV* readers to do likewise. Telegrams demanding freedom and immediate granting of bail for the Wilmington Ten can be sent to: Attorney General Rufus Edmisten, State Capitol, Raleigh, NC 26602. ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

the working class with the necessary political direction which could spell success for a campaign to smash the capitalist austerity program. Instead of vague slogans against inflation, it was necessary to call for price/supply committees based on the unions and workers commissions, the only effective means of stopping inflation and hoarding. Instead of abstractly denouncing unemployment it was necessary to call for a drastically shortened workweek, with no loss in pay, to absorb the nearly 20 percent of the labor force currently without jobs. But neither the social democrats, the PCP nor the several Maoist groups are prepared to raise such transitional demands.

The reason is clear: to do so means to pose the question of state power, and all of them are committed to preserving capitalist rule through one or another form of "people's power" or "left government" with the "progressive" officers. Only a workers government based on democratically elected workers and soldiers councils can implement an economic program which answers the needs of the laboring masses of Portugal. Only by fighting to build a Portuguese Trotskyist party, in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, can such a revolutionary government be instituted. ■

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CIA: "All the News That's Fit to Fix"

Journalists for Hire

Walter Huddleston (Senate Committee on Intelligence): Have [we] been the victims of our own [CIA] media efforts within this country?
David Phillips (former CIA official): That has happened.

"Most of the material that you were dealing with had no connection with anything in the real world, not even the kind of connection that is contained in a direct lie."
—George Orwell, 1984

Orwell's fictional description of the falsification of news within the depths of deceit of the "Ministry of Truth" has been outstripped by reality, and long before the year 1984. The latest round of exposures and investigations has turned up the news that the CIA often writes the news—fifteen major news-gathering organizations cooperated in providing journalistic cover to CIA operatives.

As the CIA's adventures in news distortion have become widely known, the agency has provided the "reassurance" that it maintains a special department devoted to notifying U.S. "key policymakers" when they have been taken in by a false news story planted by the CIA's vast covert propaganda network. The false or exaggerated "news" strewn throughout the world press by CIA agents disguised as journalists, and by bought and cooperative journalists, is known in the intelligence community as "disinformation." When "disinformation" sown in the foreign press blooms in the United States media, the agency calls it "contamination." The new coordinating committee created to intervene in this process with key policymakers could be called the Ministry of De-Disinformation.

Of course, there are limits to the amount of un-contamination the agency would like, even for "key policy makers." As the CIA steps up its efforts to stuff up the leaks to the truth about its counterrevolutionary assassination business, the work of this coordinating committee entrusted with the record of the agency's deliberate lies will come under sharp scrutiny and control... by the CIA. The CIA will try to prevent this committee -which guards against disinformation that has gone too far- from itself going too far. Perhaps the result of all of this will be the addition of a new word to the triple-think lexicon of the CIA: "un-de-disinformation."

The CIA and the Fourth Estate

To be named as a CIA journalist no longer represents enhanced prestige for bourgeois pundits and a little extra spending cash. Not only is the CIA a discredited institution, but the public has a pretty fair idea of the scope of the "disinformation" business as well as what a journalist on the CIA take is likely to do.

Former CIA director Colby's Senate testimony in November claimed that the CIA had stopped using "full-time journalists" in 1973, but admitted that about 30 part-time "stringers" were still under contract. Now the *New York Times* (23 January) has recently reported that "as of last year, 11 full-time officers of the Central Intelligence Agency were posing as journalists overseas."

Colby had said that the CIA journalists were used "primarily for intelligence gathering" and to "make contacts," but in fact the techniques used in the disinformation game are no different than those used by other branches of "special operations"—not only infiltration and lying but a convenient cover for its dirty tricks. Moreover, after 1973 when all of this was supposed to have stopped according to Colby, the CIA continued to subsidize a London-based news feature service called Forum World Features which claimed in 1974 to supply six articles per week to 150 newspapers in 50 countries.

In an article in the *Washington Post* (17 January) Walter Pincus detailed how the CIA disinformed the Sino-Soviet split in the early 1960's, and "incidentally" led to "contamination" of the U.S. media. CIA-sponsored radio stations on Taiwan and elsewhere in Asia broadcast attacks on Russian leaders as though they had originated from China. The broadcasts monitored in Hong Kong would be picked up and replayed to an unwitting world media. A further technique of the Far East covert operation, Pincus reports, "involved reprinting entire issues of mainland Chinese newspapers after first removing one story and replacing it with a false one written by CIA employees. The real newspapers, held up in cooperating post offices, were then replaced by the doctored ones and mailed to subscribers all over the world."

No wonder televisions's two heaviest anchormen, Walter Cronkite and NBC's John Chancellor, were upset about charges that they had cooperated with the CIA. Both of these symbols of broadcast journalism's purity came before the cameras to solemnly swear that they were not now, nor had they ever been, CIA agents. They were accused by newsman and admitted FBI informer Sam Jaffe (now engaged in a game of "I'm one - you're one too") who claims that the names of these two journalists, along with 20 to 200 more, appear on a list of those in the pay of the CIA.

What Chancellor for one cannot deny is that during the height of the Vietnam war he was the director of the official U.S. propaganda radio, Voice of America (although he quit in protest). In any case, the long cohabitation of the CIA and the bourgeois press is not to be doubted, and the U.S. press is rife with former agents. Recently the *New York Times* book review section reviewed former (?) CIA agent William Buckley's new novel about a CIA agent. The review was written by former CIA man, now *New York Times* writer, Walter Goodman. This is nothing new. As one top CIA official recently told the *Washington Post*, "Don't tell me about the glory and purity of the press. I'm not impressed."

William F. Buckley — Newsweek

Ye Shall Know the Truth, etc.

The recent clamor over CIA journalists reflects the intricate and sometimes ironic relationship that exists between the U.S. government and its "free press." For it is this same press, whose Clark Kents are daily won to the idea of becoming imperialism's supermen, that is also largely responsible for the trouble that the CIA is presently experiencing through public exposure. The relationship between the CIA and the press, containing those elements of payoff, loyalty and hostility, most resembles in tone the relationship that sometimes exists between a big-time pimp and his string of prostitutes.

There is in fact a strong tradition in the U.S. for an independent press, and an even stronger ideological self-censoring mechanism exercised by reporters who work for the increasingly monopolized publishing industry. It was not only the CIA which resisted the Federal registration of all the journalists it had under contract, *but also major publishers and newspaper executives.*

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in his book *A Thousand Days*, relates how this informal system of self-censorship worked during the Kennedy administration. Just before the Bay of Pigs invasion both the *New Republic* and the *New York Times* received stories from the field on the CIA's recruitment for the covert operation saying that an invasion was imminent. But in those days there was a place for the shining knights of the press at the round tables of the liberal Camelot: the *New Republic* checked with Schlesinger, who checked with Kennedy, who "hoped" that the story wouldn't appear; the *New York Times* checked with its house censor, James Reston, who was of the same opinion. Both publications decided to kill the stories in what Schlesinger later describes as "patriotic acts."

The *New York Times* decided to publish the "Pentagon Papers" because it did not think such publication conflicted with the national interest, which it identified with getting out of Vietnam. Had an equally damning document detailing U.S. CIA involvement in the Near East fallen into their hands the publishers of the *New York Times* would likely have decided not to print it. One thing, however, is certain. If the Nixon gang had had the legal apparatus to get away with it, it would have prevented the publication of that embarrassing document.

Socialists are opposed to government control of the press. Particularly threatening are present attempts by the executive and the CIA to stop the leaks to the newspapers through infiltration, intimidation of the press and ultimately an official secrets act. So while the CIA tries to beg, borrow and buy access to the press, it is also constantly at war with an independent press.

Certainly journalists like Seymour Hersh are a more likely conduit for leaks than the Congress. Through all of the post-Watergate disclosures, it has been muckraking reporters who have dug up the dirt on the CIA. Congress, in a

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 96 13 February 1976

UNITA Collapses, South Africa Retreats

MPLA Scores Victories in Angola

Stern

MPLA soldiers with Soviet-supplied heavy anti-aircraft gun.

FEBRUARY 10—As we go to press, forces of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) have taken the inland city of Huambo, which since last November has served as official "capital" for the rival National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) and its sometime ally, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

According to the Associated Press, some 6,000 troops of the Soviet- and Cuban-backed MPLA closed in on Huambo from four direction as refugees streamed toward UNITA military headquarters in the town of Silva Porto, 90 miles to the east. All UNITA and FNLA troops had evacuated the city several days previously. State Department sources in Washington explained the fall of the capital of their Angolan puppets as due to "Soviet rockets and tanks."

The MPLA is continuing a multi-pronged offensive all along its southern front. Pressure is being stepped up against Luso, an important junction further east on the Benguela Railway, and MPLA forces are expected to capture the port of Lobito in a matter of days. In the north, troops of the FNLA are confined to a thin strip of territory along the border of Zaïre, the ex-Belgian Congo.

The FNLA's projected counter-offensive, relying on an influx of hundreds of white mercenaries, has not materialized. On February 3 MPLA political commissar Julio Almeida reported that his forces had beaten back an attempt by a column of white mercenaries to push southward from Maquela Do Zombo. Even more indicative of the FNLA's dire prospects are news reports from Kinshasa (capital of Zaïre) that 14 British "soldiers of fortune" were executed by fellow mercenaries for refusing to fight. Even these professional assassins have no stomach for a losing battle.

The South African army regulars who formed the backbone of anti-MPLA operations in southern Angola have now pulled back from the front, reportedly to a defense line some 50-100 miles above the border with South West Africa (Namibia). Approximately 4,000-5,000 of Pretoria's troops are patrolling this buffer zone that stretches hundreds of miles east from the Atlantic Ocean to Zambia.

Last week South African defense minister Pieter Botha for the first time admitted the full extent of the invasion, saying that the buffer zone was necessary "for the security of our border and on account of the growing refugee problem. We are prepared to withdraw from Angola when we are satisfied that Angola won't be used to overrun the Ovambo with independent elements and refugees" (*Washington Post*, 4 February).

The Ovambo is the tribe inhabiting the northern part of South West Africa, a former German colony seized by South Africa in 1915. The Ovamboland district is now a "Bantustan" or reserve administered by traditional tribal chiefs under the tutelage of the white supremacist South African government. In the grand *apartheid* scheme of Premier Balthazar Vorster, Ovamboland is destined to achieve nominal independence as part of a cordon of black statelets under the economic and political heel of the South African jackboot.

While remaining in place to massively intervene in the Angolan war at any point, the South Africans are now concentrating on wiping out the MPLA-allied guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) who operate from Ovambo-populated regions of southern Angola. SWAPO is fighting to wrench all of mineral-rich South West Africa from Pretoria's mail-fisted grip.

Guns For Hire

The FNLA and UNITA hoped to reinforce their crumbling defenses with a last-ditch infusion of hundreds of mercenary soldiers, both white and black. These killers for hire have captured headlines in the bourgeois media, which have romanticized the "soldiers of fortune" while the U.S. disclaims any role in their recruitment or financing.

Mercenaries have been involved in the Angolan war from the very beginning. According to an authoritative report prepared by Professor Sean Gervasi and released by the American Committee on Africa on December 19, the joint FNLA/UNITA column "responsible for the initial thrust against MPLA forces in southwestern Angola at the end of October" included "some 500 whites of South African, U.K., Portuguese *and U.S.* nationality" (our emphasis).

Gervasi also reported that some of the U.S. "mercenaries have come from regular [military] units by volunteering and that they leave behind them letters of resignation from the regular forces in case such letters should be needed. Regular commissioned and non-commissioned officers have been approaching enlisted men to ask whether they might be interested in volunteering." The January 5 *Christian Science Monitor* cited "sources close to" the CIA in reporting the presence in Angola of 300 American mercenaries trained by the CIA at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Meanwhile, in an effort to minimize the taint of using white guns for hire (having enough trouble already denying his reliance on white supremacist South Africa), UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has taken to procuring black mercenaries from the U.S. Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, has been publicly advertising for black Vietnam veterans to serve as "medical technicians" with UNITA's forces. After a recent trip to Angola, however, Innis revealed the real meaning of his project: "The best assistance we can give Savimbi now is to send enough black patriots to chop up one of those Cuban units and put the fear of God in Castro."

With its cover blown and a Congressional insurgency against covert aid to the U.S./South African-led anti-Soviet coalition in Angola, the Ford administration has opted to shift the recruitment operation overseas, in particular to Britain. Last week, 128 mercenaries hired by the London-based Security Advisory Services (SAS), left Heathrow Airport en route to join the FNLA. The courier who transported $84,000 in fresh U.S. hundred dollar bills to finance the deal told *Newsweek* (9 February): "It is an open secret that we are spending United States money for our recruitment of military advisers." Another British "military adviser" to the "pro-Western" Angolan forces told reporters that a total of 1,000 British mercenaries would be signed up the end of the month (*New York Times*, 3 February).

One SAS spokesman told an American correspondent that his group was dealing with Major James Leonard, listed as an "assistant army attaché" by the U.S. embassy in London. An embassy spokesman immediately denied the report (*Observer* [London], 1 February).

Imperialist Killers

Suddenly, in a blatant attempt to hide the bloody carnage caused by its hired

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Stalinist Goons vs. Revolutionaries at Angola Demos...8

Der Spiegel

The Chilean junta in 1973: Generals Gustavo Leigh and Augusto Pinochet are second and third from the left, respectively.

Economic Disaster Causes Rifts in Chilean Junta

Vida Mundial

Pinochet's army marching through the streets of Santiago.

In recent weeks there has been a rash of reports in leading Western newspapers to the effect that Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet is on his way out. A 10-16 January *Economist* article was headlined, "He's failed, but won't get out," and the *New York Times* (25 January) noted that "Within the country, General Pinochet stands dangerously isolated."

Most spectacular of all the reports was the revelation in the 5 January *Sunday Times* (London) that ten top Chilean generals had signed an ultimatum to Pinochet demanding his resignation as president by March. They also demanded the dissolution of DINA—the all-powerful secret police which Pinochet has turned into his private preserve—and a change in the disastrous economic policies which have caused massive misery and starvation among the poor and working people of Chile. Increasingly vocal criticism is being raised by even the most conservative sectors in Chile.

While all news reports of the generals' ultimatum have been banned in Chile, public denials have been issued for foreign consumption. The most emphatic came from General Gustavo Leigh, the man who publicly announced he would "veto" any action by Pinochet of which he disapproved and who last summer openly criticized the government's economic "shock" program. Leigh, purported to be the brains behind the 1973 coup which overthrew Allende's Popular Unity government, claimed disingenuously that "Among the members of the government junta there reigns the most absolute frankness. There exists not the least difference among us" (*Le Monde*, 9 January). Yet all the "well-informed" international news media indicated Leigh as one of the signers of the ultimatum, and the reported source for the story in the London *Times*, the British Ambassador to Chile, mentioned Leigh's name several times in connection with the document.

Although there is apparently a well-orchestrated campaign afoot to oust Pinochet and perhaps ease up slightly on his draconian economic starvation policies, it is certainly not intended to remove the iron grip of the junta on the battered Chilean masses. Even the *New York Times* realizes that the generals who were responsible for the bloody 1973 coup are not about to accept a democratic government and quickly end up in the dock "like the Greek colonels." Indeed, so bloodthirsty were these butchers in their treatment of the Chilean workers and peasants that many of them would probably never even make it to their "day in court."

The opponents of Pinochet among the top officers are no democrats. General Leigh was the one who said, "we want to cancel the last fifty years of Chilean history." Another, General Arellano Stark, the army chief of staff whose resignation was forced last month, was the commander of Santiago on 11 September 1973, and personally directed the murder of literally thousands of leftists and union leaders in the first days after the coup.

In an attempt to get a potential adversary out of the country, Pinochet in October had "offered" Arellano the post of ambassador to Spain. Arellano refused. However, when rumors reached Santiago of a conspiracy to oust Pinochet and replace him with a triumvirate of Arellano, Admiral Horacio Justiniano and Air Force General José Berdichevsky, the nervous president demanded Arellano's resignation. As it turned out, Arellano made a trip to Spain anyway—accompanying Pinochet to the coronation of Juan Carlos on November 22 (*Le Monde*, 11-12 January). It is an indication of the shakiness of the regime that Pinochet could not leave the head of his army behind for fear of a palace coup.

Of the original members of the military junta that overthrew the Popular Unity (UP) regime, Arellano is ousted; General Oscar Bonilla, who was known as a populist, died in a helicopter "accident"; and General Leigh and others are now in opposition to Pinochet. Meanwhile no prominent civilian politician is willing to lend his support to the widely hated regime. Recently, former president Eduardo Frei Montalva refused to join Pinochet's "Council of State," a supposed advisory body to be made up of "elder statesmen." To have accepted would be the political kiss of death in the future.

Frei last month published a booklet condemning the pervasive official violations of civil rights as well as torture and assassination of the junta's enemies. Only a few thousand copies were printed in defiance of the censors, by a Catholic publishing house in Santiago. While Frei has in the past occasionally lamented the "excesses" of the junta, he was the main civilian politician who worked to bring about and then supported the 1973 coup. Now he accuses the junta of wanting to establish in Chile "a form of nationalism with many totalitarian characteristics" (*New York Times*, 25 January). In response to the publication of the book, Radio Balmaceda, the station of Frei's Christian Democratic Party, was temporarily closed down for broadcasting supposedly anti-patriotic reports. All printed commentary on the book was banned by Pinochet.

Ruinous Economic Policies

The dissension among the reactionary butchers of Chile's junta has been fed by Pinochet's personal thirst for total power—for instance, his use of DINA to spy not only on the "reds" but on other members of the junta as well. (Walter Rauff, a Nazi war criminal, is influential in the running of the agency, and other sectors of the government are resisting DINA's effort to supplant all police and intelligence agencies in Chile.)

Arbitrary terror is only part of Pinochet's policy of oppression. An equally important aspect is the disastrous economic program initiated by "the Chicago boys," a group of right-wing economists around University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman (see "Protest Barbaric Chilean Junta's Collaborators!" *Young Spartacus* No. 36, October 1975). This academic pimp for the Chilean butchers advocates fighting inflation with a "cold turkey" policy of drastically impoverishing the masses. The plan accepts an unemployment rate officially put at 16 percent but actually much higher. Industrial production is down 22-25 percent from a year ago according to the *Wall Street Journal* (22 January) and, as an indication that prospects for rapid recovery are dim, the dollar value of Chile's copper exports fell by 40 percent last year. Taking into account that the real value of the dollar itself also fell, this is a disaster for the Chilean economy, which is heavily dependent on copper sales.

All this was accepted as part of the "shock treatment," but even government statistics show that the treatment has not curbed inflation at all: instead, consumer prices rose by an official 340.7 percent in 1975, the highest rate of inflation in the world. On January 28 Chile devalued the peso for the *third* time since January 1, making a total decline of 11 percent this year alone! And still Milton Friedman "optimistically" counsels patience: "If they can hold on for a few more months, I have great confidence you'll see some good things from this economy" (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 November)!

Recently it was reported (in *Business Week* of 12 January) that protégés of Friedman were connected with covert CIA operations in Chile during 1973, and witnesses testifying before a Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities have disclosed that students of Friedman received CIA money for "economic research" projects for Pinochet.

In an attempt to dig itself out of near bankruptcy Chile has sought international aid, but with little success. The imperialists may have wanted to get rid of the "Marxist" Allende, but they are still interested in their *profits*. Last month the International Monetary Fund held up a scheduled $33 million loan to Chile, and while the U.S is planning a $77 million grant in 1976, $55 million of it is going for food relief. As to foreign investments, so far the total since the coup is less than the amount of money spent by the U.S. to topple Allende!

But if the imperialists are not being generous to Chile, there is always another source: "People's China" is rushing to assist the butchers of the Chilean workers with both military and economic aid. In an interview between Pinochet and C.L. Sulzberger published in the 29 November *New York Times*, the journalist asked what truth there was to the rumor that "Chile was discussing with Peking a loan of $58 million to aid this economy on the brink of collapse." "To my great surprise," Sulzberger went on, "he confirmed the rumor." Earlier, Agence France Presse reported that a Chilean trade delegation was welcomed in Peking and an arms deal was concluded in which the junta would buy Chinese-made small arms and munitions.

China's criminal actions in Chile started immediately after the coup when the Chinese Embassy closed its door to the thousands of leftists who were desperately asking for asylum. On October 11 of that year, the Peking authorities withdrew accreditation from Armando Uribe, who had been the ambassador to China from the Allende

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Editorial Notes

Is There Life After Birth?
RMOC Surfaces in New York

FEBRUARY 7—A forum held in New York City last night on the subject of "Portugal, Angola and the World Revolution" marked the public political debut of the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee (RMOC), which subtitles itself "supporters of the Fourth International."

Some 50 people attended the meeting. The audience was composed of the former New York area IT (Internationalist Tendency, expelled from the Socialist Workers Party on 4 July 1974), supporters of the Marxist Education Collective around former SWPer Murray Weiss, supporters of the Spartacist League and miscellaneous curious leftists.

Ernest Liane, billed as the main speaker for the RMOC and "an activist of the Chilean left," spoke for about ten minutes; visibly sick, he couldn't continue his presentation and sat down. None of the "supporters of the Fourth International" present bothered to take his time to introduce the RMOC and explain what it stood for. The other featured speakers were Carl Feingold, "recently returned from Portugal," who explicitly declined to present anything resembling a general political outlook ("I'll leave the world revolution to the representatives of the Fourth International"), and a spokesman for the Marxist Education Collective.

Studied political naiveté was the tack taken by the RMOC during the discussion period, dominated by critical questions from Spartacist supporters. In response to a question as to why the supposed "Fourth International" remains in a rotten bloc with the reformist SWP, the meeting's chairman Hedda Garza finally replied that "the Fourth International has so many sections in so many different countries, it's hard to keep it all together, so one must be patient." Another question, about the vile slanders currently being leveled by Gerry Healy and his "International Committee" against the SWP's Joseph Hansen, was met with embarrassed silence.

The RMOC, "founded in Baltimore in October," is a fragment of the former Internationalist Tendency which reluctantly opted for launching a public grouping in the hope of eventually obtaining the franchise of its international mentors, the United Secretariat of the "Fourth International" (USec). It consists of the New York and Houston ITs in alliance with the Los Angeles Socialist Union of Milt Zaslow, which sought in vain to gain entrance to the SWP prior to the IT expulsion.

Another IT fragment, around John Barzman, is continuing the suicidal course counseled by USec leader Ernest Mandel and is being "reintegrated" into the SWP as discredited and politically compromised individuals. Much of the IT, however, will not be reconstituted either inside or outside the SWP. As a result of the cynical maneuverings of the USec majority, which has refused to break politically with the SWP despite years of factional squabbling and major splits in numerous countries, the IT squandered its supporters, leaving many to fall victim to apolitical demoralization and disorientation. Former IT leader Bill Massey has defected to Sam Marcy's Youth Against War and Fascism, which he apparently believes is the "new mass vanguard" for which the USec has been searching for years.

At the RMOC forum, a speaker from the floor explained that Leon Trotsky's Fourth International was politically destroyed in the 1950's by Pabloism, a revisionist current characterized by a liquidationist methodology which sees the role of revolutionists as pushing other forces (Stalinism, petty-bourgeois nationalism) to the left rather than as putting forward an independent proletarian program. He showed how the methodology of the RMOC/USec is precisely the same: having refused to characterize the Chilean Unidad Popular of Allende as a popular front, having given political support to the MFA's capitalist "fifth government" in Portugal, the RMOC/USec now cheerleads for the nationalist MPLA in Angola.

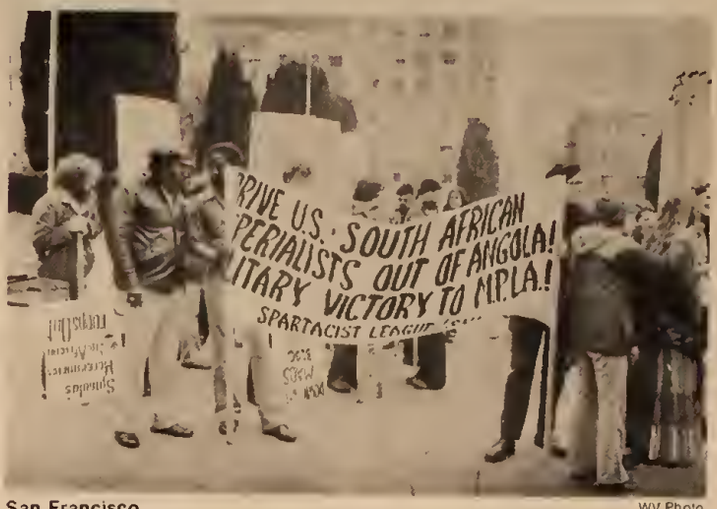
Ironically, the oppositional speaker, now a supporter of the Spartacist League, had been bureaucratically expelled from the IT for putting forward a motion that the IT should break from the SWP, which was no longer a revolutionary party. It is no wonder that the RMOC is reticent about its roots and prefers to present itself as having been born yesterday.

Bay Area Anti-Kissinger March

SAN FRANCISCO, February 4—Imperialist warmonger Henry Kissinger came to town yesterday and was met by an army of Secret Service agents and more than 800 protesters. He spoke to the World Affairs Council, the same crowd of local bigwigs who heard Portuguese right-winger General Spinola in December, where the *San Francisco Examiner* (4 February) reported the secretary of state as "Saying the Angolan battle could have been won had not Congress denied the necessary funds for the U.S. to give aid to the pro-West factions...." Outside, the demonstrators chanted "U.S. Out of Angola!"

The rally was a carbon copy of numerous social-patriotic anti-Vietnam War rallies during the late 1960's, complete with a prayerful taped message from the late Martin Luther King, Jr. ("a plea for my beloved country"). Although many of the militants doubtless wished to *smash* the U.S. power play in Angola, the reformist organizers of the march raised only those demands acceptable to liberal "doves": "Johs Not War" and "Recognition and Support of the People's Republic of Angola," led by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

While covert U.S. military supplies and mercenaries continue to prop up the imperialist puppets, an Angola Solidarity Coalition leaflet agreed with Kissinger that "Congress has been forced to cut off all direct and indirect military aid to Angola"! It also called for reducing (but not eliminating) the U.S. war budget "to provide jobs and needed social services." No mention was made of independent working-class action, much less "divisive" topics such as the need for proletarian revolution in southern Africa and the U.S.



San Francisco WV Photo

In contrast to this liberal reformist pablum, the Spartacist League (SL) raised hard-hitting anti-imperialist and class-struggle demands. Some 40 militants marched behind an SL sign calling for "Military Victory to MPLA Against Imperialist-Led Forces." A sign which drew the particular ire of the Coalition's "security squad" was one reading "No Confidence in the MPLA, For Workers Revolution in Angola!" In addition, members of the Committee for a Militant UAW carried placards calling for "Labor Strikes Against Imperialist Intervention." ILWU oppositionists (supporters of the *Longshore Militant* and *Warehouse Militant*) called for "hot-cargoing" South African goods and the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA called for driving the imperialists out of Angola.

Throughout the march, the SL supporters and militant unionists were repeatedly shoved and punched by Solidarity Committee goons, who tried to keep all criticism of the MPLA from "contaminating" the rest of the demonstration. However, the well-disciplined contingent more than adequately defended itself, successfully maintaining its position in the line of march and repelling the attackers who, as one SLer remarked, "won't be so eager to volunteer for that kind of job again."

After the crowd dispersed, some mouse-like Maoists came out to hold their own pathetic "anti-imperialist" rallies. The Revolutionary Student Brigade attracted about 30 people, chanting innocuous apolitical rhymes such as "Kissinger you bum, put you on the run" and head-in-the-sand banalities like "Angola for the Angolans!" It also trotted out the slanderous equation of the Soviet deformed workers state with American imperialism: "Angola: US-USSR Cause of the Civil War." The "true-blue" Maoists of the OL were, if anything, even more shameless in their attacks on the USSR ("the No. 1 enemy"), choosing the Russian consulate as the site for a meager picket line of 20.

Meanwhile, across the Bay in Oakland, the SWP was holding a forum on Angola, featuring its "Africa expert" Tony Thomas. Exhorting the small audience to build a "mass movement demanding U.S. Out of Angola Now!" the SWP didn't bother to send a contingent to the largest Angola rally thus far. Its lack of seriousness was further demonstrated when Thomas, speaking today before a pro-MPLA audience at the University of California (Berkeley), opportunistically proclaimed: "Insofar as the MPLA fights against South African military intervention and American mercenaries, of course anybody would support them in what's positive in what they do"!! Anybody but the SWP, that is. While Thomas is squirming through this sticky wicket, these fake-Trotskyists are still sitting on the fence in the war between U.S./South African-led forces and the Soviet- and Cuban-backed MPLA!

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No Skilled Trades Breakaway!

UAW Must Strike for Jobs for All!

The United Auto Workers (UAW) Skilled Trades Conference, to be held in Detroit February 17-19, should be a somewhat less sedate affair than last month's Production Workers Conference. At that meeting the Woodcock bureaucracy excluded any discussion of economic bargaining issues and easily obtained approval for its program from the tame delegates, most of whom were ranking local union officials.

Particularly since the 1973 contract sellout, discontent among UAW skilled tradesmen has increased sharply. That November, skilled trades units at Ford Motor Co. exploded in anger when it was learned that union vice-president Ken Bannon had signed a secret agreement with the company for work turned down under the "voluntary overtime" agreement to be contracted out to non-UAW members. Skilled trades workers turned down the contract by a margin of four to one.

According to a union provision for separate voting on the contract by skilled and production workers, the UAW leadership should have immediately called a strike against Ford. This was doubly true since, as it was later revealed, production workers had also voted down the contract. Instead, fearful of a repeat of the wildcats which swept Detroit auto in August 1973, the bureaucracy stopped reporting vote totals and ordered unit-by-unit revotes in recalcitrant locals until it finally produced a phony "majority" for the settlement. Tension was particularly high in the key River Rouge Local 600, where a pistol was reportedly pulled on a member of the executive board during a meeting. At the Michigan Casting Center, the unit president shot a militant skilled tradesman after an argument over the contract.

The skilled workers subsequently appealed their right to veto the contract to the Public Review Board, an "independent" body provided for by the UAW constitution for appeals by the members against their officials. The "independents" on the board include businessmen, and neither they nor the bureaucrats will ever support militants on a question of striking the companies. Such class-collaborationist boards cannot defend the membership and are a threat to the class independence of the unions--the Review Board should be abolished!

Organized Discontent in the Skilled Trades

Opposition to the union leadership in the skilled trades began well before the 1973 blow-up. Many of today's older skilled workers are veterans of the organizing and early struggles of the UAW, and the heritage of that experience has left its imprint on the craftsmen. As far back as 1958, Reuther abolished the Greater Detroit Skilled Trades Council because it went against official policy. The contract veto provision was a concession to skilled trades wage militancy in the mid-1960's and an attempt to head off a breakaway movement. Many of the leaders of the reformist United National Caucus (UNC), like Pete Kelley and Al Gardner, got their training as oppositionists in the skilled trades $1-an-hour increase movement during 1966-67.

Since 1973 agitation against the Woodcock leadership has mushroomed among UAW craftsmen. In many plants local skilled trades caucuses have arisen. Recently, for example, at the Ford Rouge complex in Detroit a group called Separate Program for a League of Industrial Trades (SPLIT) has arisen in opposition to the pro-International policies of Rick Martinez, head of the Skilled Trades, Maintenance and Construction unit at the plant. Although SPLIT's program is somewhat ambiguous, and seems oriented to reforms giving tradesmen a larger voice in UAW affairs, its initials are indicative of a growing sentiment among skilled auto workers.

On a national level there are two groups actively organizing skilled tradesmen against the Woodcock regime. One is the Independent Society of Skilled Craftsmen (ISSC). The ISSC is an independent craft union with a notoriously reactionary leadership and is currently trying to have the NLRB decertify the UAW as bargaining agent for the tradesmen. Although it is generally known that contracts negotiated by the ISSC are markedly inferior to those of the UAW, the craft union has received support from many UAW members trying to put pressure on Woodcock. It is significant that the president of Local 600, Mike Rinaldi, devoted the entire front page of the 19 January issue of *Ford Facts*, the Local's newspaper, to warning workers that if the ISSC is successful at Rouge it would achieve the necessary 30 percent support to force a Labor Board-ordered nationwide de-certification election for UAW craftsmen.

Also organizing discontented skilled auto workers is the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), which claims the support of some 5,000 UAW members. The ISTC is essentially a pressure group on the UAW bureaucracy. While the ISTC correctly reaffirms the need to maintain the UAW as an industrial union representing both skilled and unskilled workers, and is verbally committed to uniting with production workers, it capitulates to craft union and protectionist impulses.

Row Over Subcontracting

One of the key problems for the skilled trades is subcontracting. In order to cut costs, UAW-contract companies frequently farm out work to various job shops (both union and non-union), particularly in the tool and die trade. At the same time, non-UAW building trades workers are often utilized for on-plant construction. These practices have undercut the job security of UAW tradesmen. The Coalition for a Good Contract, a sub-reformist opportunist bloc set up by the UNC and recently joined by the ISTC, demands that "all sub-contracting must be prohibited while layoffs are in effect."

Tradesmen must be protected from the very real threat to their employment and conditions posed by subcontracting. Frequently outside building workers are used to do jobs that have traditionally been done by UAW maintenance and construction workers. UAW locals must have the right to strike against these jurisdictional violations. The existing contract does provide the right to strike over this issue. However, the International must grant prior approval to such actions, and this restriction which has hampered any effective response to company attacks must be abolished.

Furthermore, the International's failure to organize the unorganized has only encouraged the companies to contract work out to scab shops. A number of tool and die shops have sprouted up in the Detroit area which have made large profits through the use of cheap, non-union labor. Organizing drives should be launched at these companies, demanding that UAW pay and benefit scales be met; were such a campaign backed up by the refusal of the organized UAW workers to handle scab tool and die products, it would be relatively easy to win UAW recognition at these shops. Woodcock has proven not only unwilling to launch such a struggle in tool and die, but he has allowed the big auto companies themselves to set up non-UAW factories. Thus, *General Motors is currently operating five non-union plants in the South!*

Behind the "opposition to subcontracting" of the ISTC leadership lies a real job-trusting impulse, aimed at simply redistributing the existing work (and unemployment)—a position which they carry to the extreme of fomenting squabbles within the UAW itself. In February 1975, when Ford awarded a new contract for tool and die work to a Budd Corporation plant in Philadelphia, Al Gardner, chairman of the ISTC and president of Local 600's tool and die unit, led a protest campaign demanding, "Ford Work for Ford Workers!" However, as he was well aware, the Budd workers Gardner wanted to deprive of jobs were fellow members of the UAW! Gardner took this one step further when he subsequently ran for re-election (and lost) with a campaign calling for "Jobs for American workers."

This is the same protectionist program endorsed by the Woodcock bureaucracy itself: restrictions of foreign car imports and demands that auto manufacturers transfer their production to the U.S. from abroad. This program only makes other workers the scapegoat for the unemployment of UAW members, and does not attack the real enemy—the capitalists.

Subcontracting is a particularly acute question for skilled tradesmen because of the high rate of unemployment. It is the economic crisis that enables non-union shops to recruit skilled workers at relatively low wages. UAW tradesmen must strike against fresh layoffs due to subcontracting (and other causes), but to be effective these strikes must be linked to the actions of production workers, whose ranks have also been decimated by unemployment. Only a powerful mobilization of all automobile workers, culminating in an industry-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, can provide a solution to unemployment. This struggle, combined with a campaign to organize the unorganized, could provide jobs at union conditions for all workers in the industry.

Veto Rights Over the Contract?

A second fundamental defect in the ISTC program is its demand for restoration of veto rights over the contract for skilled tradesmen. In 1973 the Spartacist League supported the demands of Ford tradesmen that the UAW International call a strike when they voted down the contract. Not only did Woodcock & Co. have no right to unilaterally set aside established union policy, but the contract itself was a total sellout. On the other hand, a veto right over the contract for any particular section of the membership is divisive. Strikes should only be authorized by a

Free Press Tippincott

Incensed by Woodcock's gross sellout, the skilled trades spearheaded an opposition movement within the UAW against the 1973 contract.

majority vote of the affected membership. Giving different sections of the union special veto rights will only lead to competition among these sectors and a further weakening of industrial unionism.

An industrial union like the UAW must maintain a certain balance between the skilled and non-skilled workers. It would be utopian to demand equal pay for tradesmen and production workers. However, in many industries there is a wide disparity between craft and non-craft labor, and militant unionists would strive to narrow the gap between the two sectors. Even in industries where the differential is not nearly so drastic, as in auto, a flat wage increase applying equally to all union members is preferable to a percentage increase, which widens the gap.

A contract veto right given to the skilled trades undermines the authority of the overall membership to determine relative wages and overall benefits of trades and production workers. Similarly, it would be undemocratic for skilled craftsmen—with their rather narrow racial and social composition—to exercise veto power over contract provisions relating to skilled trades apprenticeship programs.

The UAW skilled tradesmen are a contradictory grouping. On the one hand, they are militant around certain economic issues; on the other hand, they tend to be older, overwhelmingly white and more conservative than production workers, and see their interests as more in line with non-UAW craftsmen. During the present period this tendency is accentuated, with legitimate resentment against the union bureaucracy growing over into resentment against the UAW itself.

Historically, craft and other divisions within the working class assert themselves most strongly at ebb periods in the class struggle. The apparent conflicts between skilled and production workers would quickly evaporate during a major class offensive against the capitalists. Thus all UAW members have a common interest in putting an end to speed-up and overwork, wage and pension erosion due to inflation, and unemployment. Even the special needs of skilled workers can only be realized in common struggle with the production workers. The Woodcock regime, whose "strategy" is to beg crumbs from the capitalists and their government, is a roadblock in the way of achieving these aims.

On the crucial question of job security—a major issue for UAW members in the upcoming contract—Woodcock only demands that the companies increase their contributions to the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) by a few cents an hour. This is wholly inadequate to prevent the SUB funds from bankrupting themselves at the first sharp economic downturn, just as they did last year in GM and Chrysler. Such an approach does not fight unemployment—it accepts the layoffs, seeking only to moderate their impact.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

The existing national opposition groups in the UAW are just as impotent as the present misleadership. The Coalition for a Good Contract (including UNC and ISTC) claims to support a shorter workweek to fight unemployment. However, at the Production Workers Conference, Bob Weisman, president of Local 122 and a leader of the Coalition, distributed a leaflet with a scheme to reduce the workweek by only two hours a week each year! Weisman claimed that such a "phased" approach would enable the companies to absorb the increased labor costs.

This is obviously deceitful. The companies will never willingly grant a demand like the sliding scale of hours, historically expressed in the UAW with the slogan: "30 hours work for 40 hours

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"Hard Times Conference" in Chicago

Weekend of the Living Dead

WV Photo

Ed Jarvis speaks for Spartacist League at Hard Times Conference.

CHICAGO—The Hard Times Conference held here over the January 30-February 1 weekend was a witches' sabbath of old New Leftism. Initiated by the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (the Weather overground) and heavily publicized by Sam Marcy's Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and other left groups, the conference drew about 2,000, consisting mainly of aging New Left leftovers, soft-core Mao enthusiasts and guilty liberals.

The main sponsors of the conference were actually indifferent to its supposed aim. The proceedings were one big hustle, each group primarily interested in recruiting to its campaign of the moment and/or its associated front groups. The PSP was pushing its July 4 "Bicentennial Without Colonies" extravaganza; YAWF was building its March on Washington for Jobs, cheerleading for the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and recruiting to its union-busting, "community control" Parents Against Racist Education. Of the sponsoring groups, only the American Indian Movement and its spokesman Vernon Bellecourt displayed a modicum of dignity and integrity; the rest approached the conference with the attitude of used-car salesmen.

Somewhere to the Right of Hubert Humphrey

The ostensible purpose of the confab was to develop a program to fight "hard times"—the current depression—codified in a "Bill of Rights." This laundry list of ridiculously elaborate schemes ran from special elevators and ramps for wheelchairs at workplaces to cheaper (not even free!) food stamps. The central axis of the "Bill of Rights" was "useful jobs for all at a living wage and a decent income for all who are unable to work."

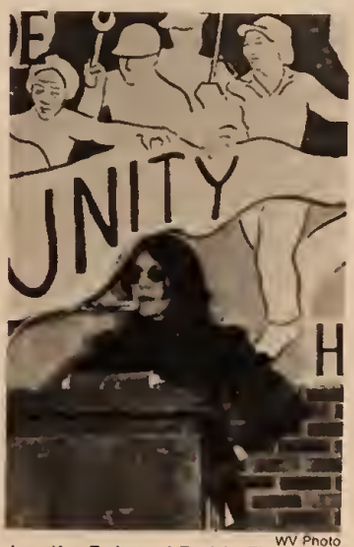
In criticizing the reformist slogan of a "living"/"decent" wage/income, a Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) leaflet to the conference recalled Karl Marx's 1866 dictum: "Instead of the *conservative* motto: 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!' they ought to inscribe on their banners the *revolutionary* watchword: 'Abolition of the wages system'!" As to full employment, the leaflet pointed out:

> "Even Hubert Humphrey recognizes that government intervention through some kind of economic planning is necessary to achieve that end, but not the organizers of this conference. Even the U.S. government theoretically supports the concept of 'jobs for all,' and in fact has had a full employment act on the books since 1946."

During the entire two days only about 15 minutes (!) was allowed to the participants for debating the supposed purpose of the conference, in the form of two speakers for and two against the preamble to the "Bill of Rights." Mark Laughton, SL supporter, was the only speaker able to denounce the conference for its stupid liberal reformism, counterposing the Leninist/Trotskyist program of proletarian revolution as the only solution to global depression. In the vote on the preamble a few largely black, left-critical Maoist groups (such as the Detroit Marxist-Leninist Collective) joined with the SL/SYL in voting against.

Angola—Nationalism vs. Communism

In general, YAWF provided much of the organizational muscle at the conference. The strong presence of the Marcyites is closely related to their stagnation in recent years: of all the ostensibly Marxist tendencies which have spanned the period since the late 1960's, they have been the most wedded



WV Photo

Jennifer Dohrn of Prairie Fire.

to polyvanguardism and vicarious "Third Worldist" nationalism. Unable since the collapse of the antiwar movement to attract militants with its almost apolitical activism, YAWF hoped the Hard Times Conference could reheat the stale New Left brew.

One of the sharpest debates of the weekend took place in the YAWF-dominated workshop on Angola. The Marcyites presented a motion, rivaling the *Iliad* in length, which celebrated the MPLA as liberators of the Angolan people. The SL/SYL presented the Leninist position on bourgeois nationalism in the colonial world and put forward a counter-motion:

> "This conference gives military support to the MPLA against the U.S./South African-led forces, recognizing that the MPLA is a bourgeois-nationalist anti-working-class party."

The philistine anti-communist tailism of YAWF came clearly to the fore when one of its members said, in effect, that it didn't matter what the MPLA was since they were fighting imperialism and that was all that mattered.

Comic relief was provided by Andrew Pulley, prominent spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the only SWPer in evidence. Pulley argued that one could build a "mass U.S. Out of Angola movement" only by refusing to take sides in the war there. In an act of despicable political cowardice, Pulley left the meeting room just before the vote on counterposed YAWF and Spartacist positions.

Running Amok

The amorphous hodgepodge of aging hippies was incapable of being hard in anything—even in its liberal reformism—and the conference soon turned into an orgy of white guilt-tripping. On the morning of the second day, workshops were suddenly informed that the conference had not fought racism and must now do so.

In order to avoid controversy, the sponsoring organizations had ducked the issue of black nationalism in the "Bill of Rights" while playing up the oppression of Puerto Ricans and American Indians. They paid dearly for this tactical error. Led by the Republic of New Africa (RNA), which had no more than ten people present, the nationalists slapped together a black caucus which denounced the "Bill of Rights" as chauvinist and demanded that the conference support a provisional government of a black nation in "Cush district, Mississippi." (The RNA had in the past demanded all of Mississippi, but in line with the pervasive minimalism of the conference lowered its asking price to a single district!)

The conference organizers announced they were scrapping the "Bill of Rights" and placed the plenary session in the hands of the black caucus, which let forth a torrent of unrestrained race-baiting. Not only were the white participants savaged for their alleged chauvinism, but even the Puerto Ricans and Indians were castigated for having earlier upstaged blacks as the highlighted oppressed minorities. While the most serious elements (black as well as white) coming out of New Left polyvanguardism have since broken with black nationalism, the participants in this conference were, in the main, precisely those who since the 1960's had learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

In the face of the black caucus assault, the fragile conference leadership collapsed. Even though the Marcyites do not support the "black nation" position, their political cowardice permitted the black nationalists to wreck the conference. The rest of the event was bureaucratized anarchy.

After endless demagogic speeches, the audience became restless to express

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Dissident Plyushch Freed

Stop Stalinist "Psychiatric" Torture in USSR!

Informations Ouvrieres

Leonid Plyushch

Following a widely publicized international campaign which ultimately encompassed even the French Communist Party (PCF), dissident Soviet mathematician Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch was released last January 8 from the psychiatric torture center where he had been imprisoned for three years. Permitted to emigrate by the Russian authorities, Plyushch held his first news conference in Paris on February 3, where he declared that "the savage persecution of dissidents in the Soviet Union is a shameful taint on the bright ideals of Communism" (*New York Times*, 4 February).

The persecuted socialist militant said there were at least 60 other political prisoners among the inmates at Dnepropetrovsk special mental hospital. He also called for international pressure to free Vladimir Bukovsky, a dissident writer jailed in 1973 for exposing the scandalous treatment of political prisoners in Russian mental institutions; Mustafa Djemilev, a leader of the Crimean Tatars who has been on a hunger strike for 31 weeks; and Vladimir Moroz, a leftist Ukrainian historian. Plyushch remarked that (as in the 1930's) the Stalinist jailers use "particularly cruel tactics against Marxist dissidents."

Although his case had become something of a cause célèbre in Europe, due largely to the efforts of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), the U.S. public is far more familiar with emigré dissidents such as Solzhenitsyn, Chalidze, Litvinov and Galich, who have become rabid anti-Communists and are openly working for anti-Soviet forces. The bourgeois press prefers to feature these pro-capitalist apologists; only the vigorous efforts of the workers movement will bring to public attention the tragic plight of those who are persecuted, jailed and tortured for attempting to defend Marxism against its cynical perversion by the privileged burcaucracy which monopolizes political power in the USSR.

While most Western observers tend to associate the dissident movement with various Moscow liberals, it began earlier in the Ukraine, traditionally the most volatile and political of the USSR's constituent republics. Even during the Khrushchev "thaw," Ukrainian dissident socialists were being put to death. In the 1960's, the repressions in the Ukraine were more massive in scope and less publicized than those in Russia. In August 1965 some 25 intellectuals were arrested in several Ukrainian cities and hundreds of other citizens were interrogated. The major figures of the Ukrainian dissident movement, such as Dzyuba, began their political careers by protesting these repressions.

The Ukrainian dissident movement was much larger and more proletarian in composition than its mostly petty-bourgeois Russian counterpart, and was more vigorously suppressed. It has been estimated that Ukrainians comprise 60 to 70 percent of all political prisoners in Mordovia, a region bordering Rumania with a large number of prison camps. The main documents of the Ukrainian *samvydav* (clandestine "self-publishing") reveal a relatively leftist political profile. For example, *Ukramsky Visnyk* ("Ukrainian Herald"), the equivalent of the well-known Russian "Chronicle of Current Events," declared in its statement of principles that it "will not reproduce documents...which are anti-Soviet, that is, which repudiate the democratically elected Soviets as a form of citizen participation in governing the state, or anti-communist, that is, which reject the entire Communist ideology as such" (reprinted in *Samizdat*, 1974). According to Plyushch's wife, the editors of the *Ukramsky Visnyk* were friends of the Plyushch family (*Le Monde*, 13 January).

"The Most Dangerous Patient"

Plyushch told the Paris press conference that he was considered "the most dangerous patient in the hospital." It is not difficult to understand why. An examination of the career and opinions of this man, who forsook a comfortable and promising existence as a scientist in order to protest the anti-democratic arbitrariness of the Soviet Union's ruling political elite, demonstrates why this avowed Marxist was considered more of a danger than criminally insane rapists and murderers with whom he was incarcerated.

The son of a soldier who was killed in action in the early part of World War II, Plyushch studied physics and mathematics at universities in Odessa and Kiev. Until 1968 he was a member of the Cybernetics Institute of the Academy of Sciences in the Ukraine. It was in 1968 that he first became politically active, signing—along with 138 others—a civil-libertarian petition addressed to Russian leaders Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny which protested the 1965-66 trials in the Ukraine:

> "We call upon you to exert your authority and influence so that the courts and the prosecution adhere strictly to Soviet law, and that difficulties and disagreements which appear in our socio-political life be solved in the realm of ideas and not fall under the jurisdiction of the prosecution or state security organs."

At the same time, he became a member of the Moscow-based Initiative Group, an umbrella formation with a civil-libertarian orientation including Sakharov, Chalidze and Pyotr Yakir, which was later broken up by the KGB secret police.

Plyushch soon distinguished himself from his liberal and anti-Marxist colleagues by refusing to renounce the Leninist tradition. In a letter of March 1968 naively directed to the editors of *Komsomol'skaya Pravda*, Plyushch elaborated this analysis:

> "Alas, the time is past when the Bolsheviks proudly proclaimed: 'We do not fear the truth, because it works for us.' Their bastard heirs (the legitimate heirs were exterminated in the Stalinist prisons of Beria), the Thermidorians of October, fear the truth....
>
> "I accuse those who do not know and do not want to know what happened and what is happening in our country. Raskolnikov [liquidated by Stalin] wrote, in his letter to Stalin, that the people would condemn him for everything he has done with our revolution. I hope that the time will come when Stalin and his lackeys will be judged according to the laws of our country...."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 23-30 October 1975

Informations Ouvrieres

Mass rally in support of Plyushch at the Mutualité in Paris last October.

As a result of this letter (which was, of course, not printed), Plyushch was dismissed from his position at the Cybernetics Institute. He was arrested in January 1972. His wife Tatiana (who does not share her husband's views) was dismissed from her position at the Ministry of Education.

In May, Plyushch was sent to the notorious Serbsky Institute outside Moscow and recommended for psychiatric care. (There he was "examined" by the same trio of "experts" who two years earlier had treated the Soviet biologist Zhores Medvedev, brother of the historian Roy, with the barbaric methods described in his book, *A Case of Madness*.) In January 1973, the dissident mathematician's trial began in Kiev. Plyushch, who was not allowed to attend his own trial (!), was sentenced to confinement in a psychiatric detention center. One of the judges at the trial reportedly remarked, "Plyushch is as crazy as Grigorenko" (*Bulletin* of the Committee for the Immediate Liberation of Political Prisoners in the Countries of Eastern Europe, No. 10, June 1974).

Drugged and tortured, Plyushch apparently retreated from his radical ideas. According to a commission headed by KGB doctor Snezhnevsky, he underwent a "transformation of ideas concerning reforms" (pamphlet published by Smoloskyp, the Organization for Defense of Human Rights in the Ukraine). Plyushch told his recent press conference that "At the beginning I argued with them [the doctors] and then I came to the conclusion that they were right" (*New York Times*, 4 February). Another prominent Soviet oppositionist, General Pyotr Grigorenko, had been similarly tortured into partially renouncing his views on the necessity of overthrowing the bureaucracy.

But this coerced "conversion" by sophisticated drugs (haloperidol and triftazin) and primitive tortures (such as not being permitted to go to the toilet) did not outlast Plyushch's incarceration. Once freed, he returned to his previous ideology, an amalgam of partial Trotskyism and naive state capitalism.

Cause Célèbre

The international campaign to free Plyushch was spearheaded by the French OCI through a "Committee for the Immediate Liberation of Political Prisoners in the Countries of Eastern Europe" which it initiated and led. A leading role was also played by the International Committee of Mathematicians, headed by Michel Broué, which during early 1974 gathered the signatures of 3,000 mathematicians throughout the world for a document demanding the freeing of their colleague Plyushch.

The campaign was a huge success. A mass meeting at the Mutualité in Paris last October drew 4,000 participants and enlisted the support of the International League for the Rights of Man, Amnesty International, internationally respected left liberals such as Noam Chomsky and sections of the French trade-union movement. Two days later the French Communist Party (PCF) ran a front-page story in *L'Humanité* saying that:

> "If it is true—and, unfortunately, so far proof to the contrary has not been provided—that the mathematician was interned in a psychiatric hospital solely because he took a position against certain aspects of Soviet policy or against the regime itself, we can only confirm with the greatest clarity our total disapproval and our demand that he be freed as soon as possible."

After two years of pressuring, the OCI had succeeded in putting the PCF in an extremely uncomfortable position on the Plyushch question, particularly by winning the support of groups which the PCF wants to continue associating with, such as the Socialist Party and the National Teachers Union (FEN). The OCI's efforts won over mathematician Lucio Lombardo Radice, Central Committee member of the Italian Communist Party. Even before the PCF officially came out for Plyushch's release, many of its individual members, especially mathematicians, had solidarized with the campaign.

In large part the move no doubt reflected the PCF's desire to dissociate itself from a too close identification with Moscow and to solidarize with liberal "anti-totalitarian" sentiment. Following the showing on French television of a news film portraying

conditions at a Soviet prison camp, the French party had issued a statement expressing "surprise" and "formal reprobation" (*New York Times*, 14 December 1975).

The OCI can be justifiably proud of playing a major role in Plyushch's liberation. His release is a victory for the proletarian cause and his views, although naive and confused, are a healthy antidote to the poisonous anti-Communist diatribes of oppositionists of the Solzhenitsyn ilk. The OCI's Committee, however, has been far from clear on the fundamental distinction between efforts such as those it carried out in the Plyushch campaign and pro-imperialist "anti-totalitarianism" which serves the ends of the deadly enemies of the Russian proletariat.

The Committee declares that it "defends Marxists, non-Marxists, anti-Marxists, all those who are struck by repression, because they are struggling for freedom of expression, and because freedom of expression in the countries where capital has been expropriated cannot but have an eminently positive value" (the Committee's *Bulletin*, June 1974). While it is indeed necessary for the international workers movement to defend freedom of expression, even of anti-Marxist *views*, in the USSR, socialists active in defense of the persecuted dissidents must sharply distinguish between the Plyushches and the Solzhenitsyns. Revolutionary defense work must be unambiguously placed in an explicit context of solidarity with the gains of the October Revolution and unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism. Classless rhetoric like the OCI's constitutes an open invitation to pro-capitalist liberals to subvert the struggles against the anti-socialist repressions perpetrated by the Russian bureaucracy into a weapon against the deformed workers state itself.

In the capitalist countries there is no lack of supposed "civil libertarians" all too happy to expose the crimes of Stalinism. In the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party's classless propaganda in defense of Solzhenitsyn contributed to such an anti-communist campaign for imperialist "democracy." The Spartacist League (SL) and the class-struggle defense organization, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), defend the cause of democratic rights in Stalinist countries. For instance, we publicized the cases of the Cuban Trotskyists, arrested in November 1963; Ludwik Hass, jailed in Poland in 1965; and the pro-Maoist Hungarian writer Miklos Haraszti, tried in 1974. The SL and the PDC refuse to be used for defense campaigns whose real purpose is to refurbish the tarnished image of U.S. imperialism—the ultimate enemy of freedom from oppression.

Today Plyushch considers Russia "state capitalist." In his view: "state capitalism had been built in the Soviet Union, property belongs to a state which is alienated from all classes, property does not belong to the people. The bureaucracy is the servant of the abstract capitalist—the state." However, he has not renounced the Bolshevik Revolution.

While sharply distinguishing ourselves from the "state capitalist" view—which is fundamentally idealist in that it elevates the Soviet state above the proletarian property forms which that state defends, albeit in a hideously deformed way—Marxists must understand that the "state capitalism" of socialist-oriented Soviet dissidents like Leonid Plyushch frequently represents a confused attempt to reconcile the defense of the ideals of communism with gut-level revulsion against the repressive atrocities of the Russian bureaucracy.

This is all the more true since Trotsky's post-1928 writings on the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR are strictly banned in Russia and certainly not available even to the more informed Soviet dissidents. But now that he is out of the USSR Plyushch must face a concrete choice: he will either reaffirm and systematize his socialist, anti-bureaucratic convictions or become a witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist anti-Communists anxious to use the issue of the persecution of Soviet dissidents as a cynical justification for exploitation and oppression under capitalism.

Every victory in the fight to liberate the pro-Marxist victims of Stalinist terror in the Soviet Union brings closer the day when the new generation of communist militants will rediscover the suppressed history of the struggles of the Left Opposition and find in the analysis of Trotsky the road forward to political revolution to oust the Stalinist betrayers of the revolution and re-establish the rule of the workers soviets over the nationalized economy of the Soviet Union. ■

NMU Pilot Defends Jobs Piracy

The January issue of the *Pilot*, newspaper of the National Maritime Union (NMU), carried an unusual news item. It seems that Shannon Wall, the union president and a veteran piecard who hasn't worked aboard a ship for more than 15 years, showed up at the San Francisco hiring hall to throw in for a seaman's job on the *Austral Glen*. Actually, Wall was not seriously looking for work; according to the article, his bid for a bosun's job was only meant as a "light-hearted" climax to what the union leadership termed a major NMU victory.

The *Austral Glen* is one of four ships recently sold by the Pacific Far East Lines (PFEL) – owned by the family of San Francisco ex-mayor Alioto – to Farrell Lines. When the projected sale was announced last summer, it set off a minor storm on the S.F. waterfront. The Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders (MFOW) and the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) set up picket lines protesting the deal, which would replace West Coast crews with NMU members.

The dispute split the maritime unions down the middle. Lining up with the MFOW and SUP was their affiliate, the Seafarers International Union (SIU). On the other side were the Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS), the NMU and the International Leadership of the West Coast longshoremen (ILWU), whose president Harry Bridges is a crony of Alioto. The NMU and ILWU hoped to pick up jobs for their memberships by raiding what had traditionally been SUP/MFOW contracts. (For additional details see "Scabbing, Raiding and Union-Busting in West Coast Sailors' Strike," *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975).

At the time, the leaders of the MFOW and SUP argued correctly that they should maintain jurisdiction over these jobs, despite the change in ownership, and swore that retention of these contracts was crucial to the existence of their unions. However, after several months of court suits and countersuits, the SUP and MFOW agreed to give up the jobs in exchange for a contribution of $2 million to be paid by PFEL into the pension funds of the MFOW, SUP and MCS, with an equal amount to be put into escrow for use by the three unions (*Seafarers' Log*, December 1975). This payoff cleared the way for the NMU to crew up the ships.

While Wall and his fellow bureaucrats were crowing over this latest act of job-filching, the NMU membership was somewhat less elated. The 120 new positions hardly make up for the 70 percent reduction of seagoing jobs (more than 15,000 lost) under NMU contract during the past ten years. According to the *Pilot*'s own figures, total shipping activity decreased again last year, so that even with the four newly crewed Farrell Lines vessels many NMU seamen are left ashore without work.

Moreover, while the NMU was stealing work from the SUP and MFOW on the West Coast, the SIU was doing the same to the NMU on the East Coast. When NMU-crewed ships belonging to the Transatlantic Trailer Transport Co. (TTT) were taken over by the Puerto Rican Maritime Shipping Authority a year ago, NMU leaders brought in Rafael Colón, the colonial governor of Puerto Rico, to assure the union membership that existing contracts would be honored. Nonetheless, shortly after the West Coast fracas erupted the four TTT ships were turned over to the SIU to man.

The NMU tops were quick to condemn *this* act of raiding, of course. But within the union, only the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC), a class-struggle opposition which publishes the *Beacon*, took a principled stand against both the TTT raid *and* the NMU's identical behavior on the West Coast. A *Beacon* supplement, dated 21 October 1975, blasted the bureaucracy's reliance on imperialist stooge Colón, demanded a halt to all union raiding and called for maritime unity directed against the companies, to fight for jobs for all seamen.

While they were still toasting their "success" in stabbing the SUP and MFOW in the back, the NMU hacks were casting a nervous glance over their shoulders at a dissatisfied membership. In his February column in the *Pilot*, after laying out his class-collaborationist "strategy" to get together with American shippers to demand from the government a higher quota of trade for U.S.-manned ships, Wall asserted: "We cannot muster any sympathy for those who complain of U.S. 'protectionism'."

The same issue of the *Pilot* also carried a lengthy attack on NMU oppositionists from a union member who "got so mad at [their] anti-NMU, anti-American merchant marine, pro-Communist and pro-MFOW-SUP line that I almost threw up." The letter combined crude anti-communism ("without subsidies... American ships would disappear and maybe that's what these guys are working for. That would make it easier for the Soviet merchant marine to take over...") with the most obvious demagogy ("it would be suicide for the American maritime unions to strike for a pie-in-the-sky contract. The hundreds of laid-up foreign ships would be used to carry the cargo...").

Both these attacks on oppositionists were obviously directed at the Militant-Solidarity Caucus. An M-SC spokesman told *WV* that the letter was a faithful echo of the bureaucracy's own attacks on the Caucus. The spokesman noted that both letter writer and union officials concurred in their common aversion to strike against the companies. While the labor fakers try to insinuate that anyone who backs a strike wants the NMU to go it alone, he said, the M-SC program calls for joint strike action by *all* maritime unions, including the longshoremen, as the only effective way to fight the shippers.

As to the assertion that foreign seamen would break such a strike, the M-SC points out that it is the bureaucracy itself that reinforces national rivalries among sailors by chauvinist support for protectionism and calls for subsidies to American-flag shipping. "The bureaucrats and their flunkies assume that foreign seamen would scab on an NMU strike because that's what they would do if the tables were turned," said the Caucus spokesman. A militant leadership would appeal for solidarity from all foreign seamen and dock workers, asking that they refuse to crew or load and unload scab ships. The M-SC also calls for extending the gains of U.S. seamen internationally, demanding all sailors be paid at least NMU-level wages while in American ports and fighting for a single international federation of maritime workers.

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus has a principled record against union raiding. This stands out in sharp contrast to the narrow parochialism of the NMU, SIU, SUP, MSC and MFOW leaders who, refusing to battle the capitalists for more jobs, can only steal work from one another or from foreign seamen. Such scabbing and strikebreaking, reinforced by vicious anti-communism, cannot prevent the continuing deterioration of the maritime unions. Only a class-struggle leadership, dedicated to fighting the bosses and their lieutenants in the labor movement, can lead seamen forward. ■

NMU Pilot

After facetiously applying for a bosun's job on the Austral Glen, NMU president Shannon Walt (center, with newspaper) waits with crew to go on board the ex-SIU ship to seat his "successful" job raiding.

Chicago WV Photo

New York City WV Photo

Stalinist Goons vs. Revolutionaries at Angola Demos

FEBRUARY 9—Demonstrations in support of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) were held in major cities across the U.S. last Saturday to commemorate the February 1961 uprising in Luanda against Portuguese rule. Although brutally suppressed by the colonial authorities, that revolt marked the beginning of armed resistance by independence forces in Angola. The 15th anniversary celebration in Luanda itself, on February 4, hailed recent military advances of the MPLA-dominated People's Republic.

Ever since early November, when regular South African troops invaded Angola and the Portuguese army left, the previous three-cornered civil war between rival nationalist groups was fundamentally internationalized. In the present conflict, Marxists must give military support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition. But this does not cause us to drop our proletarian opposition to the bourgeois politics of *all* the nationalist groups in Angola.

For the various fake-lefts, however, whose politics consist of chasing whatever is popular at the moment, the latest round of Angola demonstrations was their chance to prostrate themselves before yet another set of anti-working-class misleaders. Their first task was therefore to attempt to suppress all Marxist criticisms of the MPLA, a battle which recurred at each of the demonstrations as soon as the Spartacist contingent arrived. But despite the best efforts of the tailist reformists and centrists, the banner of revolutionary Trotskyism was not lowered.

New York

In New York a "February 7th Coalition" drew approximately 300 demonstrators for a midtown march and rally at Times Square around the slogan "Support to the People's Republic of Angola!" But the leaders of the demonstration—primarily liberal supporters of the MPLA Solidarity Committee and the Marcyite Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF)—did their best to make the small turnout even smaller by excluding the Spartacist League (SL) because of one of our banners, which read "Not [MPLA leader] Neto, But a Workers Revolution!" With the Stalinist and Stalinoid goons trying to keep the Spartacist banner five blocks behind the rest of the demonstration, several clashes took place with the "marshals." The cops then intervened to enforce the exclusion, keeping the SL 100 feet behind the main body of the march.

Of the other groups present at the demonstration, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) of the NMU marched with the SL and protested the exclusion. The militant seamen carried signs calling for "Boycott U.S. Arms to Angola" and "Military Suppport to the MPLA Against CIA/South African Forces in Angola." The Spartacist demonstrators chanted, "Smash the Imperialist Power Play, Military Victory to the MPLA!" and "Not Neto, Not NATO, But Socialist Revolution!" Altogether about 35 people marched in the excluded contingent.

Tacitly endorsing the SL's exclusion by participating in the "February 7th Coalition" were the International Workers Party (IWP) therapy cult and the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee, latest incarnation of the former Internationalist Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. Even more duplicitous opportunists were the Revolutionary Socialist League, which differs with the political thrust of the pro-MPLA coalition but saw no reason to mention this in banners or signs, and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which doesn't give even military support to the MPLA but slithered into the march regardless.

As for YAWF, its goons grumbled all along the march that by refusing to give political support to the MPLA the SL closes the door to Angola's "socialist development" and therefore "objectively" blocks with U.S. imperialism. The Spartacist leaflet pointed out that if YAWF et al. were in Luanda today their political support to the MPLA would mean smashing strikes, disarming the masses and arresting socialists. Back home, YAWF's reliance on the New York Police Department to exclude revolutionary politics shows in practice who allies with the bourgeoisie.

Boston

In Boston, where 250 people showed up, it was the International Socialists (I.S.) who were the main MPLA enthusiasts and censors of Marxist politics. Official marshals tried to force 20 SL supporters to take down all their signs critical (even implicitly) of the MPLA or China—including "Military Victory for the MPLA!"—and to march at the end of the line. The SL refused to acquiesce in this Stalinist-inspired censorship and aggressively chanted its slogans while keeping its signs and place in the march. Proclaiming "Total Victory to the MPLA," the I.S. is only too willing to politically support such a capitalist regime while refusing military defense to the Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states.

At a rally after the march in Faneuil Hall there was the predictable patriotic claptrap ("we're going to make [the American flag] a flag of liberty.... It is our duty as American citizens...to make sure our Congressmen provide no money for Angola... "). At YAWF's assurance that this is how the MPLA operates, the demonstration organizers agreed "never to attack any socialist country, either the USSR or China," as guidelines for the rally. Speakers were also prohibited from espousing their organization's specific political views! After black Democrat Mel King spoke, the SL chanted "Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!" to the embarrassment of the sponsors.

Philadelphia

A 200-strong demonstration in Philadelphia followed much the same pattern as New York and Boston. SL supporters were informed that "independent" chants were not allowed and official marshals attempted to stop them from carrying signs "not in keeping with the spirit of the demonstration." That category included, "Down with Mao's Bloc with the CIA and South Africa!" "No Confidence in the MPLA—For Workers Revolution!" and "For a Trotskyist Party in Angola—For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!" Although the SWP was not among the sponsors, it was not about to be left out of something "popular," so some SWPers were passing out leaflets calling for "Victory to the MPLA!" (The SWP's official line is neutrality.)

Chicago

In Chicago, about 250 participated in a U.S. Out of Angola demonstration called by a coalition of the CP, the Communist Labor Party (CLP) and YAWF. Originally organized on the basis of political support to the MPLA, the coalition's public propaganda concentrated on "U.S. Out Now!" Upon the arrival of approximately 35 Spartacist League supporters and union militants, the goons (primarily CLP) demanded to see the signs. After their request was refused, the marshals called Chicago police over to exclude the SL from the march for failing to submit its signs for censorship. While the SWP and I.S. marched with the main demonstration, doing nothing about this undemocratic exclusion, the RSL and IWP, unlike their New York relatives, marched with the SL, held half a block behind the rest of the march by the cops, as did the *Spark* group. At the post-march indoor rally, the CLP goons called the cops a second time to keep the Spartacists out. ■

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British mercenaries boarding plane.

MPLA...

(continued from page 1)

killers, the bourgeoisie has developed a passion to glorify the "adventure-seeking," "aggressively independent" mercenary. From the best-selling novel *Dogs of War* to the recent *Newsweek* account of "The Mercenary Life," imperialism's myth-makers are having a field day prettifying these murderous scum. The 9 February *Newsweek* fawningly describes the professional murderers of the self-styled "Wild Geese Club" of Congo veteran "Mad Mike" Hoare as "graying at the temples but like old crocodiles still dangerous"; the younger Portuguese mercenaries fighting for the FNLA are described as motivated by "a mixture of reasons—adventure, idealism, hate, a lust for blood or money."

In his book *To Katanga and Back* former United Nations diplomat Conor Cruise O'Brien debunked similar attempts to romanticize the dirty mercenary trade:

> "'Motives for enlistment given', according to the UN report, 'ranged from financial reasons, domestic troubles and lust for adventure to a desire to serve what they considered a good cause.' My own recollection, from reading the interrogatories [of captured mercenaries] in New York, is that, in about twenty-five of the thirty cases, the motives given ranged from financial reasons to financial reasons."

A Reversible War

While calling for military victory to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition ever since the advent of a "war by proxy" pitting the U.S. against the USSR beginning last fall, we have always stressed our fundamental political opposition to the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA. We warned that in its efforts to build a bourgeois state, the "People's Movement" would be the most ferocious strikebreakers, repressing every spark of working-class independence.

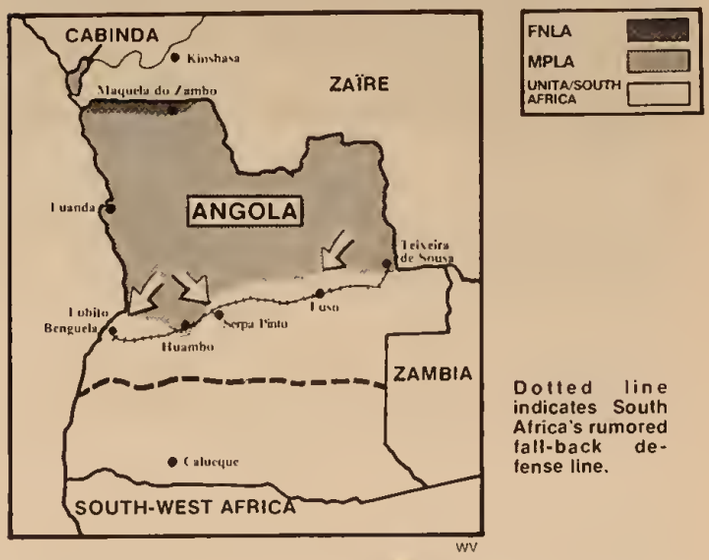
This has been fully confirmed by the MPLA's role in breaking dock strikes in Luanda and Lobito last year, its "normalization" and disarming of the "people's committees" in October, and its arrest of Maoist and ostensibly Trotskyist militants. Recently the MPLA newspaper, *Vitória E Certa* of 20 December (quoted in the 30 January *Militant*) carried a theme of "winning the battle of production." It described a campaign by an MPLA action group to replace the workers commission at a factory (SATEC) at Dondo, 100 miles southeast of the capital, Luanda. Denouncing the existing commission for not raising production and the workers for not being disciplined, the MPLA subdelegate told SATEC workers that their allies included "the patriotic comrades of the national bourgeoisie."

We also emphasized the reversibility of the present alignment of forces, the MPLA's willingness to strike a deal with the imperialists and the Kremlin's willingness to sell out battlefield gains on the alter of détente. Finally, we stressed the absence of a qualitative distinction between the three competing nationalist groups, which are all tribally centered. Our military support to the MPLA is by no means unconditional; in an essentially domestic power struggle or civil war, the working class would have no interest in backing any of the nationalists.

These factors become more relevant as the South Africans retreat and talk increases of a possible MPLA/UNITA coalition. In a lengthy authoritative article the Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* late last month said that it is an "open secret" that the USSR once welcomed a coalition government and still advocates "consolidation of all patriotic forces" (quoted in *Washington Post*, 5 February). The MPLA is under additional pressure to form a coalition because it is now entering Ovimbundu regions, UNITA's home base, where it has not had mass support in the past.

Given the present line-up of three different tribally centered nationalist groups, it is clear that the alternative to coalition is ethnic oppression and tribal massacres. The main reason the latter have not happened recently on a mass scale is that the native population has fled *en masse* at the approach of "enemy" troops. This exodus cannot last forever.

Only an independent proletarian revolutionary party based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution can put an end to these ethnic divisions in a democratic fashion. Only through workers revolution can the ties with imperialism be truly broken, thus opening the way for the "elimination of exploitation of man by man." ■



Dotted line indicates South Africa's rumored fall-back defense line.

RSB...

(continued from page 12)

newspaper salesmen (including the SL) at the plant gates, the UAW Local 1364 membership meeting on 8 October 1973 passed a motion saying: "No member of this union shall attempt to prevent the sales or distribution outside the plant of the literature of various labor/socialist groups, since this violates the basic traditions of free and open discussion within the labor movement."

In another incident, at an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) rally in San Francisco on 1 June 1974, RU goons viciously attacked women trade-union militants distributing a pro-ERA leaflet. SL members who came to the defense of the outnumbered militants were also set upon. A Spartacist supporter actually had his earlobe bitten off by a rabid member of the Maoist pack!

The Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* carried reports in February and June 1975 of RCP/RSB attacks on their salesmen in Portland, Oregon. Similarly, the Maoist *Guardian* of 23 October 1974 described an RU "visit" to their offices and its attempt to use "strong-arm tactics" on the newspaper's staff members.

At the root of the RCP/RSB's foaming rampage is their growing political isolation, a direct result of their synthesis of counterrevolutionary policies and macho glorification of low-life thuggery. Compelled to defend every treacherous twist and turn of Chinese foreign policy—from apologizing for Pakistani mass murder of East Bengalis and the Ceylonese government's massacre of JVP youth rebels in 1971, to Nixon's toasts with Chou in 1972 as B-52s rained bombs on Hanoi, to lining up with U.S. imperialism and white supremacist South Africa today in Angola—these small-time Stalinist hoods no longer recognize any constraints on their criminal anti-socialist antics.

In the U.S. they have aped China's willingness to unite with the most reactionary forces, opposing the Equal Rights Amendment and cheering on anti-busing lynch mobs in Boston and Louisville. With politics like these, it is really not surprising that the RCP/RSB prefer back-alley ambushes to political debate.

Stalinism, as Trotsky long ago observed, is the syphilis of the workers movement. The Maoist thugs of the RCP/RSB carry the disease in one of its most virulent forms.

The RSB's blustering threats at Boston University and elsewhere will not deter the SL and SYL from effectively defending themselves as well as workers democracy. We warn the RCP/RSB that they bear full responsibility for the consequences of their gangsterism. We call on all those claiming to uphold workers democracy to denounce this wave of Stalinist gangsterism. Such methods of dealing with political differences open the workers movement up to provocation and persecution by the class enemy. These thug attacks must *and will* be stopped! ■

UAW...

(continued from page 5)

pay." Restricting auto workers' struggles to supposedly "realistic" "bargaining demands" is to accept the speed-up and layoffs. Real protection against unemployment can be won only through mobilizing the entire UAW membership for industry-wide strike action across the U.S. and Canada.

It is not accidental that the "Good Contract" coalition neither criticizes Woodcock nor explicitly calls for a strike for the new contract. It is dominated by apprentice Woodcocks, like Weisman, who are equally committed to the maintenance of the companies' "profitability" and the capitalist system. GM, Ford, Chrysler, etc. must be nationalized, without compensation. The boom-bust cycle of capitalism, with the resulting overwork and unemployment, must be eliminated through the expropriation of the means of production and the institution of a planned economy by a workers government. The labor bureaucracy, intimately tied to its capitalist masters, is unable to lead the militant class struggle necessary to achieve such goals. It must be ousted and replaced by a leadership prepared to do the job. ■

Prosecute the Murderers of Tyrone Guyton!

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Living Dead...

(continued from page 5)

itself, if only to confess to white chauvinism. Amid chants of "Liberate the Hard Times Conference," the floor was opened up for discussion. The first, *and last*, speaker was Ed Jarvis for the SL/SYL. He denounced utopian separatist schemes and moralistic white-chauvinism baiting, asserting that the only road to black liberation was through revolutionary integrationism and proletarian power.

After Jarvis spoke, the conference leadership quickly put the lid on all further floor discussion. Amid generalized discontent and cries of "manipulation," YAWF and the PSP formed highly visible goon squads to enforce the gag rule, the Marcyites spreading a slander that the Spartacists intended to rush the platform. At that point, everyone with an ounce of self-respect or political sense left the hall. ■

Lawyers Guild...

(continued from page 12)

NLG will "support the rights of nations around the world to independence and freedom from political, economic and cultural domination by foreign powers and international business interests." But for the Maoist boosters of the new preamble, these ringing phrases boil down to: USSR out of Angola, kill the Cuban soldiers!

The NLG, almost against its collective will, finds itself confronted by one of the critical questions in the world socialist movement: the "Russian question." Is the USSR socialist? capitalist? imperialist? Should it be defended against imperialism? This is the subterranean political issue underlying the shadow-boxing which will take place at the Houston convention.

Just as the Maoists in the Guild seek to ape the political line of the Peking bureaucracy, the supporters of the Communist Party (CP) reflect the narrow interests of the Moscow bureaucracy and its long Stalinist history of seeking a global accommodation with imperialism at the expense of proletarian revolution. When the CP supporters talk about an "anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly" preamble, they reveal their appetite for an alliance with the liberal ("anti-monopoly") bourgeoisie. That these antagonistic forces can come together in Houston to agree on a self-description of the Guild as "anti-imperialist" merely demonstrates their thoroughgoing cynicism and mutually held commitment to Stalinist class collaboration.

The point on which all the Stalinists and liberals are agreed is their hostility to the revolutionary analysis and program developed by Leon Trotsky and upheld in the U.S. by the Spartacist League. Trotskyists understand that the property forms established by the October Revolution represent a gain for the international working class. The Russian degenerated workers state (as well as China and all the states deformed by Stalinism but where capitalism has been overthrown) *must be defended against imperialism*. But defending the property forms of the deformed workers states in no way implies political support to their governing rapacious bureaucracies which strangle proletarian revolution world-wide and which must be overthrown in a *political revolution* to institute workers democracy and open the road to Socialist society.

Some of the New Left radicals in the NLG mistakenly see the "anti-imperialist" preamble as a step toward putting the Guild on a left political footing. Since the influx of the New Left into the Guild there has been considerable pressure on the organization to be less defense-oriented, more explicitly "political" and more broadly left-wing. The NLG cannot escape the major political questions and cannot separate defense from politics.

When the New Left students of the late 1960's talked about "anti-imperialism," "anti-racism," "anti-sexism" they most often reflected a politically primitive but genuine subjective hostility to capitalism. But the drama of history, as Karl Marx pointed out, never repeats itself in the same form. The attempt to parrot the "anti-imperialist" intentions of the old SDS, masking the "anti-imperialism" of Maoist betrayal in Angola, is certainly less noble than tragedy and sadder than farce. The political consequences of the Sino-Soviet split have at last come to the Guild. Again posed is the "Russian question," which the NLG has sought to evade since its founding.

From the New Deal...

The history of the NLG is the history of whatever is popular on the radical left, delayed a few years and refracted through an organization which has always seen itself as the legal arm of "progressive" causes. The National Lawyers Guild was founded as an alternative to the arch-conservative, racially segregated American Bar Association during Roosevelt's New Deal. Its founders sought an "integrated, 'liberal and progressive Bar Association' which would represent the better instincts of the Bar" (*A Historical Sketch of the National Lawyers Guild 1936-68*).

The first NLG convention attracted 600 participants, and the following year saw membership soar to 4,000. Stalinism in alliance with Roosevelt's Democratic Party was popular in radical circles and the NLG became part of the class-collaborationist "People's Front," i.e., the liberal New Deal. The CP betrayed the proletariat by lining it up behind Roosevelt and the liberal bourgeoisie, and the Lawyers Guild became the legal arm of that popular front. The new Guild had a cozy relationship with the Roosevelt administration and wrote major portions of New Deal legislation.

The second convention, held in February 1938, saw the NLG embroiled in a controversy which remains unresolved to this day: whether the NLG should take political stands. This debate was prompted by the adoption of a resolution condemning the embargo on arms to Republican Spain.

By the time of the NLG's third convention, the political climate was changing dramatically. The American bourgeoisie, gearing itself up for entry into World War II, had initiated increasingly vicious anti-Communist legislation and witchhunting of leftists and labor militants. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was started up in 1938, and the Smith Act followed in 1940. The NLG could hardly miss the import of legislation aimed at deporting, *by name*, Harry Bridges, or the anti-Communist expulsion of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn from the American Civil Liberties Union.

Stalinism in the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact became a millstone around the Guild's neck. And so an overtly anti-Communist statement was adopted as official policy. The speech made by outgoing national president Ferdinand Pecora (judge of the New York Supreme Court) stated that "the Guild stood foursquare against all 'ISMS' fascism, totalitarianism and communism and he warned that adherents of any of these tendencies were not welcome in the Guild" (*Historical Sketch*).

Following Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the Stalinists changed their tune and began beating the drums for the inter-imperialist war under the banner of the "United Front Against Fascism." The Lawyers Guild found itself once again able to bask in the CP's popularity among liberals.

The Smith Act's first victims, in 1940, were the antiwar Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party. The jingoistic CP hailed the arrest and trial of these "anti-American Trotskyists." And the Guild's priorities were turned toward "measures which brought together the joint interests of a progressive movement with the desire to win the war" (*Historical Sketch*). In other words, the NLG embraced social-patriotism and abandoned the Trotskyists to prosecution by the bourgeoisie. Seven years later, when the Smith Act was used against the CP, the NLG (as well as the Trotskyists) rose to defend the victims.

It is not possible to escape these crucial questions by ignoring them. Interestingly, even today's partisans of "saving the Guild" by depoliticizing it look back to the period of the popular front for inspiration. Arthur Kinoy, justly respected for his legal defense, in his article on "The Role of the Radical Lawyer," solidarizes with the analysis of "an astute and experienced student of the transition period from the rule of bourgeois-democracy to the rule by open terrorist dictatorship, Georgi Dimitrov." It was in fact this "astute and experienced" Stalinist who drafted the central document codifying the popular front for the Comintern in 1935, entitled "The United Front Against Fascism."

The NLG in the popular-front period

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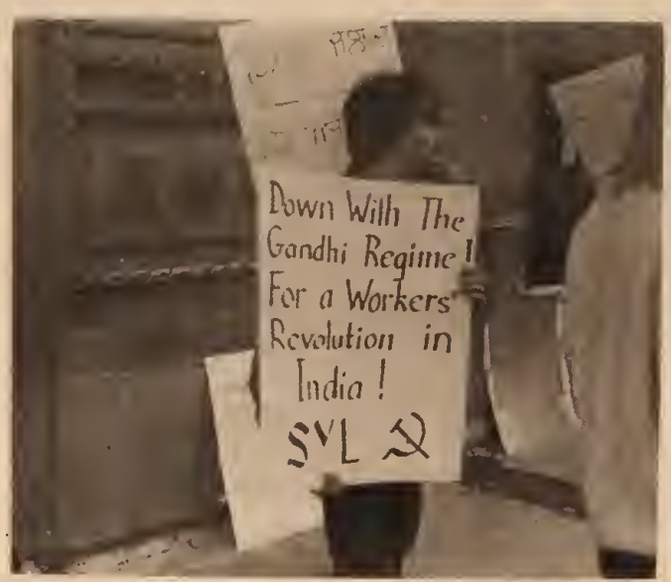
Anti-Gandhi, Anti-Shah Protest in S.F.



WV Photo

On Monday, January 26, about 35 Indian students and members of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) demonstrated in front of the Indian consulate in San Francisco protesting repression by the "democratic" regime of Indira Gandhi. The "pacifist" Gandhi—fully supported by the Communist Party of India—has recently hung two Naxalite peasant leaders under the infamous "state of emergency" law. Over 30,000 leftists have been jailed since its promulgation. At the demonstration the SL/SYL carried signs in English and Hindi, chanting "Down with the Gandhi Dictatorship" and "For Workers Revolution in India!" The Maoist Indian students in turn shouted "Long live the Indian Revolution," but it was clear they were not talking about proletarian revolution. Only days before, these "revolutionaries" politely refused to protest the visit of India's representative to the United Nations simply because he had spoken against U.S. delegate Moynihan in the UN!

On the same day the Iranian Student Association was protesting the Shah's murder of 9 Iranian prisoners. Because of the close proximity of the two demonstrations, the Iranian students decided to join the Indians and invited all participants to a rally following the demonstration, on one condition: that SL/SYL members not be allowed to carry their signs. The Indian students, who were well aware of the work of the SL/SYL in opposing Gandhi's government, were upset at this attempt at exclusion and asserted to the consternation of the rabidly anti-Trotskyist ISA, that it was akin to what Gandhi was doing in India! The Iranians backed down and the SL/SYL attended the rally, engaging the Maoists in debate over the need for proletarian revolution in India and Iran.

was far from apolitical. The bloc with the New Deal represented a high-water mark in the Guild's collaboration with the capitalist state. It is on this very question that the CP, the Maoists, the "independents" can find their "basis of unity," for all seek a programmatic bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie.

The NLG came under heavy fire during the McCarthy witchhunts. Its lawyers defended virtually all those who were called before HUAC committees, and some found themselves facing victimization. With most of the liberals having deserted under the pressure, the Guild faced HUAC in virtual isolation. In typical fashion, the NLG responded to the inquisition by capitulating to it. In 1954, the Guild elected a new right-wing president, a respectable University of Chicago law professor. In his first address to the membership, he stated his purpose: "to preserve a free Bar as part of a free and conservative government" (*Historical Sketch*).

...to the New Left

The Cold War witchhunt period decimated the NLG, and only the rise of the civil-rights and antiwar movements broke down its isolation. It soon began to reflect the "movementism" characteristic of the New Left. The NLG defended many of those arrested for antiwar activities, gaining credibility with SDS which passed a resolution for joint work. The Guild also took on a "work project" orientation in line with the "community organizing" style of the early SDS. Pressured by the New Left's anti-elitism and anti-sexism the NLG foresook its professionalism and opened the organization to legal workers, primarily women.

The student antiwar movement declined and polarized, with most of it heading into the Democratic Party while the most radical elements found homes in various "vanguard party" organizations claiming a revolutionary perspective. Now, years after the split in SDS, after the McGovern campaign, after Nixon was toasted in Peking, the NLG belatedly finds itself faced with the breakdown of old New Left "unity," with whole chapters assuming the political thrust of a particular organization and some "independents" responding with witchhunt-style attacks on "organized sects" in the Guild.

The NLG and the State

The heritage of the NLG is the heritage of class-collaborationist alliances expressed in its relationship to the capitalist state. Although it no longer elects judges as its presidents, the Lawyers Guild nevertheless has been consistent in its gross inability to identify the class enemy in practice.

For all the revolutionary rhetoric of NLG members, they are not able to draw the class line in the most elementary concrete situations. Taking the trade unions to court is a good example. *Guild Notes* ran a front-page story by Guild members involved in a suit against the UAW in favor of preferential layoffs. The article attacked the Spartacist League as being on the side of the Company because the SL supported class-struggle militants in the Fremont GM plant who opposed suing the union in the capitalist courts. The disagreement that surfaced within the NLG barely examined the crucial class issue of bourgeois state interference in union affairs. Instead, the criticism of the NLG members' handling of the Fremont suit came from some who agreed in principle with the proposition that unions should be taken to court but were disturbed that the suit was unpopular with the autoworkers:

> "The article makes it sound as though everyone in the plant loves the lawsuit except a bunch of crazy Trotskyites. However...there is quite a lot of opposition from workers in the plant."
> —*NLG Labor Newsletter*, September 1975

The "bunch of crazy Trotskyites" referred to in such red-baiting fashion was no doubt the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW). The CMUAW is "crazy" only if one is so steeped in class collaboration that it seems crazy to resolutely oppose the capitalist state's intervention into the unions. Unlike the NLG, many workers at Fremont understood the threat to the independence of their union posed by the court suit; more than 650 of them signed a CMUAW-initiated petition denouncing the suit "because it will weaken the union, which is the only weapon we have," and calling for union action to combat all discrimination and layoffs. It is indeed ironic that Guild members, who called for a "united front" with the "democratic" imperialists against Nazi Germany, refuse to understand the danger of the integration of the union movement into the capitalist state.

The labor law workshops at the San Francisco NLG "Law Student Extravaganza" last fall centered around suits against various unions by collectives inside the Guild. Dan Siegel of the Fruitvale Law Collective, who supports the Maoist October League (OL), discussed efforts to bring in the U.S. Labor Department to monitor elections in a San Jose Teamster local of cannery workers. Moreover, the Guild's *Labor Newsletter* is replete with uncritical "information" on such suits:

—October 1973: NLG Newark Law Collective formulated a three-pronged approach in assisting the "Action" caucus (UAW Local 736, New Departure Hyatt Bearings Plant, Clark, New Jersey) with one tactic being "use of federal law, particularly Landrum-Griffin and state common law remedies to ensure that union elections are conducted honestly."

—April 1974: "Legal Setback for Steel Workers" was the headline of an article supporting a suit by workers against the United Steel Workers of America.

There is scarcely a murmur of dissent among the self-proclaimed radicals of the NLG about these labor projects which make a principle out of crossing the class line.

The sponsors of the Law Student Extravaganza also demonstrated their utter cynicism toward the elementary Marxist understanding of the role of the capitalist police by calling on the cops to remove *Workers Vanguard* salesmen and an SL literature table. Later an NLG spokesman defended this action to an enraged audience:

> "We shouldn't be ashamed of calling the cops...it's true that police can be an arm of oppression but also true that police are an arm of protection against violent crime. Oppressed masses have to be able to call on police for protection."

It should be noted that while the "oppressed masses" (the Extravaganza organizers) were busily excluding "violent crime" (the SL) outside the meeting room, China Books was selling literature at a table inside the hall.

Exclusions of homosexuals from the Guild have also been attempted, obviously initiated by OL supporters—who propound the most reactionary puritanical line on sexual questions and who, along with all other Stalinists, embrace the nuclear family with more fervor than the Pope.

Some NLG members have used the sectarian exclusionism of the OL to justify an anti-communist sectarianism of their own. OL supporters must be defended against any witchhunt in the Guild. The Guild must be non-exclusionist—and that includes the right of supporters of organized left groups to be members.

The NLG, the ILD and the PDC

The present political identity crisis in the NLG may prompt some of its members to ask some fundamental questions about class-struggle defense work. We direct those members to the history of the International Labor Defense (ILD). In the early 1920's the ILD established an impressive record for non-sectarian, class-struggle defense of "class war prisoners." The ILD campaigned in defense of anarchists like Sacco and Vanzetti, Wobblies, labor militants and Communists. According to its founder and first secretary, James P. Cannon, the ILD based itself on "the policy of the class struggle" and put "no faith whatever in the justice of the courts" (*Labor Defender*, January 1927). It is ironic that Cannon (who broke from the CP during the period of its Stalinization and became one of the founders of American Trotskyism) was one of the Smith Act victims left undefended by the NLG.

The ILD was based on the political authority of a revolutionary party, the CP, and the Russian Revolution before its Stalinist degeneration. The NLG, however, is a product of that degeneration and the consequent crisis of revolutionary leadership. That crisis will be resolved by the construction of an international Leninist vanguard party, the nucleus of which is represented in the U.S. by the Spartacist League.

Simply to ask the question "What happened to the ILD of the early 1920's?" demonstrates that the politics of defense work cannot be separated with "lawyers' arguments" from broad political questions. The degenerated CP no longer required a class-struggle defense organization, but rather a legal arm for its class collaborationism. Thus, the Guild of the New Deal days was a suitable vehicle for the defense policies of the reformist CP.

The principles and traditions of class-struggle defense work initiated by the ILD have been taken up by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), which the Spartacist League politically supports. Like the ILD, the PDC is anti-sectarian, and defends all left organizations and the workers movement against bourgeois state repression. The PDC seeks to work with particular defense committees and with the NLG over cases and causes in the interests of the working people (such as the NLG's struggles against grand jury harassment and government surveillance and its work in support of those arrested at Wounded Knee and the victims of state terror at Attica). Unlike the Guild, the PDC refuses to cross the class line to appeal to capitalist "justice" to intervene in the workers movement.

Surely it is time for some members of the National Lawyers Guild to stop being the "legal arm" of some class-collaborationist "movement" and enter the struggle unequivocally on the side of the working class. Build the PDC, anti-sectarian class-struggle defense organization! ■

Spartacus Youth League Forums

Mao's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism: Angola and Chinese Foreign Policy

Speaker:
CHARLES O'BRIEN
Young Spartacus Editor
SL Central Committee

February 11
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Conn.

February 12
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Mass.

February 13
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

February 17, 7:30 p.m.
H-S-P Room, Second Floor
Houston Hall (Spruce near 34th St.)
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Penn

For more information call:
Boston area: (617) 436-1497
Philadelphia area: (215) 667-5695

Chile...

(continued from page 2)

government, and a month later a representative of the military junta took his place. Pinochet has been quoted as saying, "Peking has behaved well."

Not Another Popular Front, But Workers Revolution!

Unlike various fake leftists who greeted the 1973 coup with pronouncements that this was a fascist takeover, *Workers Vanguard* emphasized the *bonapartist* nature of the Chilean junta and its lack of any sizable base of support in the population. The Catholic Church hierarchy's criticisms of the junta began just a week after the coup—albeit in a cautious manner, since it did favor the overthrow of Allende—and the junta's relations with the Christian Democrats, the largest bourgeois party in the country, have never been good.

But to say that the regime is bonapartist is not to imply that the working class should tie itself to the "democratic" bourgeoisie in order to effectively fight the junta, as a leader of the Chilean Communist Party recently said (*Daily World*, 7 Febuary). He called for an "Anti-Fascist United Front" which would include "other political forces...among them the Christian Democratic Party." It is this very same policy of relying on the "patriotic" class enemy which led to the September 11 bloodbath in the first place. Class-conscious Chilean workers will remember that the Communist Party and Allende sought until the very end to negotiate with Frei and the Christian Democrats while the latter were supporting the military plotters.

An important component of the Stalinists' class-collaborationist popular-front policies under Allende was to instill faith in the "constitutionalist" officers of the "professional" army, who would supposedly protect the workers from reactionary putschists. Learning nothing from the murder of more than 30,000 leftist militants, the Communist Party has again discovered the "progressive officers," remarking that the "Anti-Fascist United Front" will include "many active armed forces officers, NCO's and enlisted men...."

Had the Stalinists wanted to resist the coup, they should not have praised their future executioners but instead sought to split the army on class lines. But every democratic-minded officer in the Chilean armed forces today remembers that when Sergeant Juan Cardenas and a group of sailors and non-commissioned officers in the Navy signed a statement during the summer of 1973 pledging to defend the democratically elected UP regime, they were arrested and tortured by the Naval command *with the acquiescence of Allende and the Communist Party*.

The "Brazilian model" has failed to revive the Chilean economy, even though the torture and oppression of the Chilean working class certainly rival conditions in Rio. Dissatisfied generals and businessmen may now force a partial abandonment of the Friedman "shock treatment" and a very strictly limited "liberalization" of the regime. While this may be sufficient to once again put the Archbishop of Santiago and ex-president Frei on speaking terms with the country's rulers, the working class can only continue its struggle to sweep the entire murderous bunch into the dustbin of history.

To undertake this struggle, the first task is to correctly draw a balance sheet of the Allende period, steeling the proletariat in the struggle against popular-front illusions and defeating the treacherous reformist and centrist misleaders who led the workers to the slaughter. The indispensable condition for victory is the construction of a Chilean Trotskyist party, and the reforging of the Fourth International. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

From the New Deal to the New Left to...?

Identity Crisis in the Lawyers Guild

National Lawyers Guild: Scales of Class-Collaboration

The National Lawyers Guild (NLG) is having a political identity crisis. At its 39th national convention, scheduled to meet in Houston February 13-16, the various warring tendencies within the Guild will attempt to redefine its political purpose and "basis of unity." The focus of the debate will be a proposal to change the preamble to the Guild's constitution to describe the Lawyers Guild as "anti-imperialist." Yet adoption of the "anti-imperialist" nomenclature will leave unresolved sharp disputes over important immediate issues, such as what position the Guild should take on Portugal, on Puerto Rican independence; what to do about the trade unions, about defense work.

The dispute has shaped up as a several-pronged contest between supporters of numerous organized political groupings—mainly the Communist Party (CP) and the Maoists—and non-aligned "independents" who view the present debate as an attack upon their comfortable coffee-klatsch political cluh.

The current preamble to the Guild's 39-year-old constitution (amended most recently in 1971) defines the organization as "an association dedicated to the need for basic change in the structure of our political and economic system. We seek to unite the lawyers, law students, legal workers and jailhouse lawyers of America...." The NLG claims over 4,000 members in more than 50 chapters across the country. This would make it perhaps the largest left organization in the U.S.—if, indeed, it can be considered an organization.

But it would be more accurate to term the Guild a petty-bourgeois radical *milieu*. Despite the pretensions of some sections of the Guild, far from being an alternative to the general weakness and eclecticism of the American left, the Guild is at present rather the most fulsome expression of the sorry state of the left.

Tension over how "political" the Guild should be has been a perennial stumbling block for the organization, with a 1967 compromise proposal "that emphasized the need to act both as a bar association and as the legal arm of the movement" neatly summarizing the unresolved status of the problem.

"Anti-Imperialism"

The convention will consider for adoption a revised draft preamble to the Guild's constitution which speaks for the first time of "the world-wide system of imperialism." The NLG's monthly newspaper, *Guild Notes*, reported that the National Executive Committee meeting in November was in agreement with the "anti-imperialist" draft preamble:

> "The general consensus, with only one person dissenting, was that the draft accurately reflected a basis of unity consistent with the current work of the Guild and a correct understanding of the Guild's role in the progressive movement."
>
> —*Guild Notes*, January 1976

Such a "basis of unity" represents the height of political shysterism; "anti-imperialism" is left conveniently undefined so that it can include completely counterposed political programs under the same radical-sounding banner.

Maoist "anti-imperialism" amounts to nothing other than anti-Sovietism and a crude expression of the perceived national interests of the brittle Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking. The Chinese Maoists have forged an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR, and Mao's American toadies follow along. For them, "anti-imperialism" means the defeat of the Russian-backed MPLA in Angola, a stronger NATO, political support for the Shah of Iran, refusing aid to the victims of the Chilean junta while succoring the murderous Pinochet, putting a question mark over support for independence for Puerto Rico, and more—all in the name of preventing "domination by Soviet social-imperialism."

The new draft proclaims that the

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Stop RSB Gangster Attacks in Boston!

BOSTON, February 9—Last week the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and its parent organization, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), went on a rampage of frenzied gangster attacks against the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at Boston University. This Stalinist campaign of threats, harassment, provocation and hooligan attacks was met with a determined defense of workers democracy. The SYL made it clear that it was prepared to exercise its democratic right to distribute and sell revolutionary literature at public meetings.

On Tuesday, February 3, the cowardly RSB tried to intimidate the SYL from staying away from the first in a series of public RSB classes on the campus. An hour before the class, a lone SYL supporter was grabbed by three RSBers near the meeting room, slammed against a wall and warned, "You better not show up tonight." At 7:30 p.m., members and friends of the SYL attempted to enter the narrow public hallway leading to the classroom in order to distribute literature. Some 40 feet from the room they were set upon by RSB goons. A scuffle ensued, and the RSBers called the campus police. The SYL supporters vigorously defended themselves, and after the fight one of the Maoist thugs wound up with a bloodied head.

The next day, these so-called revolutionaries went running to the Boston University (BU) administration again, this time to finger SYL supporters to the campus cops and university officials. As a result, the administration suspended the SYL for allegedly "attacking" the RSB. This craven appeal for political repression by BU is particularly disgusting since the RSB claims to be fighting the university over attacks on student fees and the firing of clinic workers. Moreover, these are the same campus cops who viciously assaulted students protesting against the imperialist Conference for Latin American Development Studies in October 1974. The SYL defended the victims of the ensuing frame-up, including several members of the RSB.

Even the reactionary administration soon realized that the RSB's slanderous charges could not be substantiated and was forced to lift the suspension after two days. The university authorities did, however, take full advantage of the opportunity provided by the RSB to clamp down on left groups at BU. In particular, they have tightened the rules for use of facilities in the George Sherman Union, making it difficult for all organizations to sell or distribute literature.

Since the February 3 confrontation, the hysterical RSB has embarked on a gangland-style vendetta. On Friday, February 6, an SYLer was accosted on the subway by a raving RCP punk who threatened to knife him and attempted to shove him around. Bystanders intervened to restrain the would-be assailant.

That evening, in front of numerous shocked witnesses in the Sherman Union, a leading member of the Boston University RSB threatened to "pay back" an SYLer who was going to a forum sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Eight RSB bullies were slinking around the building later, hoping to ambush the four SYLers attending the forum. They failed, however, when YSA members helped provide defense and other SYL supporters arrived.

The SYL and the Spartacist League (SL) have a well-known and intransigent record of opposition to violence within the left. We have consistently defended the fullest freedom for political debate in the workers movement, including our own right to attend public meetings of left tendencies and to distribute our literature without interference. Unlike the RCP/RSB, we have consistently refused to bring the bourgeois state, its cops or courts into disputes between left organizations.

In contrast, the RCP/RSB have a long and despicable history of gangsterism against other socialist tendencies, both in Boston and elsewhere. Thus on October 21, a *Young Spartacus* sales team at an RCP/RSB film showing were the victims of an unprovoked goon attack in which one comrade was thrown to the floor and another kicked in the groin. A petition circulated by the SYL on campus condemning this scandalous assault was signed by numerous outraged students, faculty and staff.

Revelling in the bloody history of Stalinist atrocities against Bolshevik militants, at a meeting at BU on January 25 an RSB member snarled at several SYL leafletters, "You're going to be floating down the rivers just like the dead Vietnamese Trotskyites." A repetition of the earlier attack was prevented by the presence of a formidable defense team.

The attitude of militant workers to this cynical bragging and violation of workers democracy was shown in another incident at the Fremont General Motors plant in California. After repeated threats and assaults by RCP (then RU) supporters on socialist

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 97

20 February 1976

Despite Stalinist Sabotage

Workers Struggles Roll Across Spain

For Amnesty, Freedom of the Press, Trade-Union Liberty, a Constituent Assembly!
Smash Francoist Corporatism Through Proletarian Revolution!

FEBRUARY 16—During January, post-Franco Spain experienced its largest strike wave in 36 years, involving at its height more than 200,000 workers in the Madrid area alone. The government sought to break the back of labor unrest by a combination of selective repression and pressure on the employers to hold out, but as the strikes in the capital were folding, new contingents of the working class continued to join battle against their exploiters. Early this month the focus of popular agitation shifted to the northern industrial center of Barcelona where tens of thousands of demonstrators braved police bludgeons in two successive Sundays of anti-government demonstrations.

Meanwhile the government of Carlos Arias Navarro continued its policy of appeasing the hard-line Francoist "bunker," thereby driving even the most conservative Christian Democrats into opposition. In his major policy speech on January 28 to the corporatist Cortes ("parliament") the Prime Minister went into ecstacy in praise of the two-month-old monarchy—the "indestructible [!] basis on which the architecture of our constitutional order is based"—while refusing to specify reforms other than a vague promise of "free" elections...by the spring of 1977.

Militant Demonstrations in Barcelona

Three days after the speech, in response to the government's obvious stalling on key issues such as amnesty for the more than 1,200 political prisoners still rotting in Francoist jails and autonomy for the non-Castilian-speaking regions, the streets of Barcelona were turned into a battleground. Marchers on February 1 were met by massive contingents of police who immediately attacked the demonstration with great ferocity, firing tear gas and rubber bullets, and brutally clubbing anyone they caught. The central streets and squares of the Catalan capital were filled with marchers chanting "Llibertad, aminstia...i estatut d'autonomia," as a cavalcade of cars sounded horns in unison and banners proclaimed "a people united will never be defeated" (*Le Monde*, 3 February and *Cambio 16*, 9-15 February).

The following Sunday Barcelona was

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Spanish police club demonstrators in Barcelona, February 8.

Manuel Armengol Cervera

Georges Marchais Alain Dejean/Sygma

Tailoring Program to Practice

West European Stalinists Delete "Dictatorship of Proletariat" 6

Editorial Notes

Nixon's the One in Peking

Fortunately for "tricky" Dick Nixon there are still those who love him. The world's most discredited living capitalist politician is going to China as the special invited guest of the Peking rulers. There he can enjoy a reputation he has nowhere else in the world. The despised Watergate criminal and butcher of Indochina, who would enrage crowds in almost any U.S. city, will be most welcome in Peking. The solicitous Maoist bureaucrats have even assured him that after they send a plane by to fly him over, he will get the full treatment of a visiting dignitary including a full-time medical team with an ample supply of his blood type.

Behind the Nixon visit is more than the "warm personal relations" established with Mao during those nights when they "toasted" each other while the bombs fell on Indochina. For Nixon is certainly more than "simply another of the thousands of Americans who have visited China recently" as Gerald Ford's mouthpiece Ron Nessen stated in a defensive press statement

Daily News

Nixon and Mao meet in Peking, February 1972.

about the planned visit. Nixon's visit at this time has political meaning both for the U.S. and China, if only of a symbolic character.

First of all, the trip was scheduled to begin on February 21, just three days before the New Hampshire primary. This is not welcomed by Ford. Hard-pressed by Republican contender Ronald Reagan, the Nixon-appointed president is less than enthusiastic about his former mentor's re-emergence into the limelight just before the bellwether New Hampshire vote. The son of Watergate would prefer that the culprit remain in modest obscurity at San Clemente, writing his memoirs and doctoring his income tax forms. Ford fears that straight-laced Yankee voters will be reminded of his Nixon pardon which proved that crime *does* pay, so long as one's hand-picked successor can act as judge and jury.

But the administration hurriedly assured the press that Nixon's Peking visit is a very private affair. "There is no significance attached to the trip by the White House," said Nessen. He described it as "a private visit by a private citizen," adding that "it is not expected to have an impact on the United States-Chinese relations and is not expected to have any domestic consequences" (*New York Times*, 7 February). Just a weekend outing with Pat, no douht!

If in the U.S. Nixon is the symbol of capitalist corruption, in China the bureaucrats portray him as the symbol of the Maoist alliance with U.S. imperialism against the "No. One" enemy, "Soviet Social-Imperialism." China's rulers always believed that Nixon got a raw deal and expressed their dismay when his dirty tricks and brazen violations of bourgeois legality were exposed, forcing his resignation. According to the *New York Times* (5 December 1974), Chou En-lai sent a message of felicitation and get-well flowers to the sulking, ailing Nixon.

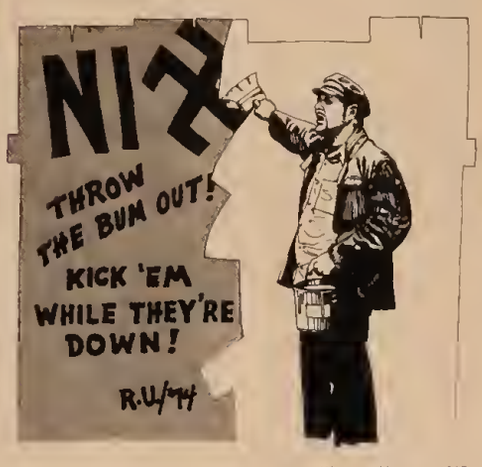
Subsequently, Mao wrote Nixon personally inviting him to visit China again, as though this paranoid crook were still a head of state (*New York Times*, 14 August 1975). Throughout the Watergate exposures hundreds of millions of Chinese, who are permitted to read only the official Maoist press, were kept ignorant of Nixon's crimes. As Nixon became too sullied even for the Republican Party, the Maoist bureaucrats kept their invitations coming, most recently sent via Julie Eisenhower.

In both countries the Nixon trip has become understood as a criticism of the Kissinger-Ford policy of "détente" with the Soviet Union. The liberal spokesmen of the *New York Times* in an 8 February editorial entitled "Mischievous Visit" diagnosed the reason for China's "open door policy" toward Mr. Nixon as dissatisfaction with "the slow pace at which the Chinese-American relationship has been developing, especially in the context of Soviet-American détente." The editors of the *New York Times* then asked Nixon not to go to China lest he be an embarrassment to Ford and also to Kissinger's current policy. Appealing to his "dignity" (?!) they suggest he "make a dignified and appropriate change in his own immediate travel plans." But Nixon has plans of his own and they include more than travel. In a statement to his former staff writer and now *New York Times* columnist William Safire, Nixon lines up behind the criticism of U.S.-Soviet "détente":

> "In 1972, I went to the People's Republic of China because I concluded that a new and constructive relationship between the U.S. and the P.R.C. [People's Republic of China] is indispensable if we are to have lasting peace in the Pacific and in the world. I believe that this relationship is, if anything, more important today that it was four years ago."
>
> *New York Times*, 8 February

Nixon, surely no stranger to bureaucratic machinations, will also play a minor supporting role in the Stalinist purge currently on stage in Peking. The purged ex-U.S. president will be greeted by Hua Kuo-feng, the new Chinese prime minister, in his first official public act. China-watchers had expected former deputy premier Teng Hsiao-ping and not Hua to fill the position left vacant by Chou En-lai's death.

Not only was Teng denied the post of prime minister, but Mao's latest ex-heir apparent has suddenly become the object of a mushrooming campaign of big character wall posters. Although rehabilitated in 1973, Teng was a major victim of Mao's earlier purges in 1967. The posters, reminiscent of the bureaucratically-initiated "Cultural Revolution" in which Mao's faction attacked his opponents in the party central committee,



Workers Vanguard/VG

Maoist Whitewash: Peking Brings the Bum Back!

denounce "Confucian disciples," "reactivated rightists", and particularly "an old capitalist roader who formed cliques around himself" (*New York Times*, 13 February).

Nixon fits neatly into the bureaucratic intrigues of the Chinese. Certainly, he can't be accused of being "soft on Russia," the main criterion of "capitalist-roading" in the Mao-speak dictionary. Official political values in China have become so far removed from socialist principles that the former No. One imperialist butcher of the world can become a symbolic axe with which Maoists chop down their factional foes.

Nixon has a friend in Peking, and U.S. Maoists like the Revolutionary Communist Party with its stupid populist slogan, "Throw the Bum Out," ought to be embarrassed. If they had the slightest impulse for class struggle they might now direct their "throw the bum out" slogan at Mao.

They won't, of course. For those who explained Nixon's 1972 visit as "state relations," this visit is easily set down in the little red book of contradictions and homilies as "personal relations." Having described the earlier ping-pong visit as if the "super-power" president were a pilgrim bearing tribute on his hands and knees, American Maoists must now explain the attempt by the "Great Helmsman" to rehabilitate this justly scorned imperialist murderer they once described as a fascist.

For their part, the Peking bureaucrats couldn't care less about such minor problems. They have always ignored their warring American sycophants, leaving them to twist and turn, manufacturing tortured apologies for each new phase of Chinese policy. For those who "explain" why it is in the interest of the international proletariat to shoot down Cuban soldiers on the battlefields of Angola, what problems can be posed by a little junket by an unpopular imperialist?

Healy's Workers Press Folds

LONDON, February 14—The English radical movement is buzzing over the news that *Workers Press*, daily newspaper of the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Gerry Healy, is going under. The bourgeois press yesterday broke the story, followed by the publication in today's *Workers Press* of a front-page "Final Edition" statement which salutes "the continuous daily publication" of *Workers Press* as "a magnificent achievement" but presents no plan for the resumption of any public organ, daily or otherwise.

A brief report in the *Daily Telegraph* (13 February) stated that *Workers Press* would

> "cease publication after tomorrow due to severe financial difficulty, it was announced last night. Mr. Alex Mitchell, editor, said the paper had to close because its printer, Plough Press Ltd., would cease trading from midnight tonight. He emphasized that the printers were not going into liquidation, and all financial obligations will be met in full. *Workers Press*... began daily publication in September 1969 as a competitor with the Communist *Morning Star*. Since last September it has been losing an average of £6,500 a month."

Gerry Healy Workers Press

A somewhat longer story in the Manchester *Guardian* (13 February) noted that the WRP "has never fully recovered from the defection last year of Alan 'The Mole' Thornett [now head of the Workers Socialist League (WSL)], one of its key supporters in the trade unions. The £50,000 crisis appeal which the WRP launched last year to keep the newspaper afloat is still £14,000 short of its target."

The financial crisis of the WRP/*Workers Press*/Plough Press is political in nature. The Healyites' unsavoury reputation for political chicanery extends into the financial arena, and rumours of the most lurid sort are rampant. But at bottom the ignominious debacle of the self-baptised "first Trotskyist daily in the world" is a linear product of the much-vaunted Healyite "method." This method can be roughly summarized as: pretend you're a mass party, dupe as many people as you can into believing it and you will become one. After all, nothing succeeds like "success." (Even the claim to be "first" is a phony. To our knowledge, the first Trotskyist daily newspaper was the Vietnamese-language *Tia Sang* published in Saigon by the Internationalist Communist League in the late 1930's.)

The collapse of the WRP's Potemkin Village merely demonstrates once again the fallacy of get-rich-quick charades. *Workers Press* editor Mitchell himself described the paper's circulation as never having exceeded 20,000 (*Guardian*, 13 February). It should be recalled that the American Communist Party required a fund of at least a million dollars before launching its *Daily World* in 1968, recognizing that only such a fund (and several thousand guaranteed subscriptions from Soviet libraries) could cushion the financial drain of a daily paper not supported by a mass base.

The Healyite organization simply does not have the

cadres, resources or influence among the advanced workers to sustain a daily press financially or to justify such an undertaking politically. When a party has deep roots in the workers movement and the advanced workers daily look to it for leadership in their struggles, then a daily newspaper becomes not merely justified, but obligatory. But for an organization of the WRP's modest size to seek to sustain a daily on the basis of the "unstinting devotion and sacrifice of its readers, supporters and subscribers" (*Workers Press*, 14 February) is consummate cynicism.

The essence of Healy's "method" has always been to use crisis-mongering combined with appeals to revolutionary voluntarism to wring every last ounce of energy (and shilling) out of his supporters, tossing aside the burnt-out and bitter shells. But pyramid swindles (an old financial con game, in which the investments of new clients are used to pay dividends to the old ones) are dependent upon an ever-expanding base, and always collapse in the end.

The abrupt suspension of *Workers Press* seems to have caught Healy's international co-thinkers by surprise. The U.S. Workers League (WL), always secure in the knowledge that the best way to please Gerry is to imitate his every gyration, announced less than two weeks ago its intention to launch "the first daily Trotskyist newspaper in the United States in 1977" (*Bulletin*, 6 February 1976); the Australian Healyites are already on record singing a similar tune. The grandiose pretensions of the American grouping are typically out of phase with its real situation; having purged its founding head, Tim Wohlforth, the WL has just recently made another switch in National Secretary, with David North taking over after Fred Mazelis' brief moment in the sun.

A thought-provoking sidelight on the *Workers Press* affair is the concomitant escalation of the Healyites' campaign of slanders against Joseph Hansen, ideologue of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the U.S. The WRP's descent into paranoid witchhunting began somewhat earlier, with Healy's personal instigation of the "Nancy Fields case" which succeeded in driving Wohlforth out of his WL in solidarity with his friend Fields. Healy accused his long-time American lackey of deliberately covering up Fields' alleged family connections with the CIA. After the ensuing dogfight (whose outcome was never in doubt) the pages of *Workers Press* and the *Bulletin* were filled with veiled accusations against Fields. In typical Healyite fashion, the articles were careful to

The real "first Trotskyist daily in the world." Tia Sang was published in Saigon in the 1930's by the Internationalist Communist League.

note that the WL inquisition had found Fields innocent of any involvement with the CIA thereby protecting against any possible legal action for slander then proceeded to pile on paragraph after paragraph of insinuations.

In recent months the WRP and its international claque have been indulging in a disgusting orgy of slanderous personal vilification directed at long-time SWP spokesman Joseph Hansen. Entitled "Security and the Fourth International," a seemingly endless series of *Workers Press* centerfolds has sought to smear Hansen as possessing guilty knowledge of the assassination of Trotsky by the GPU in 1940. The technique is to present masses of both true and unproven factual minutiae about the circumstances of the assassination followed by a series of rhetorical questions directed at Hansen: the implication is that Hansen deliberately covered up facts in his possession and misdirected those who sought to protect Trotsky and then to unmask the GPU network which had murdered him. As in the Fields case, *Workers Press* craftily avoided direct statements, contenting itself with the sheer bulk of the campaign and the cleverly worded "question" to convey the slanderous content.

But in the last weeks, the WRP has thrown caution to the winds. It has been mass distributing a throwaway, reprinted from *Workers Press*, which leaves little to the readers' imagination. The two articles reprinted in the handbill, "We Challenge the IMG" (*Workers Press*, 3 February) and "We Challenge the WSL (Thornett Group)" (*Workers Press*, 4 February), publish photos of Hansen and a rather less prominent SWP spokesman, George Novack, provocatively captioned in bold letters: "Accomplices of the GPU."

The WRP knows full well that the reformist SWP would not in principle shrink from using the bourgeois courts against left-wing opponents (indeed, the Healyites have crossed the class line in such a fashion on at least one occasion). Perhaps as *Workers Press*' parting shot, Healy has committed this outrageous and criminal libel, figuring that now he's got no press left to lose! In view of the years-long political banditry of the Healy tendency, the present slander campaign and its current escalation are a not inappropriate swan-song for *Workers Press*.

As of now, there is no basis for speculation about the future press plans of the WRP. But there can be no doubt that the suspension of *Workers Press* is a grave blow to the organizational pretensions of the Healyites both in England and internationally. Just as Stalinists glory in their identification with a bureaucracy administering state power, so have the Healyites flaunted the WRP's daily, their crown jewel.

We do not want to gloat over the spectacular failure of the WRP's financial/political adventure. Revolutionary politics is not a safe "business," and there are many mishaps that can befall an organization even in normal times. Bourgeois legal repression, ebbs in the class struggle, honest miscalculations of the economic and political conjuncture can have disastrous consequences for a socialist organization. But there is little similarity between the wrenching leaps that a serious Marxist organization finds itself compelled to undertake and the cynical contortions into which the Healyites propelled themselves when they launched the daily *Workers Press*. An authentically Trotskyist daily newspaper—an undertaking which awaits the future mass proletarian party, whose nucleus we are today struggling to build—will have little in common with *Workers Press*.

Letters

UAW Skilled Trades

February 13, 1976
Dearborn, Michigan

Editor,
Workers Vanguard

In your article on the UAW skilled trades (*WV* 96 [13 February]) I believe there were several minor factual errors.

In 1973, Ford craftsmen were rightly incensed by [UAW vice president] Ken Bannon's secretive "letter of understanding" with the company that allowed for the company to take work away when skilled tradesmen opted out of overtime work. You mention that "non-UAW" workers were to be used. While contracting out to non-UAW workers was included in the secret letter, the skilled trades' major objection in 1973 was to a proviso for use of production workers that could only undercut their jobs as well as undermine the apprenticeship program.

You state that a skilled tradesman was shot at the Michigan Casting Center in 1973. In the incident in question, David Mundy (then unit president of the Michigan Casting Center, located in Flat Rock, Michigan) chased a skilled tradesman several blocks from the Local 600 hall in Dearborn (where a protest demonstration of UAW craftsmen was going on) and shot him through the window of a gas station. Mundy has since been both convicted and defeated for re-election.

The article refers to the reactionary union-busting group trying to sever UAW skilled tradesmen from their brothers in production as the "Independent Society of Skilled Craftsmen" (ISSC). While this shady group may well go by a number of pseudonyms, it is most well known as the "International Society of Skilled Trades" (ISST). Incidentally, the January 15 *Wall Street Journal* cites the president of the ISST as claiming to have already obtained sufficient signatures from skilled tradesmen covered by the United Rubber Workers to file for NLRB decertification elections in the next few weeks.

Finally, you criticized Al Gardner (head of the Independent Skilled Trades Council and a major United National Caucus spokesman) for raising the slogan "Jobs for American Workers" in his unsuccessful re-election bid at the Local 600 Tool and Die Unit. Actually, Gardner's extension of his earlier "Ford Work for Ford Workers" slogan was even more blatantly chauvinist—his campaign literature blared: "American Work for American Workers"!

For class-struggle leadership,
A supporter at Local 600

Panama Canal

February 9, 1976
Kent, Ohio

Dear Editor:

I read with interest your enlightening article on the U.S.-Panama negotiations concerning the Canal zone (*Workers Vanguard* No. 95 [6 February]). However, there were some misleading statements in the article. First, and perhaps just a misprint was the mention of the "Pratt Amendment." The correct spelling is the Platt Amendment, which was ended in 1934 under *Franklin* Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy. That brings me to the second and more important mistake. The article refers to Teddy Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy. T. Roosevelt's policy toward Latin America came to be known, rightly so, as the Big Stick. Under this policy and the Dollar Diplomacy of Taft, the U.S. intervened in Latin America continually under the Roosevelt (Teddy) Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. This corollary was to prevent the European nations from intervening in the U.S. sphere of Latin America to collect debts. To do so the U.S. intervened and often took over the finances of the republics involved. This policy of armed intervention continued into the Wilson (Mexican Revolution invasion), Harding and Coolidge Administration.

The Good Neighbor policy had its roots in the Clark Memorandum (under Coolidge) and in Hoover's policies. FDR continued the policy in his administration. Under FDR all military troops that had intervened and often controlled governments were withdrawn from Latin America. After the Seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo in 1933 FDR gave up the right of unilateral intervention and in 1934 abolished the Platt Amendment [to the Cuban constitution]. In 1936 the U.S. and Panama signed a treaty in which the U.S. gave up its rights to intervene in Panama's affairs, but in notes exchanged in 1939 Panama agreed to allow the U.S. to act unilaterally to defend the canal "in emergencies." However good neighborly the policy was, economically the countries of Latin America were still tied to the U.S. The primary purpose of the Good Neighbor policy was to open up Latin American markets to the U.S. in an effort to relieve the depression, because exports to Latin America had dropped by 25 percent by 1933. Many of the other acts of the policy were attempts to aid the British and French in their war efforts and set up a system of hemispheric isolation in fear of German or Japanese attacks.

Yours,
Tim Smith

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Bridges Cancels ILWU Local 10 Elections

SAN FRANCISCO, February 14 – In a surprise eleventh-hour move, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Harry Bridges personally ordered the cancellation of Local 10 primary elections due to take place today. The vote had been scheduled when S.F. longshoremen refused to accept the results of an earlier "election" in which several Bridges opponents Larry Wing, Herb Mills and Andrew Dulaney had been arbitrarily ruled off the ballot by Local 10 acting president Bill Watkins and secretary-treasurer Carl Smith. The angry ranks had ordered these candidates placed on the ballot and a new election held.

It has been reported that at a Local 10 executive board meeting Wednesday Watkins read a letter from Bridges upholding objections from the Local's ballot committee, which denied the membership's right to overturn the previous election. If the Local had a gripe, Bridges reportedly wrote, it could take up the matter with the International Executive Board at a March meeting in Hawaii! Watkins thereupon peremptorily declared the new vote canceled.

It now appears that elections for Local 10 officers and committeemen will be delayed indefinitely, leaving the International's flunkies in control of the key West Coast longshore local. Bridges' high-handed action, the kind of autocratic maneuver which has become his trademark, came close on the heels of a stinging rebuff to the International when the Local voted last month for a strike action against a new rule which would have forced 20 to 25 percent of S.F. dockers off the PGP (a "guaranteed pay" supplement to offset lack of work due to automation).

Backing down in the face of the union ranks' fury, Bridges and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association were forced to "suspend" the rule. However, pro-Bridges Local officers had joined the protests at the last minute in order to head off an even more violent response from the volatile membership. Together with "moderate" oppositionists, they managed to keep the struggle limited to this single point, ignoring an earlier executive board vote for a coast-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. Thus with the contract still intact, every dispatch category in Local 10 is now working only two to three shifts (or less) per week and the PGP has become a way of life for all but Bridges' favored "section 9.43" steady-men.

Meanwhile an article entitled "Behind Dockers Election Dispute" in the West Coast Communist Party (CP) weekly *People's World* (14 February) described the January 15 Local 10 membership meeting, which threw out the earlier balloting, but significantly failed to mention the vote for a strike against attempted PGP eligibility cutbacks. Within the Local, Archie Brown, a prominent spokesman for CP views and long-time Bridges' supporter, has lately been posing as an opposition to the increasingly discredited International leadership, while simultaneously lashing out at those who favor strike action.

In contrast, recent issues of *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle opposition newsletter published by Local 10 executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, have warned that only a strategy to win jobs and defend union control of hiring by militant labor action can protect the ILWU from further employer attacks. Gow and Keylor call for a struggle to reopen the contract and a fight for a sliding scale of hours and wages, to provide real protection against inflation and unemployment.

Local 10 must decisively reject Bridges' latest attacks, asserting the right of the union members to democratically elect their own leadership without bureaucratic interference and broadening the struggle into an all-sided attack on the capitalists and their henchmen in the labor movement. ■

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SWP, WL Forums

Against Stalin-Style Exclusions, Slanders!

FEBRUARY 16—Yesterday's "public" meeting of the trade-union front group of the Workers League (WL) was marked by two characteristics: bottomless political banality and grossly anti-democratic exclusionism. In other words, this "Conference of City Workers" at New York's Marc Ballroom, sponsored by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party (TUALP), ran true to form for the cynical WL opportunists.

The featured speaker was Dennis Cribben, long-standing WL supporter in the SSEU (welfare workers union). Then the floor was opened for a two-hour "discussion period." Most of the discussion was lackluster indeed, with the chairman finding it necessary to repeatedly urge people to get up and talk about "their experiences"—or something.

But the attempt of a young woman from Toronto to raise some left criticisms unleashed a swift and vicious reaction. She managed to state her name and where she was from, and began to criticize the WL's orientation to the labor party. She was immediately pulled away from the microphone and dragged into the hallway, protesting "I'm a member of the international Spartacist tendency." Some of the audience became visibly uneasy. The next speaker, a postal worker, objected to this blatantly undemocratic exclusion. The chair replied by claiming that "these people always disrupt our meetings." This did not satisfy the militant, and Fred Mazelis (recently deposed WL National Secretary) had to lay down the law: no Spartacists are allowed in WL "public" meetings, and that is that.

But the WL goons were not satisfied. As the so-called discussion continued, a unionist who was in line to speak was abruptly confronted and accused of being a Spartacist; when he insisted on his right to present his opinions he was grabbed, shoved out the door, slammed against a wall and roughed up in the hallway out of sight of the meeting. The rest of the audience apparently got the message; there were no more protests and the proposed resolutions were all passed unanimously.

Two days earlier, the WL had gotten a taste of its own medicine, by being excluded from a forum on Angola at Columbia University sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Supporters of the Spartacist League vociferously protested this violation of the principle of workers democracy outside the auditorium, and the first SL speaker recognized during the question period began his remarks by denouncing the exclusion. He noted that the SWP is on record as supporting the "right" of free speech for fascists but denies this right to oppositional tendencies within the left movement. The SL speaker also took vigorous exception to the WL's preposterous slanders of the SWP's Joseph Hansen, while noting that such charges—however scurrilous—should be openly debated and answered before the working-class public.

The WL's brutal expulsion of Spartacist supporters from its "public" meetings, like the SWP's exclusion of the WL from its Angola forum, must be actively opposed by socialist militants. These fake-Trotskyists' use of heavy-handed suppression of opponent groups exposes their political bankruptcy. In the tradition of Leon Trotsky, we demand that these cowardly violations of workers democracy be stopped.

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Members of the Menominee Warrior Society arrested after January 1975 occupation of Catholic novitiate in Wisconsin.

Guardian

Racist Killings in Wisconsin

Sheriff Slaughters Indian Militants

MADISON –On February 3, John Waubanascum, one of five Menominee Indians slated to stand trial for the 1975 armed occupation of a Catholic novitiate near Gresham, Wisconsin, was gunned down together with a friend by the Menominee Sheriff's Department.

Details of the shootout remain clouded by a local and state police cover-up. However, leaked details of an autopsy confirm a witness' report that Waubanascum and Harlan Pamanet, a visitor in his home, were both shotgunned in the back. The county sheriff, Kenneth Fish, a political appointee of the Democratic governor, claims he and several deputies were "ambushed" at Waubanascum's home.

A February 6 demonstration in Madison, called by a coalition of radical groups protesting the brutal killings, attracted over 200 in a march on the state capitol to demand that Sheriff Fish be jailed.

The shootings marked the first anniversary of the end of the occupation of the novitiate. On 1 January 1975, 40 armed Indians, mostly members of the Menominee Warrior Society, took over the mansion, demanding that it be turned over to the tribe for use as a hospital. The Alexian Brothers religious order, owners of the property, agreed to give the building and grounds to the Menominees for $1 in order to end the occupation. When the Warrior Society left the premises, however, the price went up to $750,000.

Waubanascum and four other Menominees were later charged with armed robbery, burglary and false imprisonment for their part in the takeover. The trial had been scheduled to begin on April 1.

Despite nationwide publicity from the 34-day occupation, conditions for the 2,500 Menominee Indians living in the county have not improved. The lack of medical facilities remains a central problem, and residents must still travel up to 50 miles to the nearest hospital in Shawano County. Nearly one quarter of the Menominees currently receive AFDC welfare payments, with many more on the state dole and receiving food stamps.

In conditions typical for the impoverished area, Waubanascum, his wife and six children lived in a home without hot water, heated by an old space heater and with outside toilet facilities. The family had been evicted from federal housing when he was released by the Marine Corps four years ago.

While the general poverty and lack of health facilities have not been alleviated following the novitiate occupation, Menominees have reported more racist hostility from local whites and stepped-up police violence during the last year. Although 19 affidavits have been collected detailing the sheriff's chronic drunken harassment of the Indians, Fish remains on duty and the Menominee County Sheriff's Department has become the most heavily armed local police unit in the state. Furthermore, according to an assistant to Ada Deer, chairman of the Reservation Committee (the tribe's interim governing body), Fish and several deputies are being trained by the U.S. government to become federal law officers when the county reverts to tribal status, as established by the Menominee Restoration Act of January 1973 (*Capitol Times* [Madison], 10 and 11 February).

The reaction of the left to last year's novitiate takeover was generally mindless enthusiasm for the Indian militants. On the University of Wisconsin campus here, the sub-reformist Wisconsin Alliance unconditionally supported the Warriors Society leaders while the Revolutionary Student Brigade hailed the occupation as an act of "righteous struggle." On the other hand, in a characteristic act of confidence in the bourgeois state, the Young Socialist Alliance railed after "moderate" Indian leaders and cheered the arrival of the National Guard, supposedly to protect

continued on page 11

Witchhunt at University of Wisconsin

Defend David Fine!

MADISON –After successfully evading police for over five years, David Fine, accused of participating in the 1970 bombing of the Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC) at the University of Wisconsin (UW), was captured January 7 in San Rafael, California.

Fine has been on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list for most of the time since the bombing, and following his capture bail was set at $1 million. After arriving in Madison and being arraigned on federal charges, Fine was released on a reduced bail of $30,000 which his parents had raised, only to be re-arrested 20 minutes later on state charges. He then entered pleas of not guilty in state court and was again released on a $75,000 recognizance bond. A trial date of June 1 has been set for the federal charges, which include sabotage and unlawful flight.

The AMRC was established in 1955 when the UW won an Army contract, and continues to exist today (although now moved to the top of a building far from the center of campus). It is the only such center funded by the U.S. Army. The AMRC was involved in Project Michigan, a Defense Department project to develop an "electronic battlefield" through use of radar and other sensors. These techniques were put to deadly use in Indochina, and were also used to help Bolivian rangers track down and murder Che Guevara in 1967.

In the months preceding the AMRC bombing, thousands of students protested the presence of the imperialist armed forces on campus. Local military targets were repeatedly firebombed. Then in the early morning of 24 August 1970, a massive explosion ripped through Sterling Hall, which housed the Research Center at that time. Although the bombers phoned a warning, the building was not evacuated in time and a physics researcher not connected with the AMRC was killed in the blast.

Fine is the second of four men indicted in 1970 in connection with the bombing to be captured. In early 1972, Karl Armstrong was arrested in Toronto, Canada, and extradited to Madison where he pleaded guilty to all charges. He is now serving a 23-year sentence at Waupun State Prison. In addition, Dwight Armstrong, his brother and also indicted for the bombing, was arrested last December 12 for shoplifting in California, but was released before his identity was discovered. The fourth, Leo Burt, is still at liberty.

Witchhunt on Campus

Both the UW student government, the Wisconsin Student Association (WSA), and the student newspaper, the *Daily Cardinal*, made hesitant efforts to support the Fine defense. The WSA had voted on February 5 to donate $2,000. However, a petition campaign given extensive publicity in the local media collected over 4,000 student signatures to force a referendum to bar the WSA from using funds "for the defense of David Fine, or any other political cause, without proper referendum of the students."

Instead of denouncing this reactionary proposal, whose purpose is to restrict the appropriation of money for left-wing political causes and groupings, the WSA retreated. Rather than risk defeat in the referendum, it voted at a February 12 meeting to rescind the contribution to Fine's defense.

The *Daily Cardinal*, where David Fine was once a staff member, had similarly voted a $5,000 contribution to his defense in January. This was overruled on February 4 by a vote of the paper's faculty advisors, who are appointed by the university chancellor. Although initially threatening a strike if the donation was not approved, the *Cardinal* staff later reached a compromise with the faculty board members. In return for lifting the veto, it was agreed to increase faculty representation on the Board of Control of the newspaper. If the measure is approved in a student referendum in April, its sponsors assert that the new board, with a student majority, will vote to approve the contribution.

The increase in faculty representatives on the Board of Control is sought by the university administration as a means of achieving greater leverage over the *Cardinal*. This further incursion of the administration into student affairs must be opposed and all administration faculty interference with the student newspaper cease. The maneuverings of liberal student politicos, willing to trade off control over the student newspaper for a small (and only potential) donation, will not further David Fine's defense. An effective defense cannot be constructed by making deals with the UW administration, the same representatives of bourgeois interests who support the continued existence of the AMRC!

Abolish AMRC—Free David Fine!

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) have vast political differences with those accused of participating in the AMRC bombing, as was shown when the *Berkeley Barb* last summer quoted Dwight Armstrong as saying in a clandestine interview that Spartacists "are just as fascist as the ruling class." The SL/SYL reject individual terrorism as a means of overthrowing capitalism. The blood-soaked imperialists will not be swept from the stage of history by isolated acts of violence, but only through the victorious struggle of the working masses, guided by a Leninist party.

Nonetheless, it is the duty of the workers movement to defend from repression by the bourgeois state those accused of bombing the AMRC and of other acts directed against targets symbolic of imperialism. The Spartacus Youth League demanded that Karl Armstrong be released and the charges against him be dropped, and demands also that David Fine be freed. The Partisan Defense Committee urges that contributions be sent to the David Fine Freedom Committee, Box 93, Madison, WI 53701. ■

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Tailoring Program to Practice

West European Stalinists Delete "Dictatorship of Proletariat"

On January 7, Georges Marchais dropped a bombshell during a television talk show. In his opinion, said the leader of the French Communist Party (PCF), the notion of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" must be abandoned.

> "Well, today the word 'dictatorship' does not correspond to what we want . . Even the word 'proletariat' is no longer appropriate, since we want to bring together, along with the working class, the majority of wage earners. But that does not mean we are abandoning our objective: socialism in French colors."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 9 January 1976

He added that there were differenees between the PCF and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) on the question of socialist democracy.

Coming in the middle of inner-party discussion preceding the PCF's 22nd congress, held in a Paris suburb last week, this seemingly off-hand remark touched off a furor which has dominated French newspaper headlines for a month. What was the meaning of this change of position, confirmed at the congress? Was it simply a ruse, as *Time* magazine implied? Or did this mean that the "French CP Veers Sharply To the Right," as the Healyite *Bulletin* (10 February) proclaimed in a headline?

Part 1 of 2

Actually, the French Communist Party ceased to be communist decades ago. For the handmaidens of the Kremlin bureaucracy who made up the Stalinized Comintern, their failure to lift a finger to stop Hitler's march to power represented the crossing of the Rubicon, the decisive passing over to the side of the bourgeoisie, comparable in magnitude to the social democrats' support for their "own" capitalist rulers during World War I. The unopposed Nazi triumph, said Leon Trotsky, meant that the Third International was dead as a revolutionary force: a new, Fourth International had to he built

But the formal abandonment of fundamental Marxist principles is not unimportant It brings the PCF's formal program into line with its overtly reformist practice, a step which may open the eyes of revolutionary-minded militants who have not yet broken with Stalinism. And the Stalinists' unambiguous promises to work within the framework of the bourgeois state are both a warning of the lengths to which the pro-capitalist leaders of bourgeois workers parties will go to maintain the rule of the exploiters and an indication of the pressure they feel from inereasing working-class militancy. The wave of class-collaborationist popular-front alliances since the early 1970's is part of the same phenomenon, and the response to it by ostensihly Marxist tendencies is an important test of their ability to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership which is the main obstaele to socialist revolution in the world today.

Dictatorship and "Immorality"

In defending the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as their aim, French Communist Party leaders make much of their commitment to "demoeracy." This was further stressed by the PCF's support for Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch, recently freed hy the Russian authorities (see "Stop Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture in USSR!" *WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976). In December, on the same day the political bureau of the PCF unanimously condemned conditions in Russian prison camps, PCF leader Paul Laurent declared: "From now on we completely assume the principle of alternation of power. That is, we admit that the installation of socialism in France might not be irreversible. We should bow before an unfavorable verdict of the electors" (*L'Express*, 22-28 December 1975).

The issue is not classless "democracy," however, but parliamentary cretinism, bourgeois nationalism and...puritanism. As for democracy, the whole experience of the "debate" over the dictatorship of the proletariat shows how little the leaders of the PCF care ahout democratic norms in their own party. Barely a week after his remark on the "Téléjournal," and before any of the party's *départements* federations had voted on the question, Marchais announced to a press conference that "almost the entire party" was in agreement that the reference to working-class dictatorship must be deleted from the PCF statutes.

The 22nd congress of the French Communist Party. Der Spiegel

After this display of "democracy" by telepathy, the PCF leader went on to raise another issue in the party congress discussion, "immorality" or, to be more specific, pornography. "I am a normal man," said the general secretary. "I like to see a pretty woman, even nude. But I say that pornography is immoral..." (*Le Monde*, 16 January). Not even hothering to back up this bald assertion with scientific arguments, Marchais simply remarked that one day in a cinema an anonymous couple had offered him a chocolate ice cream bar to thank him for declaring that pornographic works are immoral! This bizarre appeal to middle-class morality was ohviously occasioned hy Marchais' effort to broaden the PCF's "voter appeal."

During the three weeks that followed, there were a few flickerings of dissent within the party. In the Moselle distriet, PB member Jean Colpin ran into some difficulty after declaring that "we enrich the Christian heritage in its most positive aspects..." The audience at the federal conference was not convinced One militant replied. "Are you going to throw an anathema on homosexuals or those who masturbate?... The CP is taking on the tahoos set up hy Christian ideology, by the ruling ideology" (*Le Monde*, 20 January). By a vote of 101 to 79, the delegates adopted an amendment striking the passage of the conference document condemning immorality.

Concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, discussion was considerably more restrained, particularly since the PCF tops had made clear they were determined to push through this "deletion" at all costs. In the discussion column of *L'Humanité*, PCF philosopher Etienne Balihar (co-author with Louis Althusser of *Reading Capital*) raised an impassioned plea: "Comrades, do not lightly reject the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Let us, more than ever, be Communists, both in theory and practice!" A group of rank-and-file members put out an oppositional journal, *Le Communiste*, and objected to Marchais' totally anti-democratic procedure of launching the "discussion" outside the party only a few weeks before the congress. But these were only voices in the wilderness.

PCF Congress

The congress, which opened in the Paris "red belt" working-class suburb of Saint Ouen on February 4, stressed the theme of "socialism in French colors." The backdrop was artistically draped with the blue-white-red tricolor for the occasion and the convention document called for not simply the "Union of the Left" (the popular front formed by the PCF, the Socialist Party and the bourgeois Left Radicals in 1972), but "The union of the people of France, [which] is the grouping of all democrats, of all patriots."

In his report, Marchais asserted that the word "'dictatorship' automatically brings to mind the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco.... It is therefore evident that one cannot call what we offer to the working people, to our people, the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'" (*Le Monde*, 5 February). The term was not mentioned in the political bureau's document, and the PCF leader proposed eliminating the party statutes' reference to it at the next congress.

While the general secretary did not bother to defend this "up-to-date" revisionism theoretically, in the discussion central committee member François Billoux attempted to deal with a question which was hothering many serious party militants: if the PCF is no longer in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat, then what has become of the "21 conditions" set by Lenin at the second congress of the Communist International, and which were the political basis for the split of the French Communists from the Socialist Party at the Congress of Tours in 1920? Billoux presented an "explanation" which was breathtaking in its cynicism:

> "It is because we came out for the dictatorship of the proletariat 55 years ago that we can say today that it no longer corresponds to the situation. We are not changing our house."
>
> – *Le Monde*, 7 February

There was no open opposition to

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L Express

Georges Marchais

"deleting" the dictatorship of the proletariat expressed from the floor of the congress, and the political resolution was adopted without controversy. But some of those listed as officially present were less than happy: the "fraternal" delegations, particularly the one from the CPSU, headed by Andrei Kirilenko. None of the foreign delegates were permitted to speak during the proceedings (after all, they aren't part of the people of France!), and the CPSU political bureau member was only allowed to open his mouth at a courtesy meeting in the city hall of another "red" suburb, Nanterre.

Speaking to a sympathetic audience, which thunderously shouted "Long live the Soviet Union!" Kirilenko said nothing about the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and instead focused on the theme of combatting anti-Sovietism. His message was the disingenuous assertion that Soviet Communist Party's several recent public attacks on the treatment of Russian dissidents. (This theme was also raised at the PCF congress in a report from a central committee member, who simply waved aside the usual objection that any criticisms of the USSR will be used by the bourgeoisie.) As a consequence, some issues of *L'Humanité* have reportedly been banned for sale in Moscow, and Marchais will not be travelling to the Soviet capital for an upcoming meeting of European party leaders!

L Express

Russian delegates at the recent French CP congress.

laws "clearly define and guarantee in a sure manner individual rights such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of conscience and religious belief, inviolability of the person and the home" (*Le Monde*, 8-9 February).

The Soviet press similarly reflected irritation over the PCF congress. The section on the dictatorship of the proletariat was deliberately deleted from *Pravda*'s lengthy published text of Marchais' report, for example. But the most sensitive topic for the Kremlin was hardly the rejection of a key element of the Marxist program. Brezhnev is at least as opposed to a proletarian revolution in France as is Marchais.

With the logic of a nationalist bureaucratic caste concerned above all to maintain its own privileged position, the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union were upset mainly by the French independence from Kremlin dictates. Now, however, under the regime of Georges Marchais, the PCF has been moving increasingly close to the Italian party. This realignment was signalled by the signing of a joint PCI-PCF document last November.

"Italianization" of the PCF?

For many years, the French Communist Party had the reputation of the most Moscow-loyal of the mass Stalinist parties outside the Soviet bloc. In contrast, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) was the author, in the late 1950's, of the thesis of "polycentrism" and

The statement described socialism in completely classless terms which could easily have been agreed to by Karl Kautsky and other social democrats:

> "The Italian and French Communists consider that the march to socialism and the construction of a socialist society ... must be realized in the framework of a continuous democratization of economic, social and political life. Socialism constitutes a higher stage of democracy and liberty, democracy carried through to the end."
>
> *Le Monde*, 19 November 1975

The bourgeois parliamentary cretinism implied by this statement was made absolutely explicit with the assertion that "the arrival of the laboring classes at the head of the state" was conceived of only in the framework of "democratic institutions fully representative of popular sovereignty" and "the free exercise of universal suffrage, proportional and direct." The need to *smash* the bourgeois state, the class dictatorship of the capitalists, which Marx said was the chief lesson of the Paris Commune, is totally ignored.

All the talk by West European Communist parties of dropping references to the dictatorship of the proletariat prompted the CPSU last summer to call on one of their kept parrots of Stalinized "orthodoxy," Konstantin Zarodov, the editor of the Moscow-line international journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. In a 6 August *Pravda* article on "Lenin's Strategy and Tactics in Revolutionary Struggle," Zarodov criticized the "majority fetishism" of parliamentarists. In a "personal, not official" interview with the Italian news magazine *L'Espresso* (7 December 1975), another CPSU leader, central committee member Alexei Rumiantsev, was even more explicit.

> "We respect the opinions of the individual Communist parties, but we repeat that the dictatorship of the proletariat is and remains the basic principle which we have in common."

This kind of talk has led professional "Kremlin watchers" such as Victor Zorza to speculate about a supposed "left turn" in the Russian leadership recently. Actually, it is nothing of the kind. For the CPSU leaders, defense of the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" is not an affirmation of a revolutionary will to replace the domination of the bourgeoisie with that of the working class. Still less is it a commitment to *workers democracy*, which for Marx and Lenin was the aim of the proletariat's struggle. Instead, they are defending the continued suppression of soviet liberties for the citizens of the USSR, even after Stalin had falsely announced the attainment of socialism (in 1936) and his heirs proclaimed the Soviet Union to be a "state of the whole people" (in 1961).

In turn, the West European parties, by rejecting the term "dictatorship of the proletariat," are not defending "democracy" but rather capitalist rule. Thus the Union of the Left has agreed to abide by the Gaullist constitution of the Fifth French Republic, probably the most bonapartist of any of the imperialist "democracies," and PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer has committed his party to accepting Italian membership in NATO until there is a simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Pact! Yet there is no difference here with the Soviet bureaucrats. When asked by the *L'Espresso* interviewer whether the CPSU objected to the PCI's strategy of a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, Rumiantsev replied, "I don't see why there should be incompatibility." The bureaucrats commanding the Russian deformed workers state and their counterparts who control the bulk of French and Italian organized labor are in agreement that the West European workers must be bound hand and foot to the class enemy.

TO BE CONTINUED

> **"And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."**
>
> **—Karl Marx, Letter to Wedemeyer, 20 February 1852**

Il Mondo

Enrico Berlinguer

Spain...

(continued from page 1)

again the scene of bloody confrontations with police. When one contingent of marchers was broken up, barricades were thrown up and other contingents regrouped in another section of the city. This continued all day, with the city under a virtual state of siege as police, mounted and in jeeps, tried in vain to fight through heavy traffic as again, thousands of cars jammed the streets. At one point red-and-yellow-striped Catalan flags were draped over a statue commemorating Franco's Civil War victory while hundreds cheered.

The demonstrations, called by the Federation of Neighborhood Associations, were reportedly supported by virtually all sectors of the local population. According to the *New York Times* (9 February), "Bankers and factory workers, office employees and peasants, Communists and conservatives made common cause affirming their Catalan identity...." However, reports in left-wing newspapers emphasized the general democratic, as opposed to regionalist nationalist character of the demonstrations, stressing that the bulk of the more than 70,000 demonstrators on February 1 came from the working-class suburbs of Barcelona, where Castilian-speaking immigrants from the south constitute a heavy majority (*Lotta Continua*, 6 February). The same sources also reported that disputes broke out among the marchers when representatives of the PSUC (United Socialist Party of Catalonia, a section of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE]) attempted to stop demonstrators from resisting the bloody police onslaught.

Toleration for Christian Democrats and Social Democrats

The first Barcelona protest on February 1 came as Spanish Christian Democrats wound up their three-day conference in Madrid, the first open political convention in 36 years. But while the Barcelona neighborhood associations were denied permission to demonstrate, the Christian Democrats simply informed the DGS (government "security" office) of the meeting and there was no police interference. While a contingent of anti-riot police was stationed outside the theater (on the main avenue of Madrid) at the beginning, by the end of the conference the "grey-coats" had been withdrawn, obviously on orders from the minister of the interior.

Although the only legal party remains the Falangist National Movement, and the law of "political association" makes it virtually impossible for any opposition group to operate freely, the death of the bloody dictator brought forth a rapid proliferation of bourgeois political groupings of all shadings, more than 200 at last count.

As during the days of the Spanish Republic in the 1930's, the various conservative bourgeois forces continue to be deeply splintered. Thus the Madrid conference brought together five different Christian Democratic organizations under the name of the "Christian Democratic Group of the Spanish State." This included the Democratic Left (led by Joaquim Ruiz Gimenez), the Popular Democratic Federation (José Maria Gil Robles), the Democratic Union of Valencia, the Democratic Union of Catalonia and the Basque Nationalist Party. Several hundred people attended including a number of foreign Christian Democratic observers.

The outcome of the Madrid meeting was a reaffirmation of the "democratic breakthrough" agreed upon by the two popular fronts, the Junta Democrática (dominated by the PCE) and the Democratic Convergence (led by the Socialists and supported by the Christian Democrats). This policy is essentially to pressure the government rather than to smash it. Ruiz Gimenez said at this meeting, "we are for a democratic breakthrough, which doesn't mean breaking glass, or even less, breaking heads." He proceeded to thank the government for its "tolerance" (*Cambio 16*, 2-8 February).

After a brief period of acquiescence, the government has gone over to a policy of repressing mass mobilizations, combined with selective toleration of conservative and above all anti-communist groups. Thus on February 1 in the Basque city of San Sebastian several thousand demonstrators were met with smoke bombs and police nightsticks. But a few days later a meeting on the Balearic Islands of liberal and reformist opposition groups from Catalan-speaking areas (Catalonia, Valencia and the islands) was de facto approved. The sponsors of the meeting, primarily the popular-front Consell de Forces Politiques de Catalunya, attempting to show their respectability, invited to lunch some inspectors of the secret police (BIS) who had been sent by the government to "observe."

While the government has repeatedly emphasized its fear of "Communist subversion," the Spanish Communist Party, the most right-wing of the West European Stalinist parties, underlined at a public news conference in Madrid on January 28 the non-revolutionary character of the "democratic breakthrough." The spokesman quoted a declaration by the PCE executive committee (*Mundo Obrero*, 14 January 1976) stating that, "This breakthrough will not affect either the armed forces, government officials or the existing social system." The speaker insisted on the party's independence from Moscow.

Stalinists Sabotage Strikes

While the major opposition parties are united on the "breakthrough" policy of pressuring the government, the PCE has a special role to play—keeping the workers from getting "out of line." In addition to the government/employer hard-line refusal to negotiate, it was above all Stalinist sabotage which forced the combative Madrid proletariat back to work at the end of January.

We have already reported how the PCE, seeking to dissipate demands for a general strike against the Francoist regime into local one-day actions ("jornadas de lucha"), went so far as to sabotage its own general strike call in mid-December. The most militant sectors were not so easily manipulated, however, and the coincidence of another scheduled "jornada" in Madrid on January 18 with a metal workers' strike escalated the struggle.

Since then strikes have spread out to the provinces, and at present several tens of thousands of Asturias coal miners have shut down the pits. In Valladolid, FASA-Renault workers walked out on January 26 demanding a cost of living increase and reinstatement of the more than 120 fired militants. But key to the labor situation are the industrial suburbs ringing the capital—particularly Getafe where Standard Eléctrica (owned by ITT) is located and Villaverde (Chrysler)—and the Bajo Llobregat factory district near Barcelona, which was shut down by a two-week general strike of more than 26,000 workers strike in late January.

At Chrysler the company tried to reopen in mid-January but only 500 of the 10,000 workers reported. Despite the absence of any strike fund and the workers' obvious hardships, they voted in the third week of the strike that "not one worker will set foot in the plant until there are guarantees that sanctions will be lifted" (*New York Times*, 16 February). More than 100 workers had been dismissed by management. On January 29, after a Madrid court dismissed charges against four alleged "ringleaders" among the stewards ("jurados") of the state-run "vertical unions" (the CNS), the company agreed to lift all sanctions, rehire the fired workers and raise wages by $76 a month. However, Chrysler workers are now complaining that they were tricked by their leaders into going back, since the court proceedings against militants have not been dropped.

"No Alliances With Class Enemies"

At both Chrysler and Standard Eléctrica, the "workers commissions" are controlled by the PCE. Since last spring, the personnel of these illegal unions has largely overlapped with the "jurados" of the CNS, as a result of reforms to partially democratize the lowest levels of the corporatist syndicates. In December, strikes broke out at both plants despite the lack of leadership from the Stalinists.

At Standard, the biggest private employer in the Madrid area with 12,500 workers, the strike was in its fifth week when the metal industry employers announced they would only negotiate on a plant-by-plant basis. At that point, the head of the "jurados" Adolfo Piñedo (who is also closely associated with the workers commission) declared that "re-establishing unity" with other Madrid workers who had gone back to work earlier could only be done by "taking a step backwards." But in an interview with the liberal news magazine *Cambio 16*, other militants totally disagreed with Piñedo (who in turn denounced them as "ultra-leftists"), arguing that it was the retreat which caused subsequent demoralization. The back-to-work movement began on January 22, and while the "jurados" initially tried to carry out four-hour daily work stoppages, this was later reduced to token slowdowns.

In the Barcelona area, delegates from the workers commissions met on January 25, in the first such regional meeting since the last strike wave in the Bajo Llobregat during April 1975. More than 500 delegates attended, hearing the Stalinist leadership greet the formation of the popular-front Council of Political Forces of Catalonia. However, reporters present wrote that "a large group, more than 100 people, demonstrated their disagreement: they did not want to hear anything of alliances with the 'class enemies'" (*Cambio 16*, 9-15 February). It was also reported that "the large companies of the metal-working sector did not join the strike, despite the breakdown of contract negotiations at SEAT" (one of the largest and most militant factories, where PCE influence is strong). Here also, the strikes were called off at the beginning of February as the Stalinists argued that "an orderly retreat is necessary."

Bogus Reforms

Despite the continuing strikes and massive anti-government demonstrations, Arias says the government will go ahead with "serene determination" toward "Spanish democracy," not giving in to either "impatience" or "resistance," and warning that Spain must avoid "the chaos of neighboring Portugal."

In his speech to the Cortes, the Prime Minister outlined a program for a two-chamber Parliament with a "freely elected" lower house, while the upper chamber will be what is now the corporatist National Council, some of whose members were appointed by Franco for life. Elections have been put off for 15 months from the original March deadline, supposedly allowing the government to enact new election laws.

In every respect, Arias' "reforms" were extremely circumscribed and purposely vague. Although promising a "widening" of the right of assembly and new laws to legalize political parties, the Communist party and "subversives" will still remain illegal. And while prior authorization for public meetings held indoors would no longer be required as long as they were held for "legal ends" authorization for all outdoor rallies would still be needed.

In response to demands to repeal the draconian "anti-terrorist" law enacted last August, the government made only superficial changes, transferring some cases from military courts to civilian ones. However, Arias made the government's true policy crystal clear: "neither those who promote social dissolution, in all forms of anarchism, nor those who threaten the sacred unity of the Fatherland with one or another form of separatism, nor those who aspire with foreign aid and unscrupulous methods to establish totalitarian communism" can hope to obtain liberties. The fact that no significant democratic changes benefitting the working class of Spain will come from the corporatist Cortes and the Francoist government was underlined by the composition of the joint commission which is drawing up these so-called reforms: it is packed with members of the old-guard "bunker."

Jordi Socias

Workers commission meeting in Barcelona.

Democratic Demands and Class Independence

The reformist Spanish Communist Party has been calling for "unity of the democratic opposition" and forming one class-collaborationist popular front after another with bourgeois politicians and parties (first the Pact for Liberty and the Assembly of Catalonia: then the Junta Democrática, the Basque Democratic Assembly, Councils of Political Forces of Catalonia and Galicia, and now proposals to unite the Junta with the Platform of Democratic Convergence). In contrast, revolutionary Trotskyists emphasize that it is *proletarian*, not bourgeois, revolution that must be the aim of the Spanish working class today. Thus our article following the death of Franco was entitled: "Down with the Monarchy—No Popular Fronts! For a Workers Republic in Spain!"

Yet today tens of thousands are demonstrating in the streets of Barcelona for democratic rights and freedoms most of which can be found in the Declaration of the Rights of Man of the French *bourgeois* revolution. What is the attitude of Bolsheviks to such democratic demands?

It is, after all, not surprising that the

Spanish masses should focus on democratic demands at this time. After 37 years under the boot of the Francoist dictatorship, their first cries are for "freedom!" Authentic communists do not dismiss this powerful impulse. Instead they must resolutely lead the struggle for democratic rights and liberties, linking them closely with the class demands of the workers' struggles and constantly explaining that real freedom for the exploited can only be secured through socialist revolution.

There are numerous democratic demands which can be raised by Marxists in Spain today. Thus, while prior censorship of the press has been lifted, even conservative bourgeois newspapers have had numerous issues seized by the police and all socialist papers are still banned. It is necessary to demand an end to censorship and complete *freedom of the press*. There are also reportedly government plans to permit some demonstrations (the press reports that they may be limited to Saturday and Sunday evenings, however). Socialists demand *freedom of assembly*, with no requirement for government authorization!

In the face of widespread strikes and increasingly massive demonstrations, repressive actions by the Francoist regime have actually increased. Rather than assuring the hated "grey coats" that "there is no feeling of revenge" toward them, as does the PCE (*Mundo Obrero*, 14 January), revolutionists must demand the *dissolution of all special militarized police units, spy agencies, political police, etc.* (the DGS, Guardia Civil, Political-Social Brigade [BPS] and others) and the *trial of Franco's torturers by democratically elected people's tribunals*. The *anti-terrorist law must be abolished*, not amended; instead of the "indulto insulto" (insulting pardon) there must be unconditional, *immediate amnesty for all victims of the Francoist terror*. The oppressed nationalities of the Spanish state must have the *right of self-determination*.

Constituent Assembly and a Transitional Program

The working class must also demand *complete freedom of association and of political parties*, without exception. A major conflict with the regime may be sparked by its determination not to permit the legalization of the PCE. Another key demand is for *trade-union freedom from state control*; not the democratization of the corporatist syndicates, as a sector of the PCE leadership reportedly wants, but their destruction. This must be accompanied by the unhindered *right to strike*, and the *immediate rehiring of all fired militants*.

To fully accomplish these partial demands, the regime itself must be brought down. Unlike the PCE, which writes that "the democratic breakthrough can be accomplished with a simple decree annulling the institutions and laws which currently hinder the exercise of civil rights," or renegades from Trotskyism like the French OCI, which calls for a "Republic in Spain," the Spartacist tendency defends the communist perspective of working-class action to overthrow the Francoist dictatorship.

However, faced with Arias Navarro's nervous attempts to put off elections for a parliament until the Greek calends perhaps in 1977 or the year after, with a corporatist upper house, with all "communists" banned from the ballot, etc. —revolutionary socialists raise the demands for *immediate, democratic elections for a constituent assembly*.

Such a demand is not a substitute for the necessary call for soviets and the overthrow of the entire capitalist state, and must not be linked to a reformist "stagist" conception in which the first stage is a bourgeois republic. If, as occurred in Russia, soviet power is achieved before a constituent assembly meets, then Marxists would demand that the assembly either recognize the revolutionary workers government or be dissolved. Democratic demands are subordinate to the needs of socialist revolution.

Nonetheless, a powerful struggle against the Francoist dictatorship could develop around the demand for a constituent assembly. It would be foolish sectarianism for socialists to stand apart from a fight to smash bonapartist absolutism. Our task, rather, is to deepen that struggle into a fight to smash capitalism.

This requires the joining of democratic demands with transitional demands which go beyond the limits of capitalism. The workers' answer to unemployment and inflation must be to fight for a *sliding scale of wages and hours*. In the course of strike struggles, such as at Chrysler and Standard-ITT, revolutionists must call for democratically elected *strike* and *factory committees*, and work toward the formation of local, regional and national *workers assemblies* to establish dual power. Instead of a bourgeois "Army, surrounded by national respect and support" (PCE declaration), Marxists call for *workers defense guards and militias*.

These demands, in their totality, constitute the essentials of the indispensable transitional *program* which offers the only road forward for the working people of Spain. The victorious struggle for this program requires above all the construction of a Spanish Trotskyist party, built in the battle to reforge the Fourth International, to lead these struggles forward to a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula, as part of a united socialist states of Europe! ■

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

The Fight to Implement Busing

For Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Attacks and to Smash Fascist Threats

Price: 75c

Order from/pay to: Spartacus Youth Publishing Co Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York NY 10013

Free Hernán Cuentas!

Hernán Cuentas, general secretary of the miners' federation of Cuajone, a district in southern Peru, has been arrested along with other leaders of the union. The detentions began last December and have been met by massive protest actions, demonstrations and work stoppages in the region.

As well as being the leader of a union he helped organize in one of the key sectors of U.S. investment in Peru, Cuentas is a leader of the POMR (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) and a member of the International Bureau of the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International," led by the French OCI. Along with Ricardo Napuri, he was a founder of the POMR in 1971.

Informations Ouvrieres

Hernán Cuentas

In April 1972, the miners at Southern Peru Company in Cuajone struck against the firing of 700 workers. They marched on the provincial capital of Arequipa, where they convinced local workers to call a general strike. In May 1973 the miners struck again against threatened firings. This time the government, using pretexts supplied by Stalinist leaders of the CTRP labor federation, arrested and immediately deported Cuentas (*Revolución Proletaria*, January 1976). In the same period, the demagogic nationalist regime of General Velasco Alvarado arrested other ostensible Trotskyists, including members of the Liga Comunista (affiliated with the Healyite "International Committee"), and deported Napuri, Hugo Blanco and countless others (see "End the Witchhunt in Peru," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973).

After the fall of Velasco last August, Cuentas, along with many other exiles, returned to Peru. According to the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (15-22 January 1976), he was greeted by a massive spontaneous outpouring of mine workers when he arrived in Cuajone. When a miners' delegation went to the new president, Morales Bermudez, to demand that Cuentas be rehired, they were reportedly greeted with the ultimatum: "Choose between me and Cuentas!" Soon afterwards, the union leader was arrested as part of a repressive campaign aimed at militant miners in the region. The arrested labor leaders are reportedly being held at a prison camp in the jungle region of Amazonas.

In keeping with our policy of class-struggle defense, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee call for the immediate release of Hernán Cuentas and all the victimized Peruvian militants. There is additional urgency in this case, for Cuentas—unlike well-known former guerrillaists such as Hector Bejar and the erstwhile Pabloist leader Ismael Frias—did not capitulate to the "anti-imperialist" pretensions of the Velasco/Morales regimes and has been jailed for his working-class opposition.

The savage repression in Cuajone is aimed at breaking the back of the workers' resistance to exploitation by the U.S. imperialists. This traditionally militant sector of the Peruvian working class must be defended! Free Hernán Cuentas! ■

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17 February 1976

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MPLA Offers Deal to South Africa

FEBRUARY 17—United Press International reported yesterday that three Johannesburg newspapers, the *Rand Daily Mail*, *Transvaaler* and *Beeld*, announced the imminent opening of peace negotiations between white-supremacist South Africa and the Soviet-backed regime of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). In light of the severe press censorship during the Angolan war, and particularly of the *Transvaaler*'s close relations with the regime of Balthazar Vorster, these reports represent an authoritative confirmation, despite official government silence, that the path is open to a deal between Luanda and Pretoria.

According to the dispatch, Johannesburg papers said that the danger of major military confrontation between the 5,500 South African troops entrenched in Angola and MPLA forces was "receding." The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that Vorster will insist on several conditions "including guarantees for South African property" before withdrawing the troops from a 30-mile-wide strip of southern Angola that they occupy. The soldiers patrol the $185 million Calueque hydroelectric dam and supervise four camps containing 11,000 war refugees.

An earlier UPI dispatch (15 February) cited an article in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* that "Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller said that the government was studying the 'interesting' offer by his Angolan counterpart, José Eduardo Dos Santos, that the Marxists [sic] would acknowledge South African interests in Angola in exchange for recognition from the South African government."

The Ivory Coast and Mozambique have reportedly acted as intermediaries for the exchange of peace feelers since the South African troops pulled out of the fighting several weeks ago. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* wrote that "South African troops could pull out of Angola within days."

Faced with thousands of highly trained and well-equipped South African troops massed on both sides of the Southwest Africa Angolan border, the MPLA has gone beyond simple military caution to indicate its willingness, like other nationalist formations, to buy security for its own weak bourgeois regime at the direct expense of anti-imperialist struggles next door. The immediate question is whether the "guarantee" of South African interests will extend to sealing Angola's 400-mile-long border with Pretoria's Southwest Africa colony.

For years, anti-apartheid guerrilla fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) have used southern Angola as a staging area for operations against South Africa. Now MPLA-head Agostinho Neto was quoted by the Yugoslav news agency Tanyug as having said that he had "no intention of interfering directly in Southwest Africa" (*New York Times*, 15 February). As the price of a settlement, Neto may also stop MPLA aid and refuge to SWAPO guerrillas, just as Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda (once widely hailed as an "anti-imperialist") has closed the Rhodesian border to the Zimbabwe African National Union and arrested several hundred ZANU militants in order to achieve "détente" with the racist regimes south of the Zambezi.

South Africa is rattling its sabres over the Angolan border issue and making its position crystal clear for the People's Movement. UPI reported today from Johannesburg a public threat by defense minister Piet Botha to "respond more sharply than in any previous encounters with Marxist forces in Angola if a new confrontation occurs in Southwest Africa." Botha has backed up these threats with a massive troop call-up and by bolstering his forces inside Southwest Africa. With the buffer of white-dominated territories which separated South Africa from the rest of the continent until last year now gone, and Vorster's plans for an arc of secure black client statelets surrounding a white supremacist *laager* still a pipedream, the apartheid regime is demanding at a minimum that the regime in Luanda accept Pretoria's control over mineral-rich Southwest Africa.

While extending feelers to Pretoria, Neto is also mending fences with neighboring Zambia, the major African backer of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and with the United States. According to syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, the Luanda government forwarded a secret message to Henry Kissinger via an aide to Senator John Tunney. The message (in the form of answers by top MPLA leaders to questions posed by Tunney's aide) includes the following exchange:

> "Q What is the position of the MPLA on the presence of Soviet and Cuban troops and military advisers in Angola?
>
> "A. We have no desire for a permanent Soviet or Cuban presence. When the other foreign forces withdraw, so too will the Soviets and Cubans.
>
> "Q. Will the MPLA...allow the Soviet Union the use of air and naval facilities in Angola?
>
> "A. You may assure your government that we will never permit the establishment of any foreign bases on Angola soil, air or naval, including those of the Soviet Union. This is superpower business, and we want none of it."
>
> —*New York Post*, 17 February

South African armored car. Prensa Latina

In addition, Luanda's prime minister Lopo do Nascimento told Western newsmen that rather than a government takeover of the lucrative Cabinda oil fields, "It is up to Gulf to come back as quickly as possible" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 8 February).

While eagerly accepting Moscow's support in its struggle against rival nationalist groups and against the U.S.-South Africa axis, the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA aims at constructing a *capitalist* Angola. The aspiring bourgeoisie fully intends to benefit from the country's vast oil, diamond and mineral resources. If the Soviet and Cuban forces prove an impediment to imperialist investment, Neto will turn on his benefactors just as quickly as did Egypt's Anwar Sadat.

As the diplomatic jockeying proceeds apace, the hardest line has been maintained by the U.S., Zaïre and "People's China." Ford and Kissinger may soon write off Angola as a loss in an arena of secondary importance to the American bourgeoisie, especially as the MPLA is missing no opportunity to prove that it will be as reliable an agent of imperialism as its rivals.

China and the number one U.S. lackey in Africa, Zaïre, verbally continue their conspiracy to put anti-communist tribal butcher Holden Roberto, head of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) in power. A UPI dispatch from Hong Kong on 15 February reported the presence of a high-level Zaïrean delegation in Peking. At a banquet in their honor, Chinese foreign minister Chiao Kuan-hua declared that "The Zaïre government has upheld justice and strongly condemned and opposed the aggression and interference of Soviet social-imperialism."

He pledged to support Mobuto, a major recipient of CIA funds, in his "just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism." While racist South Africa continues to have at least 5,500 troops in southern Angola, Chiao brazenly reasserted that the USSR "is the most dangerous enemy of the Angolan people and other African people." According to UPI, diplomatic analysts said that Chinese aid will undoubtedly include military aid on a major scale.

However, the FNLA is now finished as a military force: São Salvador, the last FNLA-held town, was taken on Monday. In the south, even with CIA aid, it is doubtful that UNITA can mount much of a guerrilla operation. Nevertheless, the shameless Maoist bureaucrats continue to flatter Mobutu's irredentist designs and ingratiate themselves with perhaps the most reactionary regime in black Africa.

The Stalinists and mindless "Third World" enthusiasts who led the cheers for the MPLA would do well to carefully follow the unfolding deal in southern Africa. While calling for *military victory* of the Soviet-backed MPLA and Cuban forces against the imperialist-led coalition, the Spartacist League gave no political support to the repressive, strikebreaking MPLA regime in Luanda. We have repeatedly noted that the MPLA has sought to and could reach a *modus vivendi* with U.S. imperialism and its ally, South Africa. Now such a deal is being openly discussed in Luanda, Pretoria and Washington. Only an independent workers party, linked to the powerful South African black proletariat can liberate the worker and peasant masses of Angola. ■

Chinese military advisors with FNLA soldiers. Soldier of Fortune

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Butcher Shah Executes Political Prisoners

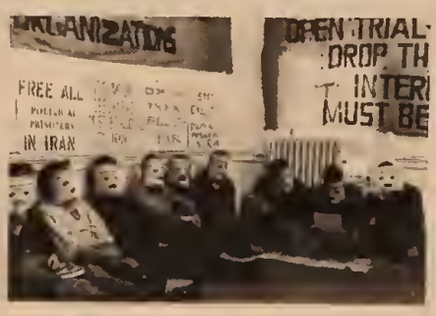
On January 23 a firing squad riddled with bullets nine political prisoners accused of murder, sabotage, bombing, armed robbery and attempting to overthrow Iran's Shah Riza Pahlevi and his Throne of Blood. After months of hideous torture by the Iranian gestapo (the SAVAK) and a star-chamber "trial" before a military tribunal, these alleged members of the clandestine radical-Islamic Mojahedin Khalgh group had been convicted on charges of assassinating five Iranian officials and three U.S. military advisors. Such U.S. military agents are responsible for training the SAVAK storm-troopers and the Iranian "counterinsurgency" forces currently attempting to liquidate PFLO guerrillas in Oman.

A tenth convicted "terrorist" was sentenced to 15 years solitary confinement, which often is fatal in the dungeons of this barbarous police state. Today more than 40,000 political prisoners languish in Iranian jails, victims of the Shah's "white revolution."

In January the World Confederation of Iranian Students conducted hunger strikes across the U.S. and in Europe demanding annulment of the death sentences and new trials for the ten prisoners. The Spartacist League solidarized with the outrage expressed by the Iranian students' protests and the Partisan Defense Committee sent telegrams to the Iranian government demanding immediate release of the endangered militants. However, we also point out that hunger strikes are not an effective means of protest and that the hunger strikers' incredible failure to demand freedom for the doomed prisoners actually expresses confidence in the possibility of obtaining justice from the murderous Shah. What is needed is a massive campaign of international political protest and militant labor action in defense of the class-war prisoners in Iran.

—Free All Victims of the Shah's White Terror!

—Crush the Shah and His Reign of Terror Through Proletarian Revolution in Iran!



WV Photo

Racists Riot . . .

(continued from page 12)

to the claims of reactionary demagogues to speak for "the little man" pushed around by big government liberals. The anti-busing forces shamelessly play on this theme even though the white, racist cops clearly direct the brunt of their force whenever possible at defenseless black students.

In response to this new outbreak of racist attacks, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid

Boston Globe/Bill Ryerson

Police rout racists with tear gas.

issued a mealy-mouthed "Call to Action" whose only answer was...yet another liberal protest rally:

> "This racist mobilization must be met by a countermobilization of the Black community and its allies.... We need rallies, meetings and demonstrations to cut through the news blackout and get out the truth."
>
> —*Militant*, 20 February

This kind of pacifist drivel only emboldens the lynch mobs! The SWP's model is the demonstration called last May 17 by their front group, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), and the NAACP. "That demonstration," says the candidates' statement, "dealt a blow to the racists." In fact, the anti-busing forces were so little affected that the very next day 3,000 of them rallied against the desegregation plan.

At the May 17 rally, NSCAR honcho Maceo Dixon put forward the "maximum demand" of the liberals and reformists: calling on arch busing foe Gerald Ford to send the U.S. Army, imperialism's mailed fist, into Boston. The Army demonstrated the way it "protects" oppressed minorities by its brutal siege at Wounded Knee in 1974 and the occupation of Detroit in 1967.

The cynical charlatans of the SWP have fought at every turn against the Spartacist League's proposals for the mobilization of the trade unions and black organizations in integrated defense guards to stop racist attacks. The class traitors have no answer: they can only try to rerun their toothless marches led by bourgeois politicians like Atkins and the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus.

Reliance on the liberals and the 82d Airborne Division is not the road to black liberation: at best it ties the oppressed masses to the racist, capitalist state; it could also lead to a massacre of defenseless black people by the same forces the SWP appeals to today. By struggling for independent labor/black defense against the racist mobs, it is the Spartacist League that has warned the working masses that they can only rely on their own strength to win their emancipation. This vital lesson, one of the most fundamental principles of Marxism, is the conclusion of hundreds of years of struggles by the exploited and oppressed. ■

Boston Layoffs . . .

(continued from page 12)

though he has indicated that he will now go along with layoffs, just as he approved the School Committee's efforts to break last September's Boston Teachers Union (BTU) strike.

BTU Leaders Crawl to Garrity

McDonough's attack on Garrity is no isolated incident. The *Boston Globe* reported on January 8 that White's public statements on the fiscal crunch "emphasized the costs related to the Federal school desegregation order, which has become a common rallying point of sorts for the different political factions involved."

This slimy political maneuver only inflames an already dangerous situation and uses the anti-busing movement as a club against the BTU. Instead of lowering class sizes and providing some of the "quality education" that they always jabber about, the racist, anti-working-class politicians react to declining student enrollment (due to "white flight") with plans for mass unemployment of teachers and aides.

The BTU leadership has been just as craven and dishonest as the AFSCME and SEIU bureaucrats. The contract which the Robinson leadership rammed down the members' throats last fall offered no protection against the layoffs of transitional aides or provisional and temporary teachers. The all-white business unionists who run the BTU have scant concern for this younger, more militant layer which contains a significant concentration of black members. Just as Botelho crawls to the City Council, Robinson crawls to Judge Garrity. In a typical display of cowering parochialism, the BTU bureaucrats allowed a member's motion for a February 19 demonstration at City Hall to pass only after they had amended out the date. Their excuse was a conflicting engagement in Garrity's court. The real reason was their fear that even a lash-up with the token SEIU demonstration would provide a dangerous precedent of labor unity.

With the mounting evidence that Boston's union tops intend to capitulate without a serious fight, just like their fellow sell-out artists in New York, city workers must demand that their leaders prepare for a city-wide strike to stop the layoffs. The victory of the Massachusetts Alliance (AFSCME and SEIU) in last fall's municipal representation elections shows that Boston workers want a real union with the power to defend themselves.

Only the broadest labor solidarity, not only among the municipal unions but also with the state unions under attack by liberal governor Michael Dukakis, can beat back the capitalist politicians' austerity program. The economic class struggle must be extended onto the political plane by building an independent workers party based on the trade unions. The pro-capitalist bureaucrats, who are the greatest obstacle to working-class unity against the bosses, must be dumped and replaced by a class-struggle leadership committed to the expropriation of capitalist property and to a workers government. ■

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LOS ANGELES

Indian Militants . . .

(continued from page 5)

the Menominees from local racists.

The militant "tribalism" of the Menominee Warriors Society leads to a blind alley. While restoration of tribal rights may result in some immediate relief for the Menominees, socialists fight against the illusion that the interests of Indians can be served by segregation on reservations, outside the mainstream of American society and in a condition of economic stagnation and continual dependence on government relief. The worship of the past which permeates the leadership of the Warriors Society led it to demand, for example, re-establishment of the males' previously dominant role in the tribe.

At a January 1975 support rally in Gresham, a speaker from the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) pointed out that occupations such as the ones at Alcatraz, Wounded Knee and the novitiate were powerless to secure jobs, education and health facilities; the publicity they attract coming at the expense of almost inevitable casualties and possible massacres inflicted by the vastly superior armed forces of the capitalist state. Nevertheless, the SYL speaker emphasized, these occupations are desperate acts of self-defense by an oppressed minority, and once undertaken they must be defended against reprisals by the state and racists.

The SYL spokesman called for a struggle for free quality health and educational facilities for all, to unify the working masses and oppressed Indians against a common enemy, capitalism. Only a socialist society can meet the needs of the oppressed Menominees and permit their voluntary assimilation into a larger economic system on a basis of social equality (see *Young Spartacus*, February 1975).

Events of the last year, culminating in the brutal killing of Waubanascum and Pamanet, tragically reaffirm the SYL's warnings. Material conditions in Menominee County have not improved, cop terror has been stepped up and surviving leaders of the Warriors Society face long and expensive court battles and possible years in prison.

At this point, funds for the legal defense of the remaining defendants are urgently needed. Contributions can be sent to the Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, P.O. Box 431, Keshena, WI 54135. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racists Riot in South Boston

FEBRUARY 16—Four hundred racist anti-busing marchers battled with police in front of South Boston High School for two hours yesterday.

The fight started when the cops stopped a so-called "Fathers March" (most of the anti-busing protests have been predominantly composed of women) on a steep hill near the school. When the racists were not allowed to hold a rally on the building's steps, they threw cherry-bomb firecrackers, frightening the horses of the mounted police. Stones, chunks of concrete, lead pipes and even tear gas cannisters were hurled at the police, who drove motorcycles into the crowd and used night-sticks and their own tear gas to force the frenzied marchers down side streets.

The whole incident was a deliberate racist provocation, reportedly organized by the South Boston Marshals, an anti-busing vigilante group, "to let the media and the nation know that the men stand firmly beside their women." It was led by local politicians and a group carrying a large white and blue "Wallace for President" banner. Marshals reportedly used walkie-talkies to warn one another of police movements and to coordinate the confrontation (*Boston Globe*, 16 February).

This full-scale riot was part of a wave of racist terror that has rocked Boston in recent weeks. Last Thursday night, a meeting of about 100 black and white parents of children in the city-wide "magnet" schools was broken up by some 200 jeering anti-busing demonstrators. The racists broke into the English High School auditorium where the meeting was going on, smashed furniture and threw papers around.

Earlier, on January 21 Hyde Park High School, which had been generally peaceful since the busing program began in the fall of 1974, erupted in a wild melee in which hundreds of black and white students threw chairs at one another and battled up and down school corridors. The fighting broke out after several hundred black students staged a sit-in in the cafeteria to press grievances over unfair disciplinary treatment.

The co-chairman of the Hyde Park High faculty senate responded to the violence with a demand that 100 uniformed police be "stationed inside the building (to) participate with faculty in corridor sweeps between all periods." As recent court hearings clearly documented, racist cops inside the schools treat black students with arbitrary violence while ignoring numerous provocations and attacks by whites.

A number of white students also demanded a greater police presence in the school as well as a stronger disciplinary code. At a Boston School Committee hearing, the students admitted that their demands were drawn up at a meeting of the Hyde Park Information Center, which is affiliated with the anti-busing ROAR organization.

Black students are not demanding more cops inside the school but rather the assignment of aides reflecting the racial composition of the student body and a nondiscriminatory disciplinary system, "planned by parents representing all ethnic groups" (*Boston Globe*, 23 January).

Boston Globe/Ulrike Welsch

Racists charge police in South Boston last Sunday.

On the same day that Hyde Park High School blew up, several hundred white students at East Boston High School refused to enter classes as a protest against the planned conversion of the school into a magnet school that will draw an integrated student body from throughout the city. (This year East Boston is exempted from the busing program, and the high school is currently 96 percent white.) The students overturned several cars and then marched to the Sumner Tunnel linking East Boston with the rest of the city where they attempted to block the entrance before being dispersed.

Since "Phase Two" of the court-ordered busing program was initiated last fall, a massive force of state and local police, bolstered by federal marshals, has maintained a tenuous peace in the schools, periodically ruptured by violent outbursts of racist violence. *WV* has consistently pointed out that the armed forces of the racist bourgeois state will not protect black people.

At best they can clamp a lid for a limited period on the simmering racial antagonisms caused by competition for a declining pool of jobs, decent housing and educational opportunities. The police presence even adds ammunition

continued on page 11

Protest City Worker, Teacher Layoffs in Boston

BOSTON, February 16—Wielding the threat of a city budget deficit of $33 million, Boston's double-talking mayor Kevin White has joined hands with the violently racist School Committee in a savage attack on municipal employees. On January 29, White unveiled an austerity program which will cut social services and throw at least 615 city workers onto the streets. Two days earlier, Moody's Investors Service provided an indication of the "sink or swim" attitude of the capitalist financiers by lowering the rating of Boston municipal bonds, which were already considered less than safe.

On February 10 the School Committee, which administers its own budget, submitted a proposal to close four schools and axe 1,100 of its employees (220 temporary teachers, 300 transitional aides and 600 bus monitors) on March 1. Not satisfied with this drastic measure, White has demanded that up to 600 full-time teaching positions be cut. Although he has not yet approved all the details, liberal judge Arthur Garrity, who oversees the school desegregation program, has given his blessing to the politicos' job-slashing binge.

Instead of seriously preparing for city-wide strike action, municipal union bureaucrats have responded to this across-the-board attack with bluster and bluff. To let the outraged membership blow off steam, Service Employees (SEIU) Local 285 leaders called for a February 19 protest march on City Hall. As the *Boston Globe* (31 January) noted, Local 285 president Tom Kennedy in announcing the demonstration "stopped just short of threatening a strike."

This week Michael Botelho, area director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) upped the ante slightly with a warning that "If the rule of reason fails, there will be a strike or a work stoppage in Boston." In the next breath, he made it crystal clear that the threatened strike would only be "for one day, or two, whatever"—i.e., little more than a disguised protest rally (*Boston Globe*, 13 February).

A clear indication of the bureaucrats' real intentions is the willingness of Kennedy and Botelho to cooperate with a desperate scheme concocted by White. The mayor wants to pour $20 million in city workers' retirement funds into municipal bonds, an investment at which the bourgeoisie turns up its nose. A similar swindle was put over last year on New York City's hard-hit workforce after a few ritual peeps from the union bureaucrats.

Crocodile Tears and Race War

While the labor fakers talk tough to impress the ranks, unscrupulous city politicians attempt to deflect the just anger of city workers with crocodile tears and invitations to race war. At the February 12 Ways and Means Committee hearing, City Council president Louise Day Hicks and others bemoaned the fact that 25 administrators in the Health and Hospitals Department were getting pay raises while 60 department employees were being fired. Of course, Hicks never mentioned the fact, recalled by reporter Gary McMillan, that "The council has no power to stop the layoffs since they are the result of a budget already approved by the council" (*Boston Globe*, 13 February).

At a time when a new upsurge of racist mobilizations is tearing the city apart and endangering the rights and the very lives of black people, White & Co. try to blame Boston's financial crisis on busing. This year's School Committee budget accounts for nearly two thirds of the projected city-wide deficit. The reason is not that $20 million was spent for gasoline and bus maintenance. Actually, Garrity's orders, which included some limited educational innovations and hiring more black employees in the school department, have to a certain degree shielded Boston's public schools from the massive cutbacks and layoffs advocated by city big-wigs.

School Committee chairman John McDonough has called Garrity "the real culprit." The liberal judge, hated by the racists because of his desegregation plan, is a convenient scapegoat even

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 98 27 February 1976

Republicans' Austerity vs. Humphrey's Phony "New Deal"

Capitalist Politicians Can't Solve Unemployment

WV Photo

Boston's municipal workers demonstrating against cutbacks and layoffs on February 19.

FEBRUARY 24—Last week the Senate failed to override President Ford's veto of a $6.2 billion public works measure which purportedly would have created some 600,000 jobs. Although this is well under 10 percent of the more than 7 million persons officially listed as unemployed, the administration maintains that even these few additional jobs would dangerously "overheat" the economy. With economic issues dominating the presidential election campaign, Ford is running for re-election on a program calling for an unemployment rate of no less than 7.7 percent this year!

Attributing the present depression conditions to four decades of liberal "big government" and ever-mounting federal deficits, Ford's proposed budget for fiscal 1977 amounts to a 3 percent *reduction* (after allowing for inflation) of government spending, the cuts being concentrated in social welfare programs. His 1976 Council of Economic Advisors Report likewise sees the main danger as "a very rapid return to full capacity" (*New York Times*, 27 January 1976).

On the other hand, Hubert Humphrey, who despite his current hard-to-get posture is one of the leading Democratic presidential candidates, is gearing up to run against Herbert Hoover. Rereading Franklin D. Roosevelt's collected speeches, Humphrey has submitted to Congress a Full Employment and Equal Opportunities Act (the Hawkins-Humphrey bill) which calls for 3 percent unemployment within 18 months after passage, through a public works program. Hoping to exploit popular disillusionment with the "free enterprise" system, Humphrey is even calling for national economic planning (without government coercion, of course) in the Balanced Growth and Economic Planning bill.

Meanwhile, the AFL-CIO leadership has made the defeat of Ford a top priority. Accusing the president of being "without compassion for the little people," labor federation chief George Meany leans toward Humphrey as the preferred Democrat. At a recent meeting, the AFL-CIO executive council adopted a statement calling for a full-employment program and Meany referred positively to Humphrey's proposals (*New York Times*, 17 February). Thus in the 1976 elections, held amidst the worst economic conditions in decades, American working people once again will be offered a choice between liberal full-employment demagogy and fiscal conservatism, with its anti-inflation promises.

Fraud of Bourgeois Full-Employment Legislation

The proposition that the state should guarantee work for all who want it has a long history as a bourgeois populist program. Such proposals were prominent in the U.S. during Roosevelt's New Deal, for instance. However, depression conditions continued until the very eve of U.S. entry into World War II.

Faced with considerable working-class radicalization at the end of the war and widespread fear of a new depression ("the reconversion crisis"), the Truman administration was pressured into passing a full-employment law. This was the Employment Act of 1946, whose key passage states:

> "The Congress hereby declares that it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the federal government to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and obligations... to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

Since the United States has suffered four recessions and now a full-scale depression since 1946, it is not surprising that few Americans even know the Employment Act exists. Ford makes no pretense of adhering to it; in fact, he openly repudiates it. His Council of Economic Advisors projects about 7 percent unemployment on New Year's Day 1977, only running down to 5 percent in *1980*! For those who take bourgeois economic legislation seriously—the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or Communist Party (CP), for example—Ford could be impeached for his open refusal to comply with the Employment Act of 1946.

From the standpoint of bourgeois law, Humphrey's new Full Employment bill is duplicative and wholly unnecessary; the law on the books says it all. Nat Goldfinger, head of the AFL-CIO Research Department, gave the show away in the liberal magazine *Challenge* (November-December 1975):

> "I think that the Employment Act of 1946 probably provides the kind of

continued on page 10

CORE: Black Mercenaries for Henry Kissinger

NYT Pictures/Ingeborg Lippman

CORE's Roy Innis with Jonas Savimbi in Angola recently.

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Letters

British I.S., WSL: Join Speed-Up Committees?

London
16 February 1976

Dear comrades,

In *Workers Vanguard* No. 90 [2 January] you mention and attack British I.S. [International Socialists] for running candidates for worker's participation committees. The source of this story appears to be the *Socialist Press*, organ of the WSL [Workers Socialist League].

The I.S. position and that of the Workers League, which recently split from I.S., is somewhat different. They believe that participation in such committees should be avoided and I.S. members and shop stewards would strongly urge a vote against such participation. If such a vote was lost however (not a totally improbable event in the present period when the class is in retreat), then, rather than allowing a parallel *elected* body to be set up in the factory, a course of action with all sorts of dangers, stewards should stand for it. The alternative seems to me to be abstentionist and I have always thought that the SL sometimes tended in this direction. However I note that you do not take this position under all circumstances and I think you may have been rather misled by the WSL who reported what was said alright but not all that was said.

Of course if the comrades in the WSL can win the workers in their shop to a policy of non-participation that is excellent but it is not, alas, always possible. The WSL of all people should realise this after the appalling campaign of capitalist press slander launched against them and the consequent loss by comrade Thornett of an important position in the trades union movement.

Yours fraternally,
Ted C.

WV replies: The writer's objection to our opposition to participation on Joint Management Councils set up under the Ryder Plan seems to have little to do with the sources of our information. There is a clear political difference here on whether or not participation by workers' representatives on committees wholly dominated by management, committees whose purpose and effect is solely to promote collaboration in productivity schemes, is consistent with a revolutionary Trotskyist, class-struggle program.

The letter does not dispute any of the facts about the participation committees mentioned in the *WV* article: for instance, that the workers' representatives are in a minority; that management retains all decision-making rights; that the committees have the expressed goal of "more efficient production." It affirms the accuracy of the report we quoted from the WSL's *Socialist Press* (26 November 1975), that supporters of the International Socialists advocated participation on these committees at an I.S.-backed car workers meeting in November, reserving only that the *Socialist Press* article did not report "all that was said." For its part, the British I.S. doesn't even go this far, having failed to respond at all in its weekly newspaper, *Socialist Worker*, to the WSL's report of its position. We can only assume that there is no disagreement on the nature of the committees or on the behavior of I.S. supporters in the plants.

Given this much agreement on the facts, it is difficult to imagine how we have been "misled." It is true, as the correspondent notes, that we do not oppose participation by workers representatives on all bodies that include management (since this may be necessary for negotiations, for instance); but we do oppose participation in the sort of committees under discussion. This is not an "abstentionist" position. The Ryder Plan committees are not an arena for the class struggle; they are a transmission belt for management. Their goal is to secure the unions' consent to job-cutting speed-up "rationalization" schemes; the workers can *only* lose by participating. It is not "abstentionist" to insist on the independence of the workers movement from the bourgeoisie and its state!

In defense of the International Socialists' position, the writer affirms that participation is necessary if the workers vote to accept the Ryder Plan, "not a totally improbable event in the present period when the class is in retreat." Yet last spring when the question of Joint Management Councils was not yet current, (except at Leyland's for which the Ryder Report was first drawn up), the *Socialist Worker* (3 May 1975) expressed a position closer to ours:

> "The aim of this whole operation is spelt out simply in the Report. It is to produce bigger profits from the workers....
> "Leyland workers must refuse to bear the cost of solving the firm's problems, for which they are not to blame. *No participation by any stewards in any bodies that discuss how to increase the company's profits* at the expense of the workers."

Despite this formal position, the I.S.-backed *Leyland Worker* came out for participation and the same position was affirmed at the I.S.-backed car workers meeting in November. Was the working class on an offensive last May, only to go into "retreat" a few weeks later? Or is it rather that the I.S., which perpetually "retreats" (capitulates) before the present consciousness of the workers, is seeking to cover its tracks by cynically refusing to defend the actions of its own supporters?

Under extreme conditions, if all independent mass labor organizations are smashed and there are no other possibilities of maintaining contact with the workers, Bolsheviks must be prepared even to clandestinely participate in such state- and employer-controlled organizations as the corporatist "syndicates" in fascist Italy. But the situation in Britain is manifestly far different. Rather the employers are attempting to sap the will of a powerful labor movement, and for this they need the cooperation of reformists such as the Labour Party "lefts" and the Communist Party (which sees the Ryder Plan committees as "a step toward workers control"), and key trade-union shop stewards.

The reformists gladly accept their role, lending legitimacy to the bosses' attacks, and spreading illusions in the ability of the workers to reform capitalism through class collaboration. Revolutionists must not also lend their authority to this game, but must base their struggle against these false leaders on an uncompromising fight for independent mobilization of the workers: for workers control and the expropriation of industry, linked to the struggle for working-class seizure of state power.

China's Aid to "Third World" Reactionaries

Chicago
13 February 1976

Comrades:

The two-part series titled "Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal" [*WV* Nos. 94 and 95, 30 January and 6 February] trenchantly cuts through the Maoist bureaucracy's hypocritical claims to "anti-imperialism" and lays bare the causes of the present crisis in the world Maoist movement. Yet in correctly emphasizing the qualitative increase in U.S.-China cooperation, particularly in the field of military operations, during the current Angolan war, the article makes a comparison that could be misleading. Before Angola, it states, "China's support to the reactionary butchers of the 'Third World' was diplomatic in character."

It will be recalled that in addition to profuse declarations of political and diplomatic support, the Maoist regime rewarded the Ceylonese butcher Bandaranaike for her suppression of the 1971 JVP uprising with an interest-free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange currency, as well as promises of military and other material aid. Similarly, Mao & Co. not only effusively supported Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan's genocidal assault on Bangla Desh, they gave him weapons with which to carry it out: $300 million in military aid, including 100 tanks and 60 MIG-19 jet fighters.

Sandor Jonas

International Women's Day: Forward in Proletarian Solidarity!

FORUMS

AMHERST
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 10 at 7:30 p.m.
Place to Be Announced

ANN ARBOR
Women, Class and Culture
HELEN CANTOR
SL Central Committee
March 4 at 7:30 p.m.
Michigan University
General Assembly Room

BERKELEY
Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 13 at 7:30 p.m.
Unitas House
2700 Bancroft Way
CHILD CARE AVAILABLE
Not Sponsored by Unitas House

BOSTON
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 8 at 7:30 p.m.
Place to Be Announced

CLEVELAND
Marxism vs. Feminism—Which Road for Women's Liberation?
March 6 at 8 p.m.
Place to Be Announced

DETROIT
Women, Class and Culture
HELEN CANTOR
SL Central Committee
March 4 at 1 p.m.
Wayne State University
261 Student Center Building

LOS ANGELES
Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 4 at 8 p.m.
The Haymarket
715 South Parkview

NEW YORK
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
KAY BLANCHARD
SL Women's Commission
Editorial Board,
Women & Revolution
March 6 at 7:30 p.m.
Columbia University
Ferris Booth Hall
Schiff Room (216)

PHILADELPHIA
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 17 at 11:30 a.m.
Room 309
Student Activities Center
Temple University

SAN FRANCISCO
Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 6 at 7 p.m.
Buchanan YMCA
1530 Buchanan at Geary
CHILD CARE AVAILABLE

ACWA

STONY BROOK
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
KAY BLANCHARD
SL Women's Commission
Editorial Board,
Women & Revolution
State University of New York at Stony Brook,
Time and Place to Be Announced

"Reforming" the CIA

FEBRUARY 23—All the capitalist politicians want a more effieient CIA. They can do without such blunders as the failure to warn of the 1968 Tet offensive or the April 1974 Portuguese coup. They are upset about the crate-loads of dollars delivered to Italian politicians with little visible effect, exeept perhaps for villas multiplying around Rome. They are even mildly piqued by the wild liquor bills run up by CIA station chiefs and the inordinate number of Cadillacs and color TV sets doled out in such unlikely places as Laos. But most of all, they are sick and tired of having their spy agency repeatedly getting caught, its "dirty trieks" constantly being laundered in public.

The squabbling between various Congressional committees and the Ford administration is not about limiting the CIA but about precisely how to make it more efficient. With nearly daily press exposures of U.S. government spying, torture, assassination and the like, the liberal legislative investigators propose to streamline the imperialist Murder, Inc. "under the control of Congress"—to sharpen the wolf's fangs and then dress it in the sheep's clothing of a sanitized information-gathering agency.

But last week Gerald Ford announeed *his* "reform" plan for the CIA, and it turned out to be a wolf in wolf's clothing. There was no attempt to disguise his purpose. Ford would deal with damaging disclosures not by stopping the murderous practices uncovered, but by making their exposure illegal. After a year and a half of Congressional investigations, the "post-Watergate" president has come out for legalizing the various atrocities already revealed and locking up anyone who dares to tell more.

With all the talk about inadequate "Congressional oversight," Ford's plan allows even less than the token "oversight" that presently exists. Moreover, none of the CIA's machinations are to be officially proscribed except for "assassination of a Foreign official in peaeetime" (*New York Times*, 19 February). This will hardly stop the imperialist hit-men, who will simply cease keeping records. But when all the smoke around "reforming" the CIA clears, Ford and Kissinger hope that an "official secrets act" will emerge. The administration plan provides harsh penalties for "leakers":

> "I am proposing legislation to impose criminal and civil sanctions on those who are authorized access to intelligence secrets and who willfully and wrongfully reveal this information."

Pretending to exempt newspaper reporters, publishers and others to whom the material might be leaked, the "reform" would have the opposite effeet. Reporters could he ealled before grand juries and forced to supply their sources or else go to jail. Authors like ex-CIA agents Victor Marchetti and Phillip Agee who have written books which embarrassed "the Company" could not only find their exposés censored, but themselves behind bars as well.

Of course, Ford assured the television audienees that "questionable activities" could still be reported, but only "to the proper authorities." Anyone who goes this route does so at his own risk, which could be as great as that of any gullible "foreign leader" who dismisses his bodyguards on the basis of Ford's proclamation.

Alon Reininger/Pledge

Henry Kissinger with Daniel Moynihan.

The "Pike Papers"

Certainly an "appropriate authority" is not the *Village Voice*, which for two weeks running has published the "Pike Papers"—large sections of the report of Representative Otis Pike's House Committee on Intelligence which was suppressed by a Congressional vote on January 29. Published under the banner headline, "The Report On the CIA That President Ford Doesn't Want You to Read," there are few new revelations, most of them having already been leaked to the press in smaller drops.

In addition to the millions of dollars pumped into Italy to influence the 1972 elections, a standard practice since 1948, it is confirmed that large chunks went to General Micelli, former head of the SID (Italian seeret poliee), who was indicted in 1974 for involvement in a fascist plot to overthrow the Christian Democratic-Socialist government in 1970. Now it is revealed that even the Vatican was bugged. "Well-informed officials" exeuse this indiscretion by remarking that they couldn't avoid eavesdropping on the Pope, since the rest of the Rome telephone network is routinely monitored!

The report further confirmed a vast network of domestie spying, singling out the case of the respectable, reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Pike's committee gave the SWP a clean bill of health: "a highly law-abiding group." Nevertheless, "FBI Internal Security investigators committed a massive manpower allocation to interviewing landlords, employers, fellow employees, and family relations of SWP members. The FBI also maintained intensive surveillance of most, if not all, of the SWP's 2500 members."

And the SWP by no means got the worst that the U.S. seeret poliee was dishing out. The entire left has been victimized by the FBI and CIA, with the most vicious attacks reserved for "black extremist" groups. The Black Panther Party was not only under eonstant surveillance, but its leaders were subjected to a campaign of arrest on trumped-up charges aimed at keeping them out of aetion, and several were killed due to the work of infiltrated government informers and provoeateurs.

More Bang for the Buck

The 21-page excerpt from the Pike committee report (*Village Voice*, 16 February) makes clear that the motivation of the investigators was in no way to undermine the fundamental purpose of the CIA—to act as the covert military arm of U.S. imperialism—but only to improve its performance:

> "It is one thing to conclude that tens of billions of intelligence dollars have been spent, and sometimes misspent, over the past few years.
> "The important issues are whether this spending sufficiently meets our needs, whether Americans have received their money's worth, and whether non-monetary costs sometimes outweigh benefits."

In this spirit the report examines outstanding U.S. intelligence failures like the Tet offensive, the 1973 Israel-Arab war, the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, the 1974 Cyprus blow-up and Portugal. In no ease do the investigators indicate that the CIA ought not to intervene in such events, only that it should do so better.

The committee also examined Angola, but found "the U.S. opposition to the MPLA puzzling in view of [CIA] director Colby's statement to the Committee that there are scant ideological differences among the three factions, all of whom are nationalists above all else." The answer to this puzzle was contained in a footnote to the report, directly quoting testimony by Colby:

> "MR. ASPIN. And why are the Chinese backing the moderate group?
> "MR. COLBY. Because the Soviets are backing the MPLA is the simplest answer.
> "MR ASPIN. It sounds like that is why we are doing it.
> "MR. COLBY. It is."

Although the report as published really contained nothing new, the administration and the CIA have gone on the warpath against "security leaks." CBS newsman Daniel Schorr admitted he was the source of the *Village Voice*'s eopy of the report, and was immediately threatened with a contempt of Congress citation by CIA toady Representative Stratton. "Liberal" CBS has responded to a move to have Schorr's Congressional press credentials lifted not by defending its newsman but by jumping on the save-the-CIA bandwagon, imposing on Schorr an indefinite suspension. The government is not likely to get away with much more than a campaign of harassment, but the attack is intended to have a "chilling effect" on newsmen who are considering revealing such embarrassing material. Socialists have an interest in beating back the attacks on Schorr and Ford's proposal for an official secrets act. Both are attempts by the imperial presidency to gag the press.

What the government itself is willing to reveal, even to "proper authorities" like official Congressional investigators, was shown by the extensive "sanitizing" job done on documents submitted to the Pike committee. Whole documents were submitted blank except for seribbles or code words at the top of some pages.

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Letter to the SWP

23 February 1976

Comrades of the Socialist Workers Party:

You are certainly aware that on Saturday, February 28th, the Workers League is sponsoring a forum "How the GPU Killed Trotsky" at Tishman Auditorium, New York University, 40 Washington Square South at 8:00 pm. This meeting is the first in a nation-wide series on the same subject. There is no question that the WL's main purpose is to use these forums as a platform from which to propagate the scurrilous and totally unfounded charges that Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leading members of your organization, functioned as "accomplices" of the GPU in the events surrounding Trotsky's assassination.

As a rule the WL excludes its political critics from these "public" events, a practice which is a violation of the norms of workers democracy and one which we note you have adopted vis a vis the WL at a recent forum in New York City. The unprincipled nature of the Healyite charges does not excuse an equally unprincipled exclusion on your part.

The Spartacist League plans to hold a picket line demonstration which will center on protesting the Healyites' despicable slanders against Hansen and Novack. We are inviting you to participate with, of course, your own banners, slogans and propaganda. It would indeed be unfortunate if the WL were able to purvey these infamous charges to the audience at Tishman Auditorium with no visible response by the Socialist Workers Party. Certainly Trotsky, who put so much effort into refuting the Moscow Trials slanders, would not remain silent on such an occasion. We will begin the demonstration in front of the auditorium at 7:30 p.m. Saturday, February 28th. Please communicate your answer to this invitation to us by calling our New York local, (212) 925-5665.

Comradely,
Ed Clarkson
For the New York Spartacist League

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Free the SASO Nine!

Witchhunt Trials in South Africa

During February and March more than 30 South Africans, predominantly blacks, are being brought to trial on political charges by the racist Pretoria regime. Coinciding with the ignominious defeat of U.S./South African-backed forces in Angola, these trials are part of a concerted campaign to foster war frenzy and a witchhunt atmosphere enabling the government to step up the already suffocating repression of black protest.

The first of six scheduled trials involves nine members of the South African Students Organization (SASO). The students—seven blacks and two Indians—have been held in jail for over a year and a half on frame-up charges under the sweeping Terrorism Act. They face a minimum prison term of five years and a maximum sentence of

Sanapic

Rubin Hare, former vice president of SASO.

death if the government is able to get a conviction.

The Terrorism Act, passed in 1967 and made retroactive to 1962, is an all-purpose police-state measure outlawing virtually every kind of anti-racist protest and making such "crimes" as embarrassing the government punishable by death. Other activities which have been deemed a threat to the state under this act range from taking karate lessons to boycotting the local grocer, or writing a UN agency to request financial assistance for a "non-white" community. The Terrorism Act also "authorises indefinite incommunicado detention under conditions determined by the Commissioner of Police" (*Star* [Johannesburg], 14 November 1974). No charges need be brought against detainees under this draconian law, nor do the accused have a right to legal counsel.

"Get SASO"

The principal charges against the SASO Nine are conspiring to bring about a violent revolutionary change in South Africa, and encouraging racial hostility. The first accusation is simply of attempting to realize the just desires of the non-white majority to be free from racial oppression. The second is grotesquely ironic coming from the white supremacist regime whose apartheid ("separate development") laws are the most blatantly racist in the world. Other charges concern writings and speeches over a two-year period which, according to the prosecutor, could or did encourage resistance to the government.

The arrests stem from pro-FRELIMO demonstrations held by SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC) in several South African cities in late 1974. (FRELIMO had recently attained independence in neighboring Mozambique.) Justice Minister Kruger banned the rallies, but SASO and the BPC went ahead anyway, with 1,000 students attending the demonstration at the University of the North and 5,000 in Durban.

Police acted quickly and brutally to break up the demonstrations. In Durban, demonstrators were trapped in a dead-end and vicious police dogs turned loose. Cops swooped in and arrested many on the spot. Others were subsequently picked up while seeking medical treatment at hospitals. Still others were seized at the offices of SASO, the BPC, the Theatre Council of Natal and the Black Allied Workers Union. Within a month, at least 120 members and supporters of black groups were arrested; some were charged and convicted, a few were "banned" (to tribal "homelands" or "Bantustans"), only one was acquitted and a few were released without charge.

More than 40 were held under the General Laws Amendment Act, which allows the police to detain people without charge for a maximum of 14 days. After the initial deadline passed, they were then held under the more elastic Terrorism Act. When charges were finally brought, 18 were accused of violating the Riotous Assemblies Act and released on bail; another 13 fell under the terms of the Terrorism Act. The latter group, nearly all of whom were leaders of SASO and the BPC, was held for a month before even their names were released.

"We Are Determined on Liberation"

By the time the trial resumed early this month in Pretoria, the 13 had been reduced to the SASO Nine. Earlier sessions had been marked by the defiant courage of the prisoners and the utter mockery of democratic rights by the racist authorities. At the initial hearings, after four months in solitary confinement, the defendants entered the courtroom with clenched fists raised and singing:

> "We do not care even if they arrest us, we are determined on liberation; this burden is heavy, it demands unity."

Meanwhile, the predominantly black spectators had been filmed and at one point, after joining in the SASO freedom chant, they were locked in the courtroom and forced to give their names to the police.

In addition to these intimidating procedures, illegal even under South African laws, the judge has refused to allow questioning of security police on allegations of torture during interrogation. Relatives and friends of the accused have been harassed by police seeking incriminating testimony. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (8 February 1976) reports that even though the government has not yet outlawed SASO and related youth, cultural and trade-union movements, "their ranks have been decimated by banning, imprisonment, flights into exile, and a couple of unexplained murders."

The "evidence" presented against the SASO Nine by the state consists of roughly 100 pages of speeches, poems, resolutions calling for the withdrawal of IBM and Coca Cola from South Africa, etc. One item is a magazine article declaring, "Hitler is not dead, he is likely to be found in Pretoria." Another is a play which the prosecution claims portrayed the Sharpeville massacre as "deliberate mass murder by whites." The state's main witness is a political science lecturer from an Afrikaans university who has interpreted this documentation as "psychological preparation for warfare," an attempt to isolate South Africa economically and diplomatically, and encouraging "black consciousness."

WV Photo

February 21 demonstration in New York in support of imprisoned SASO militants.

Witchhunt and War Psychosis

The SASO Nine trial is part of a broader witchhunt by the ultra-reactionary Nationalist Party government. Last November, a Durban University lecturer, Raymond Suttner, was convicted of distributing documents of the Communist Party and African National Congress (ANC). In December, the exiled Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach was sentenced to nine years imprisonment on charges of encouraging co-conspirators in forging documents, setting up an illegal radio station, training in secret methods of communications and similar fabrications. Among those arrested in connection with the latter case, Karel Tip, until recently president of the (white) National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), was released and subsequently rearrested along with three other NUSAS leaders under the Suppression of Communism Act (*Africa*, February 1976).

In addition, on February 16 six members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) were slated to go on trial, charged with violations of the Terrorism Act. Then on March 1 seven youths will come to trial in Johannesburg under the catch-all law. Soon afterwards it will be the turn of three black trade-unionists from Durban: Harold Nxasana, Judson Khuzwayo and Harry Ngwala. Khuzwayo, a former member of the ANC, was already arrested in 1960 and spent ten years in the Robben Island prison; Nxsana, also a former ANC member and organizer of the textile workers union, was imprisoned for several years and then banned; Ngwala earlier spent eight years on Robben Island. As part of this ruthless clamp-down on all serious opposition, Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster has announced that a "McCarthy-type" permanent Internal Security Commission will be established during the next parliamentary session.

Sanapic

Karel Tip (right), former president of NUSAS.

In the midst of this wave of political repression, the government has been whipping up war hysteria by portraying the MPLA victory in Angola as signifying an imminent Russian/Cuban attack on South Africa. General Webster, head of the South African "Defense Force," has warned that "South Africans, like the Israelis, must get used to the idea of living for some years in a war situation" (*Jeune Afrique*, 20 February 1976). To back up these prophecies there has been an extensive call-up of army reserves and daily war propaganda in the press.

Paralleling the witchhunting "Sabotage and Communism" trials which followed the bloody 1960 Sharpeville massacre, the current round of political trials is preparation for a generalized crackdown on all opponents of apartheid. It is the urgent obligation of black, labor and socialist militants and organizations throughout the world to protest these vicious frame-up trials. Free the SASO Nine, the six SWAPO and four NUSAS defendants and all victims of apartheid repression—Drop the bogus charges immediately! Smash the Terrorism Act, Suppression of Communism Act, Riotous Assemblies Act and other police-state laws! Stop the witchhunt!

For further information contact: SASO 9 Defence Fund, P.O. Box 467, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025; or phone (212) 678-3361, ext. 96. ■

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Détente in the National Lawyers Guild

The 35th Convention of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) was held in Houston over the February 13-16 weekend. Many of the participants had anticipated a sharp battle between pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Guild supporters (reflecting the shooting war in Angola, where the forces backed by these political tendencies peered at each other through rifle sights). But after months of preparatory disputes, the "political debate" fizzled as Brezhnevites, Maoists and "independents" alike combined to submerge their squabbles to preserve the hallowed "unity of the Guild."

The collective ritual dance of reconciliation was not accomplished without some difficulty. The NLG, which prides itself on being "the legal arm of the movement," was confronted by questions which have dominated and divided "the movement" for the past fifteen years: the Sino-Soviet split and the class character of the USSR and China. International questions therefore dominated the convention agenda, with six times more plenary time devoted to Angola than to legal defense work. But those among the 500 participants who expected the supporters of the hostile Stalinist groups to really lock horns instead witnessed a political discussion that more resembled the mating of butterflies.

In our recent article ("Identity Crisis in the National Lawyers Guild," *WV* No. 96, 13 February), we characterized the NLG as a petty-bourgeois radical milieu rather than an organized force on the left. To preserve that milieu the Guild convention carefully avoided sharp political struggle. A milieu reflects a "unity" of sorts, even if only social, and to decide not to resolve political questions and differences is itself a political choice.

What Anti-Imperialism?

Prior to the convention, the NLG Maoists had been aggressively pushing a revision of the Guild Constitution's preamble in order to clarify the NLG's position by incorporating an "anti-imperialist" self-characterization. But the revision is itself ambiguous. To supporters of the Brezhnevite Communist Party (CP), "anti-imperialism" means "peaceful coexistence" and "détente" with U.S. imperialism. This interpretation demands opposition only to the "most reactionary, warmongering, anti-Soviet" representatives of the "monopolists," like the "Senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson.

The Maoist Stalinists, however, have used "anti-imperialism" as a code word to mean opposition to the "main enemy," i.e., "Soviet social-imperialism." In pursuit of this policy alliances are made with U.S. imperialism, and especially its most reactionary, warmongering, anti-Soviet representatives—like Peking's feted guest, Henry Jackson. As it turned out, the convention voted overwhelmingly not to change the preamble. This was a victory for the CP, whose politics generally dominated the international discussion and therefore the political orientation of the Guild.

The pro-Moscow Stalinists scored another victory in the dispute over last year's Havana Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico. Last fall, Guild president Doron Weinberg went to the Havana Conference as head of a U.S. delegation mandated to avoid "tying this struggle to the politics of international détente." But by the time the conference was over the delegation, including Weinberg, had endorsed a "General Declaration of the International Conference" which praised "the international process of détente."

Weinberg explained to the Guild convention that, "In fact, failure to endorse the document would have meant failure to participate in one concrete expression of support for the Puerto Rican struggle which the conference was called upon to make. We felt that this would be a sectarian, divisive act." Apparently the Maoists were caught up in the same spirit of détente, for after finding themselves badly outnumbered in the workshops, supporters of the October League (OL) quietly "disappeared" a resolution they had submitted criticizing the Guild's participation in the Havana Conference.

"Unity" Against Trotskyism

More of the same was provided at a panel presented by the International Committee of the NLG, consisting of three speakers defending, respectively, the foreign policies of the Soviet Union, China and "non-aligned third world" countries. This polite debate between the Soviet "social fascists" and the Maoist "splitters" culminated in its own little détente as each pledged they could work together in the Guild.

The Stalinists also managed to get together to suppress a spokesman for the Spartacist League (SL), who was ruled out of order for attempting to present his views. (As in a catechism class, only questions were entertained by the chair.) The attempt to gag the SL speaker was so grossly bureaucratic that the panelist representing the "non-aligned" nations protested it at a subsequent session devoted to "criticism/self-criticism."

On Angola, it was once again the Communist Party supporters who won out. The Guild rejected the Maoist-backed resolution calling on the Guild to "condemn all foreign interference or intervention into the affairs of the Angolan people" and adopted a declaration that the Russian-backed MPLA is fighting for "peace, democracy and socialism."

At the international workshop, the SL spokesman noted that condemnation of "foreign interference" was simply a cover for U.S. imperialism's line in Angola. But, he went on, nobody should be taken in by the MPLA's pretenses to "socialism." Détente is a sham, and Angola is only the dress rehearsal for the larger conflicts between the U.S. and USSR, in which the historic gains of both the Russian and Chinese revolutions will be at stake. These gains can be defended only by Sino-Soviet Communist unity against imperialism, which requires the ouster of the narrow nationalist bureaucracies in both Moscow and Peking through proletarian political revolutions.

It is only the relative military standoff between the U.S. and USSR which permits both Moscow and Peking to court U.S. imperialism—and which permits Brezhnevites and Maoists to cohabit the same organization.

OL a Paper Tiger

In the rhetorical passion play which permeated the international discussions, the casting was the supporters of the Maoist October League as the prodigal son returned and the Brezhnevite Communist Party as the old patriarch. The OL's campaign against "Soviet social-imperialism" not only flopped with regard to the Havana Conference and the international resolutions, but it felt forced to reject its own "sectarian and divisive behavior within the Guild."

The OL had geared up for Houston by circulating a "secret" letter criticizing CP influence in the NLG and launching a "secret anti-imperialist caucus." But there are no secrets in a coffee klatch.

By Friday evening it was clear to the OL supporters that there was to be no "mass democracy" against the CP. So that evening the OL called an open "speak bitterness" self-criticism meeting in which it denounced itself. OL spokesman Sandy Karp, who had issued the "secret letter," announced that the statements in it were not his views or the views of his party (whose views were they?). Karp said he, for one, did not endorse the letter's assertion that *Guild Notes* reads like the CP's *Daily World*; the letter was "sectarian" and had "misconstrued" what had happened at the Havana Conference.

Confronted with their unpopularity, OL supporters were in such disarray that in the plenary discussion of preamble revision they opposed their own "anti-imperialist" proposal and merely called for more discussion!

This squabble in the family of Stalinism shows how easily the more experienced and influential reformists of the CP can defeat the reformists of the Maoist sects. The latter are unable to distinguish themselves programmatically except by a foreign policy stance which they share with Henry Kissinger. So the Maoists fall all over themselves demonstrating that they are not "sectarian" and "Guild unity" keeps the CP as big daddy of the NLG.

There is also a large component in the Guild of anti-communist liberalism, which at times is sympathetic to certain aspects of Stalinism—hostility to Trotskyism, hostility to open political debate, fondness for class collaboration—while remaining hostile to the CP itself (and to the Maoist organizations). For example, in the recent past, the NLG has refused to work with the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression (NAARPR) because of the latter's association with the CP even where such work is principled, as around the Wilmington 10.

"Legal Arm"...of the NLRB

For all the rhetorical heat generated around international disagreements, the Guild demonstrated a considerable "unity" where its work actually intersects the labor movement. Despite some differences over who represents the real threat to "progressive peoples" in Angola, Puerto Rico, Portugal and the like, the various Stalinist and New Left lawyers could all agree on one point: keeping the capitalist state out of the union movement is not a question of principle.

The NLG supports court suits against the unions. In this simple but definitive test it is clear why the discussion of international issues remains so superficial. The Guild was born as a creature of Stalinist/Rooseveltian New Deal class collaboration and has never broken from that tradition of betrayal.

Much of Guild activity is centered on court suits against unions in the areas of discrimination and union democracy. The Partisan Defense Committee—the anti-sectarian, class-struggle legal defense organization whose policies are in accordance with the views of the Spartacist League—submitted a resolution to an open meeting of the Labor Executive Committee (LEC) of the Labor Project calling on the NLG to uphold "the principle of union independence from government intervention...that the NLG actively support the struggle to abolish all anti-labor legislation and that it direct its work towards the defense of workers and the oppressed from bourgeois attack." Virtually the entire workshop voted against this motion.

The LEC open meeting refused to repudiate an even more shameless and

continued on page 8

Resolution of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union

Boycott Military Goods to South Africa in Defense of the SASO 9!

The following motion was ruled out of order by the NMU bureaucrats at the February 23 membership meeting in the port of New York, on the grounds that it would violate the union's contract with the maritime companies:

Whereas, the SASO 9 are victims of South Africa's vicious apartheid policies, and

Whereas, it is in the interests of the labor movement to smash all instances of racial oppression, therefore be it

Resolved that:

1) the NMU take a strong position in defense of the SASO 9 and all other victims of the South African regime's repression, and

2) that the NMU initiate a boycott of military shipments to South Africa, seeking the support of the ILA and the rest of the AFL-CIO.

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CORE: Black Mercenaries for Henry Kissinger

UPI

CORE mercenaries "training" in Virginia.

The widely publicized plan of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to recruit black American veterans to serve as mercenary soldiers with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) has provoked a torrent of denunciation from black newspapers, politicians and organizations. Despite CORE national director Roy Innis' bombastic claim to have already recruited 300 (and to be "screening" 1,000 more) to "assist anti-Communist forces there as combat medics" (*New York Times*, 11 February), the project is a total fiasco. Particularly following the rout of UNITA forces in the last three weeks, CORE-recruited black mercenaries will not have the slightest impact on the Angolan struggle. Innis' bizarre plan to raise a pro-imperialist black professional army may, however, deal an irreparable blow to CORE's already tarnished image as a militant Pan-Africanist group.

The 21 February issue of the New York *Amsterdam News*, for example, contains no less than three separate articles and two letters criticizing CORE's flamboyant affiliation to the cause of the imperialist-backed UNITA. A front-page article describes a letter from black New York Congressman Charles Rangel to the U.S. attorney general demanding an investigation of Innis' "public flaunting" of a law prohibiting U.S. residents from serving in foreign armies.

Another item reports a press conference called by a number of black nationalist organizations, which issued a joint statement applauding the decision by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to accept the Luanda regime of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as its forty-seventh member nation. The statement condemned the recruitment of American blacks "to fight in collaboration with the C.I.A., imperialist UNITA, FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola], racist South Africa and other white mercenaries."

An open letter from black historian John Henrik Clarke reminds Innis that "I have supported you as a nationalist when I understood the kind of nationalism you were proposing." Clarke declares that there is "no condition under which you could justify being on the side supported by South Africa and the United States. I do not see Blacks going to Africa to maintain a capitalist system that was built on their slave labor and which is still the major exploiter of Black people throughout the world." A letter signed by the Washington chapter of Blacks Against U.S. Interference in Angola labels Innis "the worst opportunist in the history of our people."

Earlier, Innis was forced to withdraw from a February 12 speaking engagement in San Francisco after a black press conference threatened to organize a demonstration against him. At the press conference, which also included Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party, Wilfred Ussery (national chairman of CORE from 1969-1972) said Innis had led the organization into the hands of "imperialist forces which keep a large portion of the globe enslaved."

Newspaper publisher Carlton Goodlett bemoaned the evolution of CORE, "an organization that was once in the vanguard of the fight for black liberation," and bluntly stated "I think he's being paid by the CIA" (*Los Angeles Times*, 13 February).

On the CIA Payroll?

Innis has repeatedly denied any link with the CIA, yet the accusations and rumors stubbornly persist. CORE already has an unsavory reputation for its ties with the Ford Foundation. For his platform in San Francisco, Innis chose the World Affairs Council, a reactionary group of wealthy businessmen whose president formerly headed the CIA-funded Asia Foundation.

According to the *Washington Post* (12 December 1975), "U.S. intelligence sources, who revealed the existence of the CORE recruiting plan, said it was another part of a growing Central Intelligence operation to improve the military fortunes of two anti-Communist liberation movements in Angola." However, according to the article, Innis said he would not take CIA money because the spy agency "can't be trusted." He also maintained that the "medics" which CORE was recruiting would be an "objective and neutral force, a peace brigade" helping the OAU reconcile the warring sides!

If the CIA is behind the CORE Angola operation, it must rank among the shoddiest and most ill-planned projects ever funded. Since the press leaked the story two months ago, there has been no evidence that a single CORE-recruited mercenary has arrived in Angola. A Baltimore reporter who infiltrated a mercenary training camp run by CORE's "Veterans Opportunity Project" characterizes the operation as "a sham." He describes the 18 men at the camp (in a national park at Manassas, Virginia) as "a ragtag army in clothes that varied from fatigues to a velvet pimp coat." "In fact," wrote the reporter, "each of us was required to buy a $10.55 red beret before we could join." When he arrived, the group

> "had been training in the woods for two days and nights. It had been fed once a breakfast for the benefit of television cameras. For two days, there had been no drinking water. And although one of our men was running a high fever, we did not have even bandages, let alone a complete first aid kit."
>
> —*Baltimore Sun*, 15 February

Two days later the paper reported that CORE had fired its main instructor: "The main source of friction was CORE's inability to provide food or supplies for its troops or explain when and how much its recruits would be paid."

This motley band appears to be all there is of Innis' force of "black patriots" whom he bragged would "chop up" the MPLA's Cuban units and "put the fear of God in Castro" (*Newsweek*, 9 February). Perhaps more plausible than the CIA secret army theory is that Innis is staging a desperate publicity stunt to alert the ruling class that he is ready for any and all assignments, however dirty, as long as CORE gets its share of the booty. The prospect that CORE will ship 300 black soldiers to Angola is even less likely than the chance that UNITA will be able to sustain the protracted guerrilla war it has declared against the victorious MPLA forces.

Garveyism, 1976

In addition to a bid for more government funding to buoy up the financially wracked "black capitalist" outfit, CORE's mercenary caper has aspects of an updated Garveyite "Back to Africa" hustle. In recent years, Innis has claimed Marcus Garvey (along with Kwame Nkrumah) as his inspiration. Thus, while continuing to cultivate his local business investments, the CORE leader has blown a lot of hot air about various emigrationist and dual-citizenship schemes for American blacks.

In 1973, while running a public relations campaign for Uganda's murderous dictator Idi Amin, Innis announced plans to send hundreds of black American technicians to take the place of white-collar Indian workers who were brutally expelled from the country after Amin seized power in 1971. Amin was made a life member of CORE, and returned the favor by granting Ugandan citizenship to Innis and members of his staff.

The Angola mercenary operation's immediate genesis was apparently a proposal made last year for the development of an OAU military force. CORE staffer Solomon Goodrich hailed the idea, adding that CORE members "under our inestimable leader, Roy Innis, are overjoyed at the progress Africa is making both politically and economically and at the small push we have given this great movement" (*CORE Magazine*, Summer 1975). In December, Innis described his recruits as "operating under an OAU mandate."

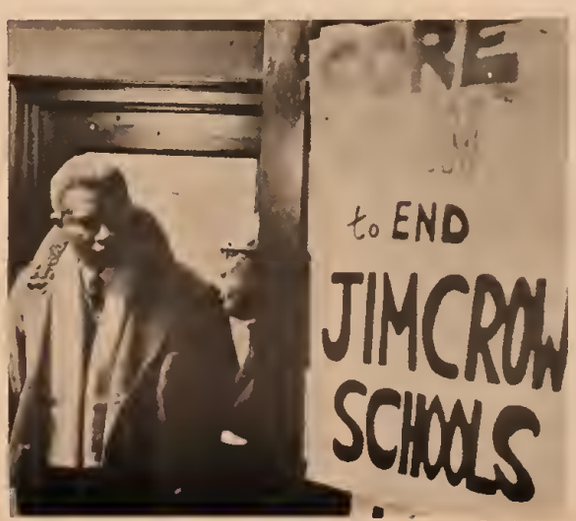
Innis' effort to cultivate publicity as a militant U.S. Pan-Africanist recruiting for the cause of African unity quickly backfired. The deadlock at the January OAU conference revealed the complete disunity among the continent's competing bourgeois regimes. The alliance of UNITA and the FNLA with the U.S., South Africa and right-wing Portuguese colons shattered the political credibility of these groups in Pan-Africanist circles. And the MPLA's battlefield victories smashed UNITA's hopes of playing a leading role in a coalition government.

Undoubtedly most galling for Innis is a February 11 statement by the OAU United Nations office which "strongly denounces the reported recruiting by Roy Innis and his covert mentors of so-called combat medics to go fight a battle which is happily ending." The statement labeling CORE as "anti-African" and "reactionary" could spell the end of the honeymoon between Innis and OAU chairman Amin, who quickly dumped his official neutrality on Angola when he saw which way the tide was turning. Without the OAU franchise, Innis is practically useless as a ruling-class front man in the ghetto.

The Birth of CORE

The resignation of James Farmer, founding CORE member and its national director from 1961 to 1965, in protest against Innis' policy is a reminder that CORE was not always an isolated and discredited right-wing nationalist sect. Before the Ford Foundation first began pouring money into the organization in 1967, CORE had a 25-year history of militant struggle for racial equality and had been a focal point for much of the radical ferment within the black liberation movement. The rise of CORE, its evolution into a black nationalist grouping following the widespread disillusionment with liberal reformism among young blacks, and its subsequent reconciliation with the bourgeois "establishment" are a history in microcosm of the black movement as a whole.

CORE was founded in Chicago in 1942 by a small interracial group of pacifists from religious and social-democratic backgrounds. In its campaigns against discrimination in jobs, housing, education and public accommodations during the 1940's, CORE pioneered many of the non-violent tactics that were later adopted on a mass



Bob Adelman

CORE slogan during the early 1960's. At 1972 Black Political Convention Innis introduced resolution condemning racial integration of schools.

scale by the Southern student movement.

Like the black students of the 1960's, CORE's founders were skeptical of the strictly legalistic approach of the NAACP and National Urban League. In its relations with A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement (MOWM), CORE in its infancy displayed some of the same contradictions that marked the organization at its zenith. On the one hand, the members favored cooperation with an aggressive and massive attack on segregation despite liberals' moans that they were sabotaging the "national interest" in World War II. On the other hand, the group acquiesced to MOWM's all-black composition on two grounds: "Southern negroes would not follow northern interracial leadership, and admitting whites into the MOWM meant risking a repetition of Randolph's experience as president of the National Negro Congress, where Communists had seized control" (August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement*, 1973).

The "Communists" in this case were not the pro-war Stalinist Communist Party (CP), which was busy breaking strikes and denouncing Randolph as a fascist agent, but the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In that period the SWP was still a revolutionary Trotskyist party and defended the Randolph movement out of a principled orientation to continuing the class struggle, including the fight for racial equality, in the midst of the bourgeoisie's imperialist war. The CORE leadership continuously sought to purge radicals who were attracted to the organization because of its militancy, and only anti-Communist social democrats had a secure niche within the group.

In contrast to its later policies, CORE at its inception had a pro-labor orientation and consciously adopted the "sit-down" tactic from the massive wave of plant occupations during the 1930's. Following the bloody Detroit race riot of 1943, CORE members attempted with some success to draw black auto workers into a campaign to desegregate restaurants around the plants.

After the war the CORE leadership again fought to insulate the growing organization from groups to the left of the social-democrats. Executive secretary George Houser repeatedly warned the Chicago chapter to exclude Trotskyists because they advocated self-defense of the picket lines. In the strictly federated organization, however, Houser lacked the power to do anything more than threaten and cajole the dissident Chicago chapter (which in this period swelled to 500 members).

In 1947 CORE co-sponsored the first "freedom ride" with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the pacifist group that financed much of the civil rights organization's early activities. The interracial group of sixteen men included Houser, Bayard Rustin (today head of the right-wing Social Democrats U.S.A.), radical black attorney Conrad Lynn, black journalist William Worthy and two functionaries of the Socialist Party's Workers Defense League.

The McCarthyite repression took a severe toll of the civil rights group; the decline was hastened by its cowardly policy of capitulating to the witchhunt. A San Francisco group was denied affiliation in 1949 because of "Trotskyist infiltration." A "Statement on Communism" drafted in 1948 "deplored" the "Red Scare" but declared that "CORE should make clear its own solid organizational reasons for excluding revolutionary Marxists."

The fight came to a head at the 1954 convention when Wallace Nelson, a left-wing anarcho-pacifist, was forced out of his fieldworker's post. Nelson opposed the exclusion of Communists and argued that CORE was one of the few groups that could "do something toward checking this hysterical wave of McCarthyism." His opponents at the convention demonstrated that even petty-bourgeois pacifists bare their teeth when anti-Communist purges are on the agenda. The New York delegation leadership issued these instructions to delegates: "Stick to one slate as far as anti-Nelson forces are concerned, but try to nominate more than one person of the opposition in order to split votes.... LOVE EVERYONE AND VOTE AS INSTRUCTED!!"

Militant Liberalism

During the late 1950's CORE showed new life in the South. When the lunch counter sit-ins were begun by North Carolina college students in 1960, CORE chapters throughout the country launched sympathy demonstrations. The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) also took up the struggle, building support from among New York high school and college students. A YSA-led ad hoc committee organized a demonstration of 400 in front of a Manhattan Woolworth's store on March 5. A dispute over tactics quickly arose between the committee and the social-democratic student/National Student Association bloc. CORE sided with the reformists in opposition to impeding store entrances and chanting.

The YSA resisted efforts spearheaded by A. Philip Randolph to end mass picketing and destroy the united-front student committee. At a Harlem rally on March 26, Randolph launched a heated red-baiting attack. But the YSA, which had not yet degenerated into the servile reformist organization it is today, maintained the picket lines and spread the demonstrations to other cities.

The selection of James Farmer as national director and the famous Freedom Ride of 1961 were what really put CORE on the map. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) joined the campaign, and it soon became a mass movement. As it gained popularity, the civil rights movement consolidated around its new-found "respectable" liberal-reformist leadership. Although the rank-and-file activists were far from homogeneous politically, no clear revolutionary pole emerged to challenge the Farmers and Kings, and to orient the burgeoning movement toward a class-struggle perspective.

In the north CORE moved into housing and employment campaigns. The Brooklyn chapter conducted a 17-day "dwell-in" at an apartment complex which refused to rent to blacks. But few chapters involved themselves in the housing needs of the black poor, choosing instead to orient to the purely democratic issues which would most immediately benefit the petty-bourgeois blacks. One exception was the housing committee of New York CORE, in which Spartacist supporters participated. Beginning in 1963 the committee organized tenants' councils to force landlords to clean up and repair dilapidated, rat-infested tenements in Harlem by withholding rents and picketing slumlords in their suburban homes.

CORE launched campaigns demanding jobs for blacks in retail stores, banks, the construction trades and consumer goods manufactures. These campaigns were backed up with consumer boycotts and militant picket lines. Demonstrations in Brooklyn, Harlem and Philadelphia demanded that the building trades unions open membership to qualified black workers. At this point, CORE had not hardened around the union-busting advocated by Innis and other nationalists, and some chapters were debating strategies to win labor support for the black struggle.

One such effort was represented by New York CORE's economic opportunities committee, which included Spartacist supporters. In 1964 and 1965 the committee organized among the black and Puerto Rican workers in the city's garment industry. Its program demanded a $2.00 minimum wage; upgrading of minority workers to skilled jobs; opening up union locals controlling these jobs; organizing non-union shops; a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to open up skilled jobs.

Black Nationalist Consolidation

The Harlem police riot of July 1964 smashed the mass organizations, primarily block and tenant councils, which had developed in this period, and accelerated CORE's developing retreat into black nationalist isolationism. During the riot CORE's leadership played a typically contradictory role. Following the police murder of a black teenager, CORE chapters around the city organized a protest march. On July 18 three chapters held a Harlem rally demanding the killer's arrest.

But CORE opposed the one serious

continued on page 8

Workers Demonstrate Against Cutbacks in Boston

WV Photo

BOSTON, February 19—Some 3,000 angry Boston municipal employees picketed and rallied in front of city hall today to protest Mayor White's plans to lay off 615 city workers on March 1. Repeatedly chanting "Strike, strike, strike!" the rank-and-file unionists demonstrated their eagerness to throw a monkey wrench into the austerity schemes of Boston's two-faced liberal mayor.

Bureaucrats of AFSCME Council 45 and SEIU Local 285, who had called the rally, did their best to channel the militancy of the ranks into reliance on the racist reactionaries of the Boston city council, whose vendetta with the White administration has led them to phony "pro-labor" rhetoric. On the podium, Wallaceite city council demagogue "Dapper" O'Neill called for "austerity from the top down" and promised to "always stand with you." O'Neill also "threatened" to introduce a motion into the city council calling for a refusal to accept all federal money if there were any layoffs! City councilwoman Louise Day Hicks (a leader of the anti-busing ROAR group) sent a message of "complete support."

Boston Teacher's Union president Henry Robinson, who had done his best to prevent the membership of the layoff-beset BTU from joining the rally, hypocritically stated, "I think it's about time that the public employees stood together and put it right to the mayor." On the heels of the parade of unctuous city council demagogues, International director of AFSCME Council 45, Michael Botelho, managed to slip over on the militant crowd his "suggestion" that "we give them just a little time"—thus postponing any strike action, in the hope of arranging a rotten compromise.

For an immediate city-wide strike of all municipal unions against all layoffs and cutbacks!

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CORE...

(continued from page 7)

attempt to give effective organization and direction to the Harlem masses during the police terror: block by block organization for a mass demonstration. Every sellout huckster in the ghetto joined in a vicious red-baiting attack on Progressive Labor's Bill Epton. In his book *Freedom When?* Farmer brags that "nationalist groups joined CORE and other civil rights organizations in passing a resolution rejecting a PLM proposal to march again in Harlem. 'We do not favor any black man dying in order to help the Chinese Communists'."

In the middle 1960's, the bankruptcy of liberal illusions had been exposed and the choices before CORE narrowed to two: black separatism or revolutionary integrationism. The earlier social-democratic pacifism and anti-communism of CORE's leaders paved the way for Roy Innis by short-circuiting serious consideration of the class-struggle road to black liberation. Likewise, by its policies of courting "progressive" labor bureaucrats, the old CORE leadership reinforced black militants' tendency to equate the union ranks with their racist, pro-capitalist leadership. The Rustin/Randolph brand of labor reformism, which repeatedly capitulated to Meanyite racism, was used by nationalist demagogues to discredit all policies based on a working-class perspective.

As a consequence, those militants who wished to go beyond the petty-bourgeois moralism of the pacifist liberals and attack the racist system at its roots were attracted not by revolutionary Marxism but by the ambiguous "black power" slogan. While the Black Panther Party was able, for a time, to combine this nationalist rhetoric with Maoist/Guevarist-inspired denunciations of imperialism, CORE's virulent anti-red tradition rapidly led it to interpret "black power" as "black capitalism" and traditional bourgeois ethnic politics.

The Road to Angola

As CORE's white liberal financial backers began to turn away in the mid-1960's, Innis' predecessor Floyd McKissick appealed directly to major capitalist institutions. His pitch was the bourgeoisie's self-interest in backing an organization whose history and militant image enabled it to police the ghetto and act as a safety valve more effectively than the establishment civil rights groups. In July 1967, McKissick secured a $175,000 grant from the Ford Foundation for voter registration, job-training and "leadership instruction" in Cleveland. A year later, the same chapter got an additional $300,000 to expand voter registration throughout the predominantly black 21st Congressional district, the key factor in the election of black Democrat Louis Stokes to Congress.

The Ford Foundation, the Office of Economic Opportunity and other bourgeois institutions funded CORE's numerous black-capitalist ventures like the Harlem Commonwealth Council and CORE-supported union-busting attacks like the Bundy Plan for decentralized school boards in New York. Following McKissick's replacement by Innis in September 1968, the separatist, anti-labor orientation deepened and the leadership became even more cynically opportunist. In particular, as the bourgeoisie hardened in its opposition to integration, CORE became the major black ally of the racist anti-busing movement. At the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, in 1972, CORE pushed through an anti-busing resolution which, as one black reporter noted,

> "creates the erroneous impression—widely headlined by the white press—that blacks as a whole oppose busing and agree with those learned education experts, President Richard Nixon and Alabama Gov. George Wallace."
> —*Ebony*, June 1972

A few months later, Innis clarified where he stood on Nixon by attending a black Republican presidential fund-raiser sponsored by his former mentor McKissick (*New York Times*, 15 October 1972). James Farmer served for a period as an assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

By the beginning of the 1970's, the bourgeoisie had managed to "pacify" the seething ghettos through a combination of military force, police infiltration/repression of militant black groups, tokenism (black mayors, creation of a layer of black government "poverty" bureaucrats), a certain improvement in blacks' wages relative to whites (since reversed) and "counterinsurgency" techniques such as the funding of CORE. But having served its purpose as front men for the ruling class, CORE was unceremoniously thrown on the garbage heap. Hence Roy Innis' desperate search for a new benefactor.

Having missed the boat on the black mayor trip, CORE leaders had to look elsewhere to promote their personal careers. Farmer now gives speaking tours in Africa for the State Department. McKissick has gone into real estate development, building a $27 million "Soul City" in Warren County, North Carolina, with funds provided by a government loan from the Nixon administration (*New York Times*, 20 March 1974). Innis was left with the organization which, however, was vegetating, with nothing to do and no money to pay for it. As a last-ditch effort, he grabbed at the chance to supply black mercenaries to Henry Kissinger. But unfortunately for Innis, the mercenary business is far from reputable even to the bourgeoisie; U.S. blacks are overwhelmingly disgusted with his latest gambit; CORE backed a loser in Angola and Amin withdrew his seal of approval.

CORE's odyssey from liberal/social-democratic integrationism through "black capitalist" counterinsurgency to an overtly counterrevolutionary alliance with CIA/South African forces in Angola illustrates the dilemma of movements for democratic rights which fail to unambiguously align themselves with the historic interests of the working class. Originating as a movement which fought on behalf of the oppressed, CORE's anti-communism has led it to become a willing tool of racist imperialism. Only the forging of a Trotskyist vanguard party and revolutionary unity of the working class under its leadership can point the way forward for black liberation through proletarian revolution. ■

Lawyers Guild...

(continued from page 5)

openly vicious violation of class principle: red-baiting. A member of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), at UAW Local 1364, Fremont, California, distributed to the convention an "Open Letter to the National Lawyers Guild" which protested articles in the May 1975 *Guild Notes* and *Labor Newsletter*. The articles attacked these union oppositionists as "Trotskyites," "company agents" and "Spartacists" because they had organized widespread opposition to the anti-union "Fremont Women's Court Suit" which the articles supported.

The "Open Letter" stated:

> "As a law organization we are sure that you are aware of the anti-red clauses still on the books as well as in most union constitutions. Accusations of membership in outside organizations could result in expulsions from the union and loss of jobs."

The CMUAW "Open Letter" went on to point out that the Committee had circulated a petition in the plant opposing the suit, which had been

> "signed by over 700 workers, easily half of whom were women and minorities. The reason is simple. Women and minorities stand to lose the most if the seniority system is destroyed.... Seniority protects against employer arbitrariness—it replaces the 'Merit System' which allowed the companies to fire, at will, anyone they deemed 'undesirable'."

In response to the "Open Letter," the PDC submitted a motion that the convention condemn these red-baiting tactics and mandate the NLG publications in which the attacks on the UAW militants appeared to reprint the "Open Letter." This motion was defeated, as was a phony "compromise" proposal to publish (subject to subsequent editing and a preface disclaiming it) a 200-word statement by the authors of the motion. Finally a motion "internal" to the LEC was passed providing "organizational guidelines" to the *Labor Newsletter* Editorial Board: "To exercise caution [!] not to identify groups working in the plants other than by the names they call themselves until the next meeting of the National Executive Board." This policy, amounting to cautious red-baiting until further notice, is supposedly to be reviewed in six months.

Whither the Guild?

The "identity crisis in the NLG" continues. The axis upon which it turns is the question—posed either falsely or cynically, or both—"Should the Guild be political?" Doron Weinberg posed the "alternatives" in his president's report which opened the plenary session: should the NLG be "a political organization composed of legal people" or a "legal organization with a shared political commitment"? Of the two formulations, both of which beg the question, Weinberg chose the latter.

As the plenary degenerated into New Left mayhem, it was clear what would happen to "Guild unity" if the NLG ever attempted to determine the political basis for its "shared commitment." For what is shared is a commitment to unprincipled unity, class collaboration, anti-Trotskyism and an alliance with the bosses' courts against the unions. Hence the present "détente" in the NLG—a bloc to avoid discussion of program and policy for the organization. Hence the "moot court" on whether or not to proclaim the Guild "anti-imperialist."

During the plenary discussion, a PDC spokesman took the floor to point out that an organization claiming to stand in defense of the gains of the international working class must unequivocally defend the gains of the Russian Revolution. The only principled basis of unity, she said, is anti-sectarian defense of cases and causes in the interest of all working people and explicit independence from the capitalist state.

But the Guild leadership has no desire to build such an organization. Knowing that in rejecting an anti-sectarian, class-struggle position it excludes principled unity, the NLG is now tinkering with its federated "project" structure in the vain hope of sidestepping the problem. The National Executive Committee put forward as a guideline that "Projects should seek national organizational approval if they wish to take a public position...where there are competing forces or views on the left."

The Guild wishes to present itself as a non-sectarian legal champion of "progressive" causes. But to choose which causes are "progressive" and which are not, it is forced to "take a public position" on questions on which there are "competing forces or views on the left"—e.g., détente, Angola, Chile, Iran, suing the unions. That is, one "movement" person's "progressive cause" is another's "social-fascist plot."

For all of its class-collaborationist practice, the NLG is not the American Bar Association. Many of its members have demonstrated a subjective desire to aid in the defense of the exploited and oppressed. And many do lend their energy and legal expertise to such work as poverty law, anti-deportation cases and other supportable projects.

The Guild convention endorsed many worthwhile campaigns, such as opposition to the reactionary Senate Bill 1, legal support to Puerto Rican independence groups and union militants, support to busing, prisoners' rights. In such activities the PDC will seek to work with the Guild. The Mass Defense Workshop of the Convention endorsed a number of important current defense cases and passed resolutions submitted by the PDC in support of the defense of Hurricane Carter/John Artis and of Philip Allen. But the convention also endorsed continued emphasis on court suits against unions, which must be repudiated by those committed to a class-struggle defense policy.

The convention ended in confusion and exhaustion in its ever-frustrating efforts to take evasive platitudinous positions on the burning issues of the day. In *WV*'s article on the NLG, we published an illustration showing Mao and Stalin locked in the Guild's "scales of class collaboration" with Uncle Sam. As if to demonstrate that life imitates art and to bring the convention to an appropriate close, the NLG voted to endorse the "People's Bicentennial Celebration" in Philadelphia on July 4. For all the "anti-imperialist" talk, the difference between the "legal arm" of the New Left and that of the New Deal is not qualitative. ■

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ILWU...

(continued from page 12)

ateurs." A censure motion was passed in the executive board against one of the militants, Bob Mandel, who was also a member of the board and a founder of the Militant Caucus. However, the membership turned back this cowardly attack by the Local bureaucracy.

Class-Struggle Demands

The Militant Caucus doesn't pull its punches in laying out the problems facing the membership:

> "The main obstacle within the union to preparing for a successful strike is the present leadership, International and Local. Their program is class collaboration—seeking to tie the workers to the capitalist class, its state, and its political parties, and opposing independent struggle."
>
> —*Warehouse Militant*, 5 January 1976

Well aware that a strike directed by the ILWU International and its Local 6 lackeys would meet the same unfortunate fate as the 1971-72 longshore strike which was cynically sold out by Bridges, the Caucus calls for democratically elected strike committees in each house. This would provide the basis for building a strong centralized strike leadership, with direct membership control over the bargaining process and determination of strike tactics.

The 18 February *Warehouse Militant* noted that a successful contract struggle required a "fully mobilized ILWU linked in a fighting alliance for mutual defense with the Teamsters." The organized warehouses in the Bay Area are divided between Teamsters and ILWU (with many houses remaining unorganized), and the two unions conduct joint bargaining for the "master contracts" which cover about 80 percent of the Local 6 membership. McClain and Eickman justify their refusal to fight by claiming that the Teamster leadership will never support class-struggle demands.

At the same time, Local 6 leaders openly capitulate to the Teamster bureaucracy: only after great pressure from the membership did McClain & Co. back down on their opposition to even a token $100 donation to the Farm Workers (UFW). In contrast, the Militant Caucus, which has openly fought against Fitzsimmons' raiding of the UFW, demands that the ILWU take the initiative in proposing to the Teamsters a program of militant struggle against the bosses.

Such a program would include demands for full cost-of-living protection, jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and a one-year contract; elimination of the no-strike clause, unlimited rehire rights and unlimited health and welfare benefits at company expense; strengthening the union hiring hall (eliminate the probation period, end blackballing and all racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and upgrading); and 24-hour child care paid for by the company but controlled by the union.

The Local 6 leadership, however, has done nothing but repeat employer arguments that the companies simply cannot afford to grant any more. Secretary-Treasurer Eickman asserts that the membership would have to choose between maintaining (not improving) the present pension plan *or* winning better wages.

Strike Double-Talk

This logic is aped by the crowd around business agents Joe Figuereido and Abba Ramos, who are strongly supported by *People's World* (*PW*), West Coast organ of the Communist Party (CP). Thus Figuereido and Ramos call for either a one-year contract *or* full cost-of-living protection. Meanwhile their cronies Joe Lindsay and Franklin Alexander support a "shorter workweek" (by which they mean 38 hours work for 40 hours pay) only if it is spread over a three-year contract. They imply that joblessness can be eliminated...but gradually, so it won't hurt the companies. This touching concern for the profits of the capitalists is a slap in the face to a union where one member in six is unable to find a job.

Last year Figuereido and Ramos were particularly prominent in the effort to censure Mandel. And although they and their friends in *People's World* are currently "talking strike" out of one side of their mouths, they never stray very far from the coattails of the ILWU bureaucracy. According to *Warehouse Militant*, at the February East Bay Stewards Council Lindsay argued that there are "other more effective" tactics than a strike. As the article pointed out, "Such no-strike talk is borrowed from Archie Brown," a prominent spokesman for CP views in San Francisco dockers' Local 10, who during the 1975 contract talks "kept trying to con longshoremen into believing they could get a decent settlement without a strike."

In addition, this group of double-talking phonies calls only for modifying the no-strike clause to permit strikes against "unresolved grievances" (which means grievances would continue to pile up for several months until "somebody" decides they are "unresolved"). The *PW* supporters in Local 6 also oppose the Militant Caucus proposal for the "right to strike in defense of other workers," such as the UFW. Thus Figuereido renounces the San Francisco general strike of 1934, which was waged in "defense of other workers," namely longshoremen! Finally, a recent (14 February) article in *People's World* carries a special attack on demands for membership control of a strike:

> "For an operation of this size and complexity, warehousemen require a centralized and responsible elected leadership. Such calls as a 'strike committee in every house' or a 'rank and file strike committee open to everyone' (and responsible to no one?) just don't fill the bill. We need unity and organization if we are to win."

While deliberately distorting the Militant Caucus proposal for democratically elected house strike committees, these veteran fakers obviously prefer the "responsible" (to the bosses!) sell-out leadership of ILWU head Bridges and McClain to trusting the rank and file!

Another would-be opposition group with a mish-mash program is *Warehouse Victory* (Warehousemen for a Good Contract). *Warehouse Victory*, which is touted by the Revolutionary Communist Party's *Bay Area Worker*, calls for eliminating the no-strike clause and demands a big wage increase. However, it fails to even mention cost-of-living coverage. It also ignores the demand for "30 for 40," calling only for "no cuts in manning/no combining jobs," which does nothing for Local members already unemployed. Its proposal on the probationary period—not to abolish it, but only to reduce it to 30 days—is *already in effect* in houses like Colgate, where the company continues to speed up pre-seniority workers and screen out active union members.

Warehouse Victory also calls for a local "rank-and-file strike committee," but does not specify how it would come about. A strike committee set up by a few militants, instead of being elected with the full backing of the membership, can only lead to adventurist actions which the union leadership will sabotage. The bureaucracy cannot be ignored or bypassed, but must be fought tooth and nail and *defeated*. This requires a class-struggle program and strategy to counterpose to the existing misleaders. Such a program of militant, independent political and economic action by labor is posed only by the Militant Caucus. ■

CIA...

(continued from page 3)

According to the report, one page read: "Top Secret," and the rest had been deleted. Who knows what "dirty tricks" were once listed on the blank sheet on which every word had been removed save "Chile"?

Kissinger and the Kurds

When the excerpts from the Pike committee report were published, Henry Kissinger threw another of his by now habitual tantrums. It had, he said, the "total impact" of a "malicious lie"; the anti-Communist Metternich even had the gall to accuse the committee of "McCarthyism"! The Secretary of State was particularly upset with disclosures of his own involvement in CIA machinations with the Kurds.

According to the report, in 1972 Kissinger made a deal with the Shah of Iran to supply and bankroll Kurdish rebels led by "General" Barzani in their war against attempts by the Iraqi government to obliterate this oppressed national minority. However, neither the Shah nor Kissinger wanted the Kurds to actually win. (Iran has a sizable Kurdish population of its own.) According to the Pike committee, the Kurds were not aware of this no-win policy, and so lost thousands of dead when Iran suddenly shut off the aid pipeline following a settlement of its border dispute with Iraq last year. The committee report said of this operation: "Even in the context of covert action, ours was a cynical enterprise."

When asked at a press conference earlier this month if the U.S. had indeed "double-crossed" the Kurds, Kissinger responded in classic fashion:

> "This is a total falsehood. But it is impossible in these covert operations to explain the truth without creating even more difficulties."
>
> —*New York Times*, 12 February

With Kissinger continuing to cover up, the CIA is still at its work also, and not just in out-of-the-way Kurdistan. The February issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique* carried an article by an Australian journalist strongly suggesting that the American spy agency played a key role in ousting the Labor Party government last November.

Similar scenarios have been repeated dozens of times. In the early 1950's politicians on the CIA dole were legion in Europe and played a major role in building up the social-democratic parties; recent revelations about American financing of Italian anti-Communist parties shows that not much has changed in the meantime. No amount of "reforming" will stop the CIA from performing these covert actions for U.S. imperialism. It must be smashed and conspiratorial mass murderers of the Kissinger ilk brought to justice by the victorious proletarian revolution. ■

Woodcock...

(continued from page 12)

resolution not already approved for consideration. Moreover, conference rules went to the unprecedented step of not allowing any amendments from the floor! As in the equally strangulated Production Workers Conference held in January, all economic issues were put off to a Bargaining Convention to be held next month. However, there will be no new elections for convention delegates. So the Woodcock bureaucracy has neatly arranged three dress rehearsals for yet another contract betrayal, with the workers' voices silenced until they are presented with a fait accompli in September...at which time their votes may again be ignored as in 1973!

It was little wonder, then, that a resolution was passed hailing the farcical "voluntary overtime" provision of the current contract—which allows 54-hour workweeks while tens of thousands of auto workers are unemployed. Naturally there was no consideration of urgently needed measures such as a ban on overtime while there are UAW members on layoff. Similarly a resolution on subcontracting failed to provide for unconditional local right to strike over the issue.

The UAW-loyal Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) was the most visible "opposition" at the conference. It distributed a "Policy Statement," but did not generally disturb the bureaucratic calm of this deadly affair. However, the ISTC's main demand, for enforcement of skilled-trades' veto rights, is itself a divisive erosion of democratic industrial unionism. Wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers should be firmly set by the majority under a program of raising the wages and shortening the hours of all.

Skilled tradesmen's jobs are particularly subject to erosion by the auto companies' practice of subcontracting work to non-UAW and non-union shops. Lacking a program for real class struggle UAW craftsmen's impulse to defend their threatened jobs has led to cut-throat competition of worker against worker, including skilled vs. production workers within the UAW. Though a resolution to organize the unorganized was passed, union policy—which has failed miserably so far—will not be changed under the present sellout regime. Organizing the unorganized requires an aggressive struggle aginst the companies to attract non-union workers, combined with militant tactics such as labor boycotting of scab products and sitdown strikes.

In his keynote speech, International vice president Doug Fraser made clear the leadership's refusal to launch a real struggle for the shorter workweek: "Let's face it," he said, "Everybody knows you're not going from a five-day week to a four-day week in one fell swoop." He promised the workweek would be "shorter" at the end of negotiations, but if the Woodcock "Time Bank" plan is adopted, whereby workers get time-off credits through perfect attendance records, it is the companies not the workers who will benefit. On organizing the unorganized Fraser admitted the bankruptcy of the International's half-hearted efforts: "We've made the effort and failed. You can't drag 'em into the union."

While abstractly favoring a shorter workweek and piously vowing there would be no repetition of 1973, Fraser in his speech called for the defeat of Gerald Ford in the November presidential elections. All levels of the UAW bureaucracy are permeated with the determination to subordinate the interests of auto workers to getting a Democrat into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. The warning is clear: Woodcock & Co. will stop at nothing to avoid the embarrassment to "their" capitalist candidate of a militant auto workers' strike when the contracts expire in September.

The UAW cannot wage a militant contract fight without an open break with the leadership of Woodcock-Fraser. An industry-wide strike, uniting skilled and production workers throughout the U.S. and Canada, must mobilize the entire labor movement behind demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, for full cost-of-living protection, for organizing the unorganized. Against the election-year lies of both the bosses' parties, union militants must struggle to build a workers party, based on the trade unions. Instead of the token job programs offered by the likes of Humphrey, such a party, armed with an anti-capitalist program of expropriating industry and finance by a workers government, can provide a real answer to unemployment. ■

Unemployment...

(continued from page 1)

planning that is necessary. It hasn't been carried out. The intent of Congress in adopting the Employment Act of 1946 has been distorted. Not only by Republicans and reactionaries, but also by the Democratic chairmen of the Council of Economic Advisors and by self-styled liberals."

Why Full Employment Is Impossible Under Capitalism

Bourgeois full-employment legislation will not and cannot be implemented because a reserve army of the unemployed is a *necessary* condition for capitalist production. Without a surplus population of workers, the increased demand for labor power during a boom would immediately lead to competition among employers to attract each other's workers, thereby raising wages and reducing the rate of exploitation. Attempts to offset rising wages in a tight labor market through easy credit leads to accelerated inflation and ever-mounting business indebtedness.

In West Germany, which Humphrey cites as his model for full employment policies, the reserve army of the unemployed is concentrated in contract labor from southern Europe, the Near East and North Africa. When a downturn occurs, the "guest workers" are sent back to their native lands by the hundreds of thousands.

Hubert Humphrey is a responsible representative of the capitalist system, not given to utopian fancies. For the most part, his advocacy of full employment policies is cynical electioneering; he has no intention of actually implementing such policies. Insofar as Humphrey does favor a somewhat lower unemployment rate than Ford is willing to accept, he is well aware that a tight labor market affords competitive advantages to wage earners as against capital. And he has an answer, state wage controls:

> "that's why the so-called Wage-Price Stabilization Council, which I termed the toothless tiger, has to be given some teeth.... It has to have the power of selective price and wage controls. It has to have the power to hold back a price or a wage increase for a period of time in order to examine what its impact on the economy will be."
>
> —*Challenge*, March-April 1975

International Fiscal Austerity Offensive

Despite massive unemployment, Humphrey's neo-New Dealism is very much a minority current within the American ruling class. Ford likes to point out that prominent liberal Democrats, such as Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield, agree with him on the need to reverse the growth of government spending and the federal debt. Internationally as well, a right-wing offensive against liberal economic policy is taking place throughout the advanced capitalist world.

In Australia and New Zealand, social-democratic governments have been ousted by conservative bourgeois candidates whose campaigns heavily stressed cutting back the state sector of the economy. The Fraser government in Australia is now selling off the rich mineral properties that were earlier nationalized by the Labor Party. In Italy, with unemployment at 7 percent and growing, the Christian Democrats are likewise committed to cutting state expenditure. Unemployment compensation in Italy, today effectively 90 percent of previous pay, is slated to be reduced to 80 percent.

But the most dramatic repudiation of social-democratic economic reformism has been in Britain. A few years ago the then out-of-power Labour Party was discussing proposals for nationalizing the commanding heights of the British economy. But recently the Wilson government has openly rejected the economic premises of Labourism. He asserted that a too-generous (!) welfare state and excessive government spending have crippled productive private investment, essential for the economic health of Britain.

The "Capital Gap" and Anti-Keynesian Economics

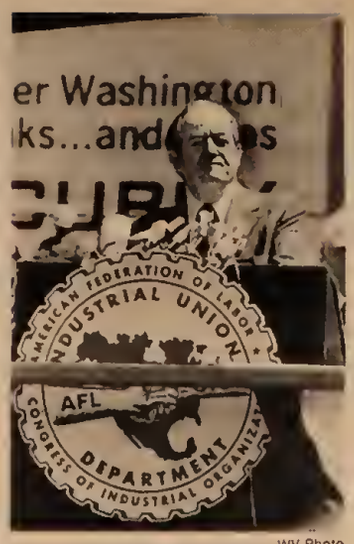
Ruling-class hostility to a full-employment program is in sharp contrast to mass sentiment for it. The *New York Times* (13 February 1976) recently reported that a survey it conducted with CBS News indicated that 70 percent of the population support the federal government guaranteeing work for everyone who wants it. Given depression conditions and this popular demand for full employment, why is ruling-class support for greater fiscal austerity so strong?

Increasing bourgeois sentiment for restraining government spending is closely related to what business journals are now calling the "capital gap": the inability of businesses to finance the expansion of plant and equipment needed to maintain the growth rates of the 1950's and 1960's. The 21 October 1975 *Business Week* published a special survey article on the "capital gap" with a distinctly pessimistic perspective. It sums up the problem with the following basic statistics:

Between 1965 and 1974, the pre-tax return on capital in manufacturing fell from about 16 to 6 percent. Because falling profitability leads to inadequate cash flows, investment has required ever-greater indebtedness. Thus, in 1965, manufacturing corporations had $4 in equity for every $1 in debt; today the ratio is $2 to $1. In 1965, manufacturing corporations averaged $5 profit income for every $1 in interest due; today this ratio is also $2 to $1. Corporate indebtedness particularly intensified during the 1972-73 inflationary boom, when many long-term projects were financed with short-term IOU's.

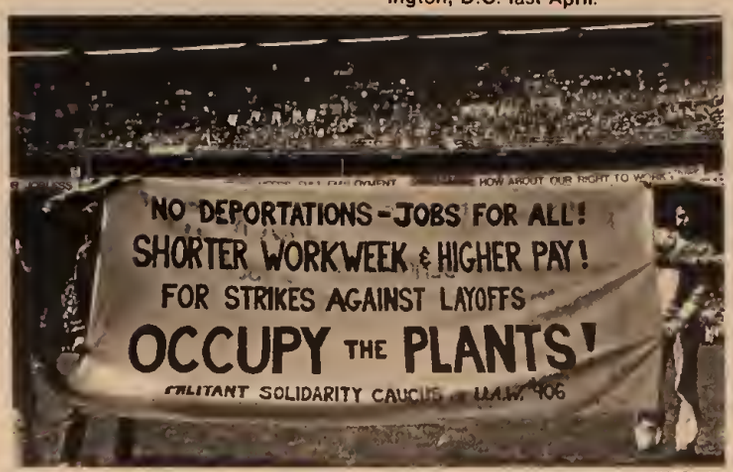
Not only has profit income been inadequate to finance investment in the past decade, but *Business Week* projects that capital requirements per unit of additional output will increase in the future: "there are signs that it is now taking more and more dollars' worth of capital to produce one dollar's worth of output." This is a phenomenon central to classical Marxist economics known as the "rising organic composition of capital"—the increase in the value of capital relative to the living labor needed to set it in motion. This is the fundamental cause of the falling rate of profit.

During the past year or so, several studies have been made of the U.S. "capital gap." The most detailed, done by the prestigious Brookings Institute, is entitled *Capital Needs in the Seventies* and was carried out by a team headed by James Duesenberry, one of the architects of John F. Kennedy's "New Economics" and a member of Lyndon Johnson's Council of Economic Advisors. The Brookings/Duesenberry study asserts that a 4.3 percent annual economic growth rate would be needed to maintain unemployment at 4 percent. Such a rate of increase in production



WV Photo

Hubert Humphrey speaking to unionists at "March for Jobs" in Washington, D.C. last April.



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Banner of the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Mahwah, N.J.) at AFL-CIO "March for Jobs" last April.

CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 95 (6 February), the article "Mao's Foreign Policy: Long March of Betrayal" refers to Chou En-lai propounding the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" at the Bandung Asian-African Solidarity Conference in 1954. Although Chou first put forward the five principles shortly after the 1954 Geneva conference on Vietnam, the Bandung conference did not take place until the following year.

In *WV* No. 96 (13 February) a round-up article on Angola demonstrations refers to a "February 7th Coalition" in New York City. However, while the demonstration was held on February 7, the name of the ad-hoc grouping was the "February 4th Coalition" referring to the anniversary of the anti-colonialist uprising in Angola on that date in 1961.

An article on Angola in the same issue refers to the MPLA as one of three "tribally centered" nationalist groups. As we have noted in earlier articles, outside of Luanda support for the People's Movement had been largely reduced to the Mbundu tribe. However, in the capital itself the MPLA has had broad support from the plebeian population which is of mixed tribal origins and partially detribalized.

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would require private capital investment equal to 15.8 percent of the gross national product. But this level of investment would require, in turn, that the federal government run an $11.5 billion *surplus* annually, equal to 1.3 percent of national income.

In other words, Duesenberry is asserting that the government must become an instrument of *forced saving*, taxing more than it spends and channeling the difference into private capital. The Brookings study is significant not for its empirical validity but for the fact that it was done by a political liberal and Keynesian, whose support for fiscal conservatism cannot be dismissed as rightist ideological dogmatism or special pleading for financiers.

On a global scale, the capitalist class is driven to seek a solution to falling profitability in a massive transfer of resources from the state sector to private capital. When Ford opposes eliminating unemployment through a massive public works program on the grounds that a big jump in the budget deficit would "crowd out" private investment, he is empirically correct. That is why the ruling-class determination to slash government spending is so strong.

Bourgeois Economic Pessimism

In analyzing the present sorry state of the world capitalist economy, some bourgeois commentators even refer to Marxism. For example, the well-known business economist Peter F. Drucker wrote this remarkable and pessimistic assessment last summer:

> "Yet Marx's basic logic was impeccable. If indeed the productivity of capital were to decline inexorably, a system based on market-allocation of capital—that is, the free-enterprise system—could survive no more than a few short and crisis ridden decades. The most disturbing fact in today's world economy may, therefore, be the reversal since the early '60's of the long secular trend towards higher productivity of capital in the developed countries."
>
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 24 July 1975

As a bourgeois ideologue, Drucker cannot recognize the falling rate of profit as inherent to capitalist economic relations. Like the 19th-century classical British economist David Ricardo, Drucker empirically recognizes the falling rate of profit, but attributes it to an external factor—in this case the declining rate of technological change.

Four years ago we published an article entitled "The Myth of Neo-Capitalism" (*RCY Newsletter*, January-February 1972) attacking the liberal Keynesian/social-democratic notion that the expansion of state expenditure ("unproductive labor" in Marxist terminology) is a source of permanent stability and economic growth. The concluding sentence stated:

> "The expansion of 'unproductive labor,' which all neo-capitalist theorists see as the key to post-war economic stability, actually drives down the rate of profit intensifying the contradictions of capitalism."

It is this fact which lies behind the "capital gap" and the current international offensive of fiscal austerity.

For the Transitional Program

The incompatibility of a tight labor market with high profits and the impossibility of full employment under capitalism are certainly no secret to the capitalists and their politicians. This is the cornerstone of Ford's austerity policies. Even the liberal economists who drafted the Hawkins-Humphrey bill (notably Leon Keyserling, a holdover from Truman times) and their friends in the AFL-CIO hierarchy recognize it. In negotiations between the unions, Humphrey and the Congressional Black Caucus to draft a common "full-employment" bill, it has been reported that "the economists doing the drafting have about decided that an unemployment rate of 3 percent...cannot be reached in less than four years"; and that a key element of such legislation is state wage controls (*New York Times*, 16 February).

But this does not stop a myriad of phony socialist groups from hailing bourgeois full-employment legislation. The biggest booster of such hoaxes on the left is predictably the ultra-reformist Communist Party. The 21 January 1975 *Daily World* hailed the Hawkins-Humphrey bill as providing for "a worker's inalienable right to a job" and announced a nationwide series of demonstrations pushing it. The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, however, is not so trustful of simple laws, and like the good legalists that they are, SWPers are now promoting a cockeyed scheme to write full employment into the U.S. Constitution!

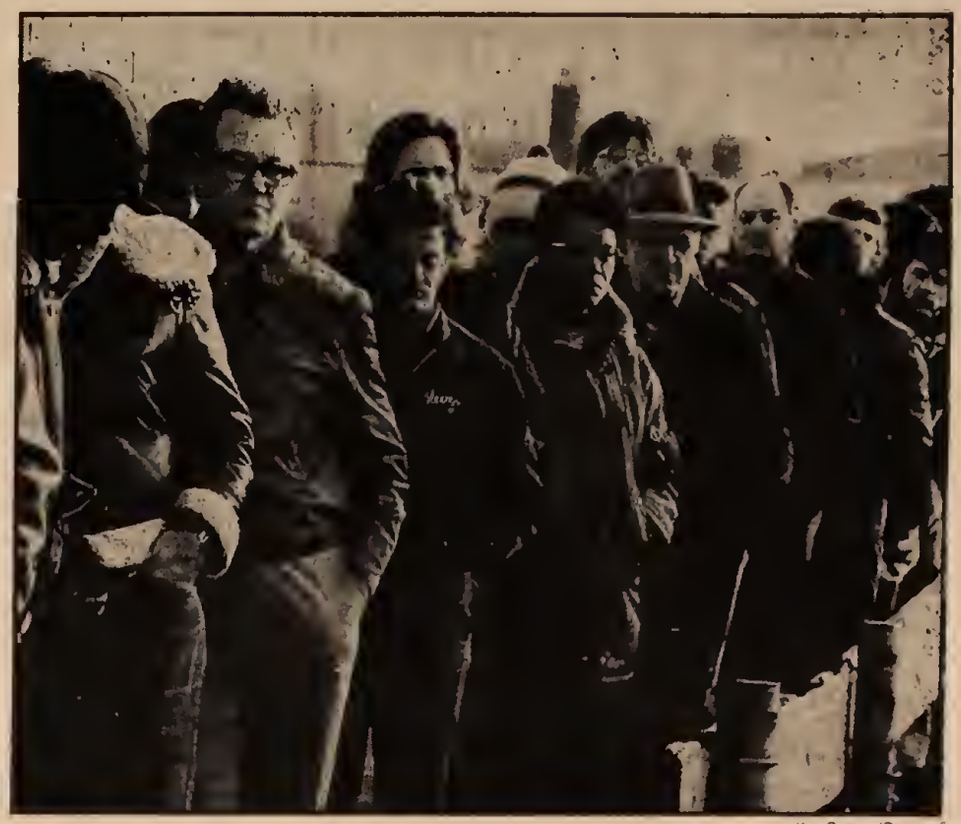
Meanwhile, the small fry that hang around the CP periphery have their own variations on the theme. The Communist Labor Party, a Maoist group which has lately taken to spouting the virtues of détente, mobilized its supporters for a Detroit city council meeting last spring to demand full federal funding of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). The Stalinoid Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) is sticking with the 1946 Employment Act. On the other hand, the recent Hard Times conference in Chicago, which brought together "critical Maoists" and unregenerate New Leftists, took up the SWP theme, calling for a "People's Bill of Rights" including a demand for "useful jobs for all at a living wage and a decent income for all who are unable to work."

Such populist schemes are invariably combined with tax gimmicks calling on the bourgeois state to undertake a major redistribution of income from the rich to the poor. The SWP's electoral platform, for instance, demands "raising taxes on big industry and placing a 100 percent tax on all income over $25,000." The more classic example is the Labor Committees' call for "taxing the banks." Like the harebrained schemes they are supposed to finance—e.g., the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People"—these tax "reforms" are nothing but a joke. Despite diehard reactionaries' year-in, year-out fulminations against the "socialist" income tax, the bourgeoisie would not submit to a tax reform fundamentally altering the distribution of wealth.

In contrast to the fake-socialist hucksters, who propagate illusions that the capitalists can be forced to hand over their profits with a little bit of pressure, Marxists understand that bourgeois legislation cannot establish full employment; that it is ownership of the means of production which determines the distribution of income, not tax schemes; and that only expropriation of the capitalist class by a workers government can lay the basis for full employment.

Far from limiting our action to explaining the future benefits of socialism, however, Trotskyists raise a program of transitional demands which can mobilize the social force with the power to bring about fundamental economic change—the working class—in struggles which lead from the immediate needs of the workers to challenging the very framework of the capitalist system. Thus the Spartacist League calls on the trade unions to organize the unemployed, demanding unconditional, unlimited unemployment benefits at full pay, financed by the corporations and the government. Unemployment, SUB pay and welfare benefits must be consolidated into a single fund at the highest level. Laid-off workers must have unlimited job recall rights (in addition to retaining union membership). Medical care and city transportation must be made available to all free of cost.

But simply ameliorating the economic situation of the unemployed is not enough. The unions must launch a militant offensive to end unemployment. A class-struggle labor leadership would undertake coordinated strike action for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to provide jobs for all. Faced with mass layoffs, it would answer by mobilizing the workers to seize the idle factories, demanding expropriation of shut-down firms and imposing workers control. But carrying out such a program and fighting for a workers government requires the construction of a revolutionary workers party, and a determined fight within the labor movement to oust the pro-capitalist Meanys who are incapable of more than begging a few jobs from their Democratic Party friends. ■



Ken Reagan/Camera 5

Unemployment line, 1975.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Militant ILWU-Teamster Warehouse Strike!

OAKLAND, February 19—With "master contracts" for northern California warehousemen expiring June 1, the contract convention for International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 meets on February 28. However, two "rap sessions" held in January to discuss the contract made it clear that the local union leadership of President Curtis McClain and Secretary-Treasurer Keith Eickman is not preparing for the necessary class battle. All McClain could come up with is a proposal for a 90 cent-per-hour increase over two or three years! This would not even keep up with the current rate of inflation, and does nothing to put unemployed union members back to work.

The Local 6 membership (Bay Area warehousemen) is currently saddled with 15 percent unemployment, and the employers, represented by the Distributors Association, have made use of these conditions to assault the union's organized houses. For example, at Thrifty's, management's drive for speed-up provoked a three-day unauthorized sitdown, which was beaten back by company threats of damage suits. Similarly, at Heublein's, the workers held a ten-day "safety meeting" to force the company to repair unsafe equipment, but were forced to end their action under court order although three stewards were fired in the incident.

The Local leadership justified its criminal refusal to mobilize the membership in defense of these actions by pointing to the no-strike clause in the contract. Yet at the 1973 contract convention, it was the very same McClain and Eickman who joined ILWU International Secretary-Treasurer Lou Goldblatt in arguing vehemently against making elimination of this clause a strike demand. Then when the convention voted overwhelmingly to do precisely that, they ignored the vote and refused to report it in the ILWU *Dispatcher*!

The only group within the warehouse division that has pointed consistently to the need for an effective mobilization of the membership in strike actions has been the Militant Caucus (publishers of *Warehouse Militant*). The caucus emerged in 1975 from among union members who were determined to reverse a series of defeats inflicted on the ILWU warehousemen. After ILWU Local 30 in Boron, California, lost 400 jobs to scabs brought in by U.S. Borax Co., the employers decided to import similar methods to KNC Glass in Oakland one year ago. However, by initiating mass picketing in defense of the strike and calling for "hot cargoing" of scab goods, union militants succeeded in averting a disastrous defeat.

Afterwards, the do-nothing Local 6 leadership, which gave grudging support to the mass picketing only after union members had responded en masse to a rank-and-file leaflet calling for such picketing, had the gall to accuse the authors of the leaflet of being "provoc-

continued on page 9

Luis Carballar

ILWU Local 6 president Curtis McClain.

At UAW Skilled Trades Conference

Woodcock Prepares Election-Year Sellout

WV Photo

UAW vice president Douglas Fraser speaking at recent Skilled Trades Conference.

DETROIT, February 19—"I goofed. I admit it. It will never happen again." With those disingenuous words, apologizing for the high-handed manner in which he rammed through the disastrous auto contract in 1973, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Leonard Woodcock greeted the union's Skilled Trades Conference which ended here yesterday. The only ones likely to give credence to this cynical song and dance, however, are the sycophantic local bureaucrats who constitute the bulk of the delegates at these conferences.

For auto workers ravaged by inflation and unemployment or facing overtime and speed-up in the plants, that contract betrayal is still a sore issue, although it didn't show much at this bureaucratically locked-up conference. Auto craftsmen, who vote separately on the contract and have a veto right under official UAW rules, turned down the 1973 pact by a margin of four to one following revelation of a secret letter giving the companies the right to bring in production workers or subcontracted labor if skilled workers refused to do "voluntary" overtime. Production workers also rejected the contract until multiple bureaucratic re-votes finally produced a rigged "majority," whereupon Woodcock declared it ratified.

That sellout was no "goof," as the UAW president himself made clear defending it later before the union's Public Review Board. Woodcock bragged about his willingness to violate the union constitution: "Even if a majority of the production workers had rejected the agreement [which they did], we would have signed it if we thought it was in the best interests of the workers," he said! Today this is passed off as a simple "mistake." Bureaucratic hypocrisy has no bounds.

Woodcock's ham-fisted disregard for the democratic rights of the membership led to a resurgence of the International Society of Skilled Trades, a reactionary craft union which seeks to decertify the UAW as bargaining agent for skilled workers. Separatist sentiment had negligible support at the conference, however, and a resolution to establish separate skilled trades locals within the UAW failed to reach the floor of the conference for lack of support.

The "sincere" promises to obey democratically-expressed dictates of the membership this year rang hollow in view of the measures at the conference designed to muzzle membership discontent. Resolutions were reported out by a handpicked committee, with 180 delegate votes required to bring up a

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 99

5 March 1976

For Workers Revolution to Smash Apartheid!

MARCH 1—In the wake of its recent military victory, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is now consolidating a bourgeois regime. The Luanda government is currently negotiating with Diamang, the giant diamond company owned by Portuguese, British, South African, American and Belgian capital, over its huge mining concessions. Diamang has requested a partnership with the new government in order to boost falling productivity in the mines (*New York Times*, 24 February).

The MPLA is also mending fences with heretofore antagonistic neighboring governments. On February 28, MPLA leader Agostinho Neto concluded an agreement with Mobutu Sese Seko, president of Zaïre (the ex-Belgian Congo) providing for mutual recognition, exchange of refugees and unimpeded communication. Six thousand former Katangan gendarmes—enemies of Mobutu who have lived for ten years in northeastern Angola where they were allied with the Portuguese and then, after the April 1974 coup in Lisbon, contracted a marriage of convenience with the MPLA—will be "repatriated." Zaïre, in turn, will expel large numbers of Bakongo refugees who had become a drain on its shaky economy. Proving that oil is thicker than blood, Mobutu is also kicking out the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), headed by his tribal kinsman Holden Roberto (*New York Times*, 1 March).

The ignominious defeat of imperialist-backed forces in Angola was a shattering but not necessarily irreversible blow for the plans of white-supremacist South Africa to establish a cross-continent buffer zone of economically dependent black client states. The government of Balthazar Vorster, while intensifying domestic repression and strengthening its military capacity, has simultaneously made new overtures to various African governments in the hopes of working out a deal sealing off the apartheid police state from "contamination" by its black-ruled neighbors.

Despite its "anti-imperialist" bluster, the MPLA is prepared to reach a modus vivendi with the Pretoria regime. Its troops have carefully avoided any military confrontation with the South African army since the latter pulled back from the front lines several weeks ago. In a widely noted interview disclaiming "any intention to undertake nationalizations" at present, Luanda's foreign minister, José Eduardo Dos Santos, opened the door to an arrangement with Vorster: "The Pretoria government must recognize a fact: the

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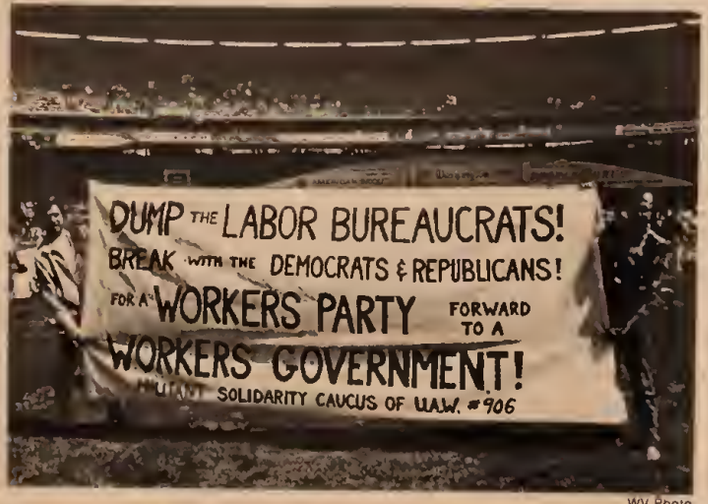
Tanks on parade in Pretoria. AP

Not a Dime's Worth of Difference in Presidential Primaries

Labor Tails Bosses' Parties



WV Photo

Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 banner at last April's Washington "March for Jobs."

Break With the Democrats — Build a Workers Party!

MARCH 1—Outside factory gates in Massachusetts these days, workers are as likely to find a big-name politician as the coffee vendor. In Boston the "hopeful" bigwig might be as hopeless as Sargent Shriver in his corduroy windbreaker or denim jean jacket soliloquizing on the good old days of Kennedy's "Camelot." Or it might be "Fred" Harris preaching his neo-populist baloney about "breaking up the big corporations." Or perhaps Morris Udall talking in a similar vein to unemployed shipyard workers in East Boston: "Pretty soon you'll have a few conglomerates running the industry. I want to break up the big conglomerates." Or it might even be President Ford himself, who after years of recession and depression has the audacity to campaign on the basis of his economic "successes"!

The "working man's vote" in this presidential election year is expected to go to the Democrats, who in the light of those Republican "successes" are expected to be easy winners. Although the Democratic candidates offer just another variety of the same phony "solutions" (and sometimes exactly the same variety), nevertheless the Democratic campaign makes the inevitable appeal to working people as the "party of the workers." That appeal is taken up by such snake-oil salesmen as Morris Udall, Birch Bayh, "Jimmy" Carter, Henry Jackson, "Fred" Harris, that "non-candidate" favorite of the labor tops Hubert Humphrey and, of course, George Wallace.

The Democrats attack Ford saying that "this year the economy is the issue," but each of these imagined saviours of a decaying capitalist order has a program to shore up the economy by further

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WV Photos

"Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?"

WL Slander-Fest Picketed in NYC

NEW YORK, February 28—"Who Gave Healy *His* Security Clearance?" The Spartacist League (SL), protesting its exclusion and demanding a stop to the Workers League (WL) slander campaign, picketed a WL "public" meeting on "How the GPU Killed Trotsky" held tonight at New York University. The meeting was the first in a nationwide series planned by the WL to propagate its scurrilous and totally empty charge that Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack were "accomplices" of the Stalinist secret police in the 1940 assassination of Trotsky. The inspiration for the smear campaign emanates from the WL's sinister mentor, Gerry Healy of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), who has evidently appointed himself the Vyshinsky of the WL/WRP's ersatz Moscow Trials.

Arriving at the meeting the 50 SL supporters found, as anticipated, that their entry was blocked by a WL goon squad. The SLers proceeded to set up a picket line chanting "Trotsky Died Fighting Stalinist Lies, Healy's Slanders Must Not Get By!" SL signs demanded "Fight Hansen's Reformism Politically, Not with Stalinist Slanders," "Workers League 'Method'—Anti-Democratic Exclusions and the Big Lie" and "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International."

The WL had cynically misled the socialist public about the meeting, which was advertised in the *Village Voice* as an apparent exposé of the GPU's murder of Trotsky. Ads in the WL's *Bulletin* announced the real topic: "Joseph Hansen and George Novack, Accomplices of the GPU Unmasked." The WL ranks had been closeted inside the auditorium early to prevent their exposure to the SL demonstration. But others got a taste of what the WL/WRP calls "Security and the Fourth International" as the paranoid WL interrogated everyone unknown to them to root out suspected "secret-Sparts."

Inside the sanitized forum (in which no time was allotted for floor discussion in any case), *Bulletin* editor Jeff Sebastian and new WL national secretary David North proceeded to regurgitate endless fake-factual minutiae and insinuations about Trotsky's assassination designed to convince the naive that, incomprehensible though it all seems, it must prove *something*. In fact the WL has produced not one shred of evidence against Hansen or Novack. A leaflet distributed outside by the SL noted that "Hansen's current role as chief ideologue for the reformist program of the no-longer-revolutionary SWP in no ways alters this simple fact: the WL/WRP have produced exactly nothing to call into question this man's fundamental integrity-as a Trotskyist in 1940."

The featured speaker—one Harold Robins, former head of security at Trotsky's house in Coyoacan, Mexico—carefully avoided backing up the WL on allegations pivotal to the WL's slander barrage. At no time did Robins state or infer that Hansen or Novack were "accomplices of the GPU." Nor did he echo the WL's insinuations about Robert Sheldon Harte, an SWP member and Coyoacan guard who was killed in an earlier GPU machine-gun raid on the house. Throughout his long and rambling remarks, Robins was clearly most concerned to protect himself from any charges of negligence. For Robins to lend himself to a campaign whose central thrust is to libel Hansen, apparently without endorsing the accusations against Hansen, demonstrates either criminal cynicism or incredible political malice—or perhaps both.

At the forum, North read from the SL leaflet which protested the Stalin-style slanders. He accused the SL of being the SWP's attorney. But it is no accident that the SWP turned down the SL's invitation to join a demonstration against the despicable vilification of the SWP's own leaders. It falls to the Spartacist League to defend the revolutionary history of the SWP, the party which at the time of Trotsky's death was the revolutionary U.S. section of the Fourth International.

The SL leaflet noted that the WL's mud-slinging is an attack not only against Hansen and Novack, "but at bottom against the revolutionary SWP of 1940, against Trotsky and the Fourth International. At the time of the assassination it was the Stalinists who charged that Trotsky had been killed by one of 'his own' in a falling out among thieves. The attempt to portray the FI as a morally degenerate gang was part and parcel of Stalin's central task: to discredit Trotsky and the FI as the legitimate continuators of the revolutionary tradition of Lenin. Now the WL has made itself an 'accomplice' of this despicable method." ■

Letters

New York
2 March 1976

Dear Editor,

In "Western European Stalinists Delete 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'" part 1 in *WV* No. 97 you state: "The unopposed Nazi triumph, said Leon Trotsky, meant that the Third International was dead as a revolutionary force: a new, Fourth International had to be built." This truncates the actual historical process through which Trotsky judged the Stalinized Comintern to be politically bankrupt. From its inception until 1933 the International Left Opposition considered itself an expelled faction of the Comintern. Trotsky fought against sectarians and impatient comrades within his own ranks who demanded an earlier definitive break from the bureaucratized Comintern which seemed capable only of treachery and defeat. Trotsky argued that the bankruptcy of the Comintern could be finally judged only through a decisive historic test.

That decisive historic test for the entire Comintern was *twofold*: the failure of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) to oppose the Nazi triumph *and* the failure of the other sections to oppose *even after the Nazi victory* the Stalinist policies which had led to that triumph. On 30 January 1933 Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor; on 27 February the Nazis set fire to the Reichstag and used their own provocation to suspend constitutional guarantees; on 5 March the Nazi government won a "vote of confidence" from the Reichstag. Trotsky considered March 5 to be the "August 4" of the Comintern. But between March 5 and July he called for a new party only in Germany. On 12 March Trotsky wrote:

> "Here it is natural to ask how we act toward the other sections of the Comintern and the Third International as a whole. Do we break with them immediately? In my opinion, it would be incorrect to give a rigid answer—yes, we break with them. The collapse of the KPD diminishes the chances for the regeneration of the Comintern. But on the other hand the catastrophe itself could provoke a healthy reaction in some of the sections. We must be ready to help this process. The question has not been settled for the USSR, where proclamation of the slogan of the second party would be incorrect. We are calling today for the creation of a new party in Germany, to seize the Comintern from the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is not a question of the creation of the Fourth International but of salvaging the Third."
>
> *Writings, 1932-33*

But by July it was clear that the Nazi triumph would not "provoke a healthy reaction in some of the sections." In "It is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew" (dated 15 July 1933) Trotsky wrote:

> "Theoretically, the collapse of the KPD still left two courses open to the Stalinist bureaucracy: either a complete review of the politics and the regime; or, on the contrary, a complete strangulation of all signs of life in the sections of the Comintern. The Left Opposition was guided by this theoretical possibility when, after advancing the slogan of a new party for Germany, it still left open the question of the fate of the Comintern. It was clear, however, that the next few weeks would bring an answer and there was far too little hope that the answer would be a favorable one.
>
> "Everything that has taken place since March 5...testifies conclusively that the fate of not only the KPD but also the entire Comintern was decided in Germany."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Thus it was both the Nazi triumph *and* the Comintern's shameful passing off of this world historic defeat for the international proletariat as a "victory" in the following weeks which conclusively demonstrated the political bankruptcy of the Comintern. On a *historic scale* the mission of proletarian revolution then demanded a new instrument and clean banner, the Fourth International.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

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Rizzo Fronts for Bankers

Philadelphia Municipal Workers Protest Hospital Closure

PHILADELPHIA, February 28—Over 3,000 municipal workers and residents marched three miles from Philadelphia General Hospital (PGH) to city hall last Wednesday, demanding that this city's only public hospital remain open. Chanting "Keep PGH Open," most of the predominantly black demonstrators were members of District Councils 33 and 47 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

The labor protest involved nearly all maintenance workers at the hospital and a high percentage of PGH nurses, lab workers and therapists. In a welcome display of solidarity, two divisions of sanitation workers, the tow-truck operators and street repairmen joined the march, thereby crippling their respective city departments. Upon arrival at city hall they directed their anger at Mayor Frank Rizzo. The protestors called on the ex-police commissioner to step outside and explain the projected PGH closure. Despite his bull-dog reputation, "His Honor" was nowhere to be seen.

Faced with an $80 million budget deficit, Rizzo has recently announced a drastic austerity program of cuts in jobs and social services for the working class and poor people of Philadelphia. While he hopes to save $12 million a year by closing PGH, the hospital shutdown is but the tip of the iceberg. The Rizzo plan includes a steep hike in the regressive city wage tax, increases in real estate levies and a hard stance against local AFSCME and AFT affiliates in upcoming contract negotiations this summer.

For millions of tourists, a few selected areas of the "Bicentennial City" will be the center of this year's super-patriotic celebration of 200 years of bourgeois rule. For the working people and impoverished residents of the fourth largest U.S. metropolis, already inadequate social services will be slashed and wages further eroded through higher taxes and inflation. Only three months after being re-elected on the slogans "He's Held the Line on Taxes" and "He Fights for You," the notoriously corrupt Democrat has dramatically reaffirmed that the only interests he fights for are his own and those of the capitalist bloodsuckers for whom he administers Philadelphia.

Closing PGH would mean that many of the city's poorest residents would be denied even the skimpy medical services presently available to them. The hospital complex annually services an estimated 200,000 out-patients and 100,000 emergency cases (mainly from Philadelphia's large black population). It also has an 800-bed facility for the chronically ill. Temple University Hospital's emergency room, the area's second busiest, handles only half as many accident victims as does PGH (*Philadelphia Bulletin*, 18 February). And PGH, like many municipal hospitals across the country, admits patients that no private facility will take, notably those without financial means or medical insurance.

The mayor and the city managing director, Hillel Levinson, have vowed that PGH will be closed "within a year." The precipitous speed of the phase-out is not coincidental. If Philadelphia General is closed, a hotel complex is planned to occupy the lucrative site.

While PGH should obviously be kept open, its medical facilities are notoriously poor. Only the complete socialization of medicine can open the way to adequate health care. As part of a massive public works program at union wages, more and better hospitals must be constructed to alleviate overcrowding and to provide more jobs.

The reaction of the municipal union bureaucrats to the threatened closing of PGH has revealed their total inability to defeat the Rizzo austerity plan. While leaders of District Councils 33 and 47 initiated Wednesday's rally against the mayor, they supported the cop candidate last November in return for a measly 12.5 percent pay hike. Though now verbally opposed to Rizzo, they are still tied to the capitalist politicians by their support for "independent" Charles Bowser, who spoke at the rally. Their "answer" to the closure is to push lawyer Bowser's court suit claiming that the administration is violating the city charter.

Bowser, for his part, is cynically using the city workers' hostility to the "austerity" cutbacks to further his own position in the Democratic Party. Although the Communist Party has been lauding his "independent" Philidelphia Party, Bowser has endorsed Morris Udall for U.S. president and ran for mayor against Rizzo last year on a similar austerity program.

City workers must reject the dead-end of the capitalist parties. Only the independent mobilization of Philadelphia labor, not impotent bourgeois court suits, can defeat Rizzo's job-slashing attacks. Albert Johnson (president of AFSCME Local 488 at Philadelphia General) and the rest of the union bureaucracy must be dumped in the struggle to build a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government capable of doing away with the murderous cops and draconian cutbacks that beset the decaying capitalist cities. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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William F. Steinmetz/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia city workers at rally last week.

WV Photo

Madison Sit-In to Defend Menominee 4

Demonstrators at the Wisconsin state capitol building in Madison on Tuesday, February 24 protested the killing of two Menominee Indians by County Sheriff Kenneth Fish, and demanded that charges be dropped against four Menominee Warrior Society supporters involved in the armed occupation of an estate belonging to a Catholic religious order in January 1975.

The rally was part of a week of mass demonstrations and sit-ins at the state capitol in which 150-250 students from the University of Wisconsin participated. Spartacus Youth League (SYL) supporters participated daily with signs, leaflets and speeches demanding the jailing of Fish and exposing the role of the racist cops and courts.

While SYL proposals for broadening the protest activities won wide support from the demonstrators, its proposal to enlarge the Support Committee (which consists mainly of the social-democratic Wisconsin Alliance and independent liberals) to include representatives of all other groups active in the demonstrations was blocked by anti-communism and race-baiting from the Committee.

Tuesday was the last big sit-in, with cops dragging students from the building. Since then, the Support Committee has retreated to passive nightly vigils with a token handful of supporters held in the capitol with police permission.

Washington Post Strike: Anatomy of a Defeat

Maroon

Post publisher Katherine Graham

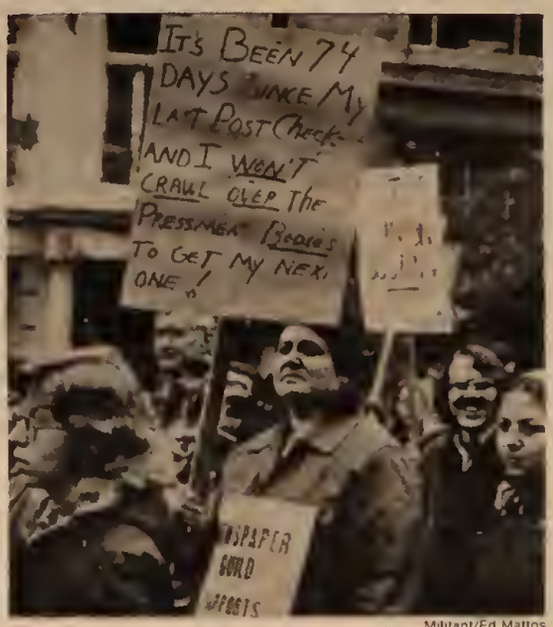
FEBRUARY 29—The five-month strike of craft employees at the *Washington Post* has disintegrated in a wave of scabbing. The defeat virtually ensures the destruction of the pressmen's union and leaves the other *Post* unions severely weakened as well.

As if to remind militants that the class struggle is indeed a war between fundamentally counterposed classes—labor and capital—*Post* general manager Mark J. Meagher exulted: "you have one union dead on the battlefield, and others that have been chastened by the combat" (*New York Times*, 29 February). Meagher explained that the *Post* management had pursued an aggressive strategy of so-called corporate militancy (to "take" a strike and win it by "brute strength") consisting of preparing, provoking and enduring a possibly damaging work stoppage in order to defeat once and for all printing trades' unionism at the *Post*.

If only the leaders of American labor would avail themselves of a similarly long-term strategy! As it was, the protracted dispute cost the *Post* bosses relatively little (the paper was able to continue production uninterrupted except for one day) and the inconveniences will be more than offset by the disastrous settlements forced on the striking unions. Most important, the effects of the defeat inflicted on trade unionism at the *Post* will be felt throughout the Washington-Baltimore area labor movement and by printing workers nationally.

On February 16 the mailers, by a vote of 129-58, ratified a new contract with the *Post*. The next day they returned to work, along with the printers who as fellow members of the International Typographers Union (ITU) had been supporting the mailers' strike. When the ITU members—who had made up over 50 percent of the union employees refusing to work—crossed the picket lines on February 17, the strike was dealt its death blow. Out of the steadily shrinking minority of Newspaper Guild members (reporters, editors and commercial employees) who had respected the picket lines, 100 more defected. The following day the photoengravers agreed to a new contract. This left the pressmen, some smaller unions (machinists and operating engineers) who have yet to negotiate a new contract and a smattering of other individuals refusing to cross the picket lines.

The pressmen, who are staying out in the face of management's determination to replace them permanently, are understandably bitter at their desertion by most of the labor movement. On February 20 twenty-six pressmen had occupied the national headquarters of the AFL-CIO demanding unequivocal support from the labor federation. On orders from AFL-CIO head George Meany (then at an executive council meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida) the militant pressmen were arrested.



Militant/Ed Mattos

SWP story in the Militant with this photo was apology for scabs.

In a statement issued three days later from Florida, the AFL-CIO claimed to support the pressmen, but announced it could not sanction a national boycott of the *Post*, which would hurt members of AFL-CIO unions which now have "valid contracts"with the *Post*. This refusal of even symbolic solidarity with the victims of the *Post*'s declarations of open season on unionism amounted to official AFL-CIO support for scabbing by union members.

War at the Post

The *Washington Post* strike began last September 30 when the contracts of several craft unions expired. Management's major target was the pressmen's union (Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union), which has been the most militant of the *Post* unions. The company's demands—which included elimination of current overtime provisions, reduction of 63 workers to "floater" status, abolition of virtually all shop-floor control by the union, freedom to bring in non-union labor—were deliberate provocations. The company was prepared for a long strike, having cross-trained more than 100 employees over a two-year period in craft operations at a notorious newspaper industry scab-training facility in Oklahoma.

The strike began with some minor damage done to the presses, allegedly in retaliation for the company's massive preparations for the use of scabs. While this response to the *Post's* union-busting drive was understandable, as later events proved, it was almost totally ineffectual in impeding production of the paper; further, management cynically used it to scandalize the union and give weak-kneed union members an excuse to scab.

From the beginning of the strike the majority of the members of the *Post* unit of the Newspaper Guild defied their union leadership and scabbed. Assured of a steady supply of copy, utilizing carefully trained scabs in craft operations and fortifying itself with anti-picketing injunctions, management was in a strong position. The strikers' inability to prevent the *Post* from publishing led to demoralization and the final, shameful end of the tenuous solidarity among the craft unions.

When ITU members crawled across the picket lines to reclaim their jobs on February 17, they not only ensured the destruction of the pressmen's union but also sounded the death knell of trade unionism at the *Post*. While unions will continue to exist, they will do so only at the suffrance of the *Post* management—so long as liberal editor Kathryn Graham deems that whatever the surviving unions dare to demand is not too high a price to pay for a union bug. The divisive craft union set-up would make employee unity difficult to achieve under the best of circumstances, but the disastrous collapse of the strike will now make it virtually impossible.

Already management has begun to shove its victory down the throats of the returning workers. Ray Collins, secretary-treasurer of pressmen's Local 6, told *Workers Vanguard* that the contract the mailers agreed to on February 16 was inferior to the one originally offered. The new contract involves a reduction in manning scales and permits Sunday advertising supplements to be inserted by non-union labor outside the newspaper plant. Collins reports that when the ITU returned to work, one of its shop representatives was immediately fired (the firing was later reduced to disciplinary layoff) for questioning management directives—a company atrocity which would not have been tolerated in the past.

Scabs Conciliated

The scabbing at the *Post* by union members, unprecedented in the Washington area, is having reverberations throughout the labor movement. The Newspaper Guild leaders, whose conservatism and parochialism have since the very beginning eroded the labor solidarity which would have been the only way to stave off disaster at the *Post*, now find themselves confronted by scabs who have taken the offensive. The union tops' response is utterly typical in its gutlessness.

On January 29 the international executive board of the Guild voted nine to six to overturn any disciplinary action taken by its Washington-Baltimore local against scab Guild members. Local charges brought against scabs had called for penalties including suspension from union membership and fines of up to 125 percent of salaries earned while working. These sanctions had been averted initially by a court order postponing all disciplinary action until after Guild elections at the *Post* unit.

In the elections Don Baker, a reporter who had crossed picket lines since the first day, was elected chairman of the Guild *Post* unit by a two-to-one margin over strike supporter John Hanrahan. The scabs have also obtained enough signatures to file for an NLRB bargaining election that would decertify the Guild at the *Post*. The spineless International, panicky over the prospect of losing the dues of the 843 Guild members at the *Post*, knuckled under to the scabs' blackmail. Not only did it agree to let the scabs off scot-free, but it acceded to their demand that Brian Flores—administrator of the Washington-Baltimore local and an anti-scab spokesman—be replaced as chief negotiator for the *Post* Guild.

The election of a new president of the Washington-Baltimore Guild unit was another testament to the suicidal anti-solidarity sentiment which is running rampant. Tom Grubisich, a *Post* employee whose principal backing came from his own strikebreaking unit, was chosen over International executive board member Warren Howard. Although Gruhisich himself had respected the picket lines, he was considered a moderate compared to the incumbent, who had demanded sharp disciplinary measures against the scabs.

If the Guild International had had any semblance of backbone, it would have expelled the scabs early in the

continued on page 9

Michigan AFL-CIO News

Ford's limousine crossed picket line to get a copy of the scab Post.

Jail Murderers of Hampton and Clark!

Fred Hampton's bed after raid on Chicago Panther headquarters by police in December 1969.

John White/Chicago Daily News

CHICAGO—At 4:40 a.m. on 4 December 1969, eight cops broke into a five-room apartment on Chicago's West Side, their machine guns blasting more than 90 rounds into the bedrooms of Black Panther Party (BPP) members who lived there. The assassination team, a special squad under the direction of Illinois State Attorney Edward Hanrahan, left 21-year-old BPP Chicago chairman Fred Hampton dead in a bloodsoaked bed, two bullets in his brain. In addition, Peoria, Illinois, Panther leader Mark Clark was shot to death in his sleep and four more party members, men and women, were wounded in what was probably the most savage government murder raid in modern U.S. history.

Hanrahan and 27 other local, state and federal officials are defendants in a $47.7 million civil damages suit trial now in its eighth week before the U.S. district court here. The suit was brought by the seven survivors of the raid and by relatives of Hampton and Clark. The workers movement is interested in seeing the surviving victims of this ruling-class butchery receive every cent in redress they can from the killers and the state that dispatched them. We also demand that the murderers of Hampton and Clark be immediately jailed!

Put Chicago Police and FBI on Trial for Murder

It is outrageous that Hanrahan's raiders and their accomplices are facing only civil charges for their murderous crimes. A people's tribunal in a workers state would deal out summary justice to these stormtrooper executioners, who are clearly guilty even under bourgeois law. In a 1972 bench trial (without jury), Hanrahan and other law enforcement officials faced criminal charges of covering up evidence against the cops who were the actual trigger-men on the job. But the judge, like Hanrahan a product of Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic Party machine, dismissed the charges.

The damages suit has brought out the vast array of racist, anti-communist secret police apparatuses thrown against the Black Panthers in Chicago and elsewhere. The FBI (with its COINTELPRO disruption program and a special "Racial Matters Division" in Chicago), the Chicago Police Department (particularly its Gang Intelligence Unit and Red Squad) and Army intelligence (through its connections with local police and right-wing terrorists in the notorious "Legion of Justice") are all squirming in the spotlight.

For almost seven years the Chicago cops and courts have been denying what was clear from the beginning. Even the initial grand jury, which failed to return any indictments, found the police departmental investigation "so seriously deficient that it suggests purposeful malfeasance" (*New York Times*, 13 February 1974). The grand jury saved its sharpest attack for the BPP, condemning its "display of weapons" and "distrust of the law enforcement system." But why were the Panthers "distrustful" of capitalist "law and order"? Because that system was out to murder them in their beds!

That there was a deliberate government conspiracy involved has been repeatedly confirmed. With the release in 1973 of documents of the FBI's secret COINTELPRO, it became known that the Black Panther Party in Chicago was infiltrated by an FBI informer named William O'Neal. (The infiltrator and his control agent, Roy Mitchell, are among the defendants in the damages suit.) O'Neal, who had a police record before being recruited by the FBI, had risen to become the Chicago BPP's "chief of security" and Hampton's personal bodyguard. According to a deposition he gave in January 1974, at one point O'Neal built a home-made electric chair to scare informers.

Ever since the bloody pre-dawn raid

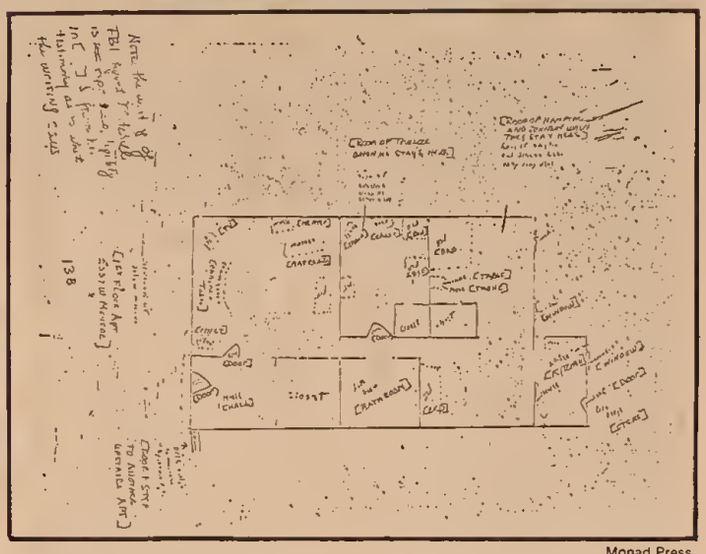
UPI

Fred Hampton

in 1969 the cops have said that they were "looking for illegal weapons." However, less than two weeks earlier O'Neal had reported that the guns kept by the Chicago Panthers were legally owned; in fact, one of his jobs as BPP "chief of security" was to see that all weapons were properly registered. Moreover, the informer had filed a report with his FBI bosses stating that the Panthers would be out of their apartment on December 3. If the government was really looking for illegal weapons, as it claimed, it could have carried out a search the night before their raid without danger of bloodshed. O'Neal had also provided Hanrahan's special cops with a complete floor plan of the apartment, including the spot where Hampton's bed would be.

So the warrant for a weapons raid on the BPP apartment was obtained on false pretenses. However, police sergeant Daniel Groth who led the raid says he was told by a "reliable informant" that there were illegal arms in the apartment. Just who is this informant? That is the question now being asked in the Panther damages suit, but Judge Perry (who in an earlier related trial had dismissed all charges against the major defendants in this case) has refused to demand that the cops produce the name of their informant, claiming that it would "endanger the life of an undercover agent," etc.

In other words, either there is an informer/provocateur still "in place" who supplied bogus information leading to a double murder or, more likely, there never was any such information and the "illegal arms" story was simply invented. In any case, there is clearly sufficient evidence to require a new trial and the jailing of Hanrahan and FBI officials on the charge of conspiracy to murder Hampton and Clark. But it will not be the "law enforcement system" that demands a criminal trial, for government officials up to the highest levels are implicated in the conspiracy and subsequent cover-up.



Monad Press

Floor plan of Panther headquarters in FBI files, compiled from information supplied by government informer.

"Neutralize" the Panthers

The well-orchestrated federal campaign to "get" the Panthers has been amply corroborated by the COINTELPRO documents and the unfolding court testimony of the agents involved. Of all the black political groups in the 1960's, the Black Panther Party was seen by the ruling class (and its megalomaniacal watchdog J. Edgar Hoover) as the most dangerous because of its significant popular appeal nationwide and its emphasis on armed self-defense against cop terror. In the two years prior to the Hampton/Clark murder, 26 other Panthers were gunned down by the police. The Chicago BPP chapter, as the second-largest in the country, was a particular target and in the months immediately before and after the raid its members were hit by 95 arrests.

COINTELPRO directives laid out a policy of hounding, harassing and, if necessary, "hitting" black militants in an attempt to "Prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement" (directive from J. Edgar Hoover, dated 4 March 1968). Forty-one FBI field offices were ordered, in Hoover-esque "death-talk" euphemisms, to "Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups...[by] pinpoint[ing] potential troublemakers and neutraliz-[ing] them before they can exercise their potential for violence." According to one of the Panther lawyers:

> "With the murders of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King already accomplished and much of the Panther Party leadership in jail or in exile, Fred Hampton became to the agents of the government...'Number One' on the Hit Parade; and thus he met his end."
>
> —*Chicago Defender*, 12 August 1975

The present trial confirms that the Hampton/Clark raid was the bloodiest, but far from the only government attack in a concerted effort to destroy the Chicago BPP. In testimony from the witness stand, one of the FBI defendants told how the local FBI had formed a special "Racial Matters Division" to oversee the murderous COINTELPRO assignment. Another defendant, Marlin Johnson, who headed the Chicago FBI office at the time (and now heads the Chicago Police Board), admitted to authoring an "anonymous" letter to Jeff Fort, leader of the powerful Blackstone Rangers street gang, falsely warning him that the Panthers had "a hit out for you" (quoted in the Chicago *Reader*, 20 February 1976). Johnson disingenuously "defended" this letter, obviously intended to provoke violent retaliation

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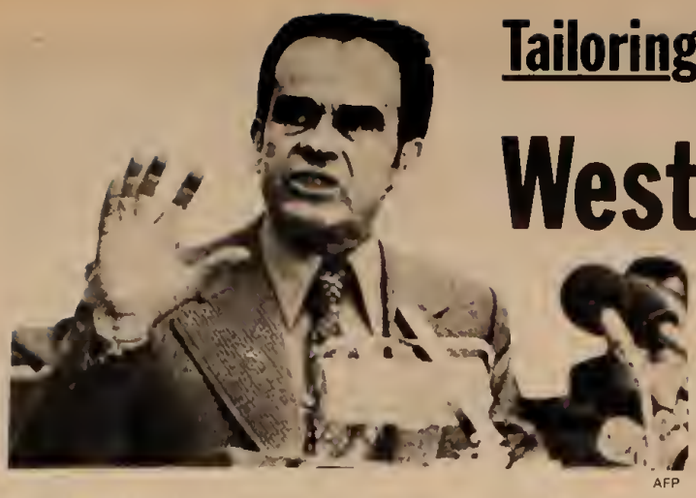
The December 4th Committee has called on those sympathetic to its suit to demonstrate their support by attending trial sessions currently being held at the Federal Building, Room 2541, 219 South Dearborn Street, in Chicago.

Tailoring Program to Practice

West European Stalinists



AFP

PCF leader Marchais: "The raised fist is not in the French tradition, we are for the extended hand"...

Part 2 of 2

While the speeches on domestic policy at the 25th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) ran true to form, without a murmur of dissent, the "monolithic" unity of Stalinism showed some very large cracks when it came to the remarks of foreign party leaders. CPSU general secretary Leonid Brezhnev had already set the stage by noting in his report that "there can be no question of any ideological convergence between scientific communism and the reformism of the social-democrats..." (*Daily World*, 27 February). This was clearly a slap at the French and Italian CP's, which have recently sought to stress their "moderation" and "commitment to democracy" by a barrage of fanfare disclaiming the Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the same elliptical language, Italian Communist Party (PCI) leader Enrico Berlinguer spoke of the PCI's support for "a pluralistic and democratic system" (by which he meant not workers democracy but bourgeois parliamentarianism) and advocated "an Italian foreign policy...in the framework of our country's international alliances" (i.e., maintaining membership in the anti-Soviet NATO alliance). Berlinguer was followed by Guy Plissonnier of the French Communist Party (PCF), standing in for PCF leader Georges Marchais (whose absence was universally regarded as a snub to Brezhnev), highlighting the slogan of "a socialism in the colors of France" (*New York Times*, 28 and 29 February)—i.e., the tricolor of French imperialism's wars against the workers and peasants of Indochina, Algeria, etc.

This "debate" was indicative of important divergences between the Soviet party and what is by now a majority of the West European CP's. The depth of the rift (or at least its public expression) varies—from the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), which for some years was openly spurned by CPSU leaders, to the British Communist Party which has been politely pushing for a relaxation of repression against political dissidents in the Soviet Union. But the themes are the same, and the centrifugal pressures are mounting.

Thus, in addition to the French and Italian parties, we have the following picture:

- The Dutch party has stopped attending international meetings of Moscow-line CP's.
- PCE leader Santiago Carrillo, like Marchais, deliberately boycotted the Moscow congress. In a meeting with a delegation of the PCF at the end of January, the Spanish Communists agreed that the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is "outdated," and in an interview in mid-December Carrillo declared: "There cannot exist a common line between the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries and the party-states of East Europe.... There cannot be a global strategy. If one existed, it would be a violation of the principle of coexistence..." (*Le Monde*, 17 December).
- The Finnish Communist Party is split between a pro-Russian majority led by chairman Arne Saarinen, and an "independent" minority barely contained within the framework of a single party.
- In Britain, the CP's popular secretary for Scotland James Reid (the leader of the 1971 "work-in" at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and a member of the party's political bureau) resigned asserting that "the democratic credentials of Communists...have not been established in the minds of the people." At the recent Polish Workers Party congress, a member of the British CP leadership openly acknowledged differences with Moscow (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 22 February).
- During negotiations late last year for a projected conference of European Communist Parties, the CPSU wanted the conference to end with the signature of a declaration binding all parties to the same policy line. The French, Italian and Spanish delegations (together with the Yugoslav and Rumanian CP's) opposed this, with the British representatives leaning toward the "independents."
- In a recent survey of West European Communist Parties, the London *Times* (16 February) found even the Icelandic party's loyalty to Moscow "at best fitful, at worst doubtful," and concluded that the only unconditionally pro-Brezhnev party was that of tiny Luxemburg.

Social-Democratization of the Stalinist Parties?

The Russian bureaucracy's concern with these developments is understandable, and last month the official CPSU newspaper, *Pravda* (13 February), published a major article warning that "highly dubious arguments have been advanced in favor of the Union of the Left, and an eventual weakening of the political positions of the Communists is being considered, a 'social-democratization' of the Communist parties."

Are the West European Stalinist parties becoming "social-democratized"? Certainly, their political programs and actions are thoroughly reformist, as is also the case with the mass social-democratic parties of France, Germany, Italy, etc. Increasingly, even their language is the same. Thus in proposing to delete the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" from the party statutes, PCF leader Georges Marchais justified this with the comment:

> "'dictatorship' automatically brings to mind the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco, that is, the very negation of democracy. This is not what we want."
>
> *Le Monde*, 5 February

This reference to supposedly classless democracy could have been lifted word-for-word from the writings of Karl Kautsky, who led the chorus of social-democratic pedants condemning the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky for setting up a "dictatorship." Kautsky's crowning argument was: "Literally, the word dictatorship means the abolition of democracy" (*Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, 1918).

To this, Lenin replied that the liberals speak of democracy in general, the Marxists ask "for which class?" Dictatorship does not necessarily mean abolition of democracy for the class that exercises dictatorship over the other classes. Dictatorship is, rather, "rule based directly on force"; "The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie..." (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, 1918). Kautsky rejected revolutionary violence, and thereby the revolution itself. His devotion to supposedly abstract democracy was open support for capitalist rule.

Similarly, in a direct negation of Marx's dictum that "the working men have no country," West European Stalinists (particularly the French and Italians) now pose as the best patriots. In arguing for a policy of ever broader alliances and a "union of the people of France," Marchais declared at the PCF's 22nd congress in early February that "Everything that is national is ours." Curiously, it is precisely this slogan that appears above the masthead of the French monarcho-clericalist newspaper *Action Française* (*Le Monde*, 19 February).

In justification for the overt and fundamental revision of Marxism involved in rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, the PCF general secretary alluded to "new problems" which had risen since the time of Marx. Other examples of "new answers" to such problems cited by Marchais were: Stalin's discovery of the possibility of socialism in one country, Khrushchev's discovery of the peaceful transition to socialism, and the popular front. This list is quite apt, for in each case the new "discovery" is in fact a justification for class collaboration and betrayal of the interests of the international proletariat. Marchais is quite right to insist that his "deletion" of the dictatorship of the proletariat is consistent with the rest of Stalinist dogma!

It was in struggling against these betrayals and in defense of Marxist principles that the Trotskyist movement has been forged. Already in 1928, L. D. Trotsky warned:

> "If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country, then one can believe in that theory not only *after* but also *before* the conquest of power. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia, then there is all the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will undertake to propound this theory. The draft program empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism. The Communist Party of any capitalist country, which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses the 'necessary and sufficient' prerequisites for the independent construction of a 'complete socialist society,' will not differ in any substantial manner from the revolutionary social democracy which also did not begin with a Noske but which stumbled decisively on August 4, 1914, over this very same question."
>
> —"The Theory of Socialism in One Country," in *The Third International After Lenin*

The Stalinized Communist Parties have long since passed their August 4; Stalin dissolved the Communist International in 1943 precisely in order to better aid the "war effort" of the imperialist democracies, and the social-patriotism of Marchais leaves little to be desired from the point of view of the bourgeoisie. It is not surprising, therefore, that these reformist fake-communists should adopt the social-democratic phraseology that fits their actual program.

Family of Reformism

But the social-democratization of a party is not determined simply by a glance at its formal program. Thus Léon Blum and various other left social democrats at the time of the foundation of the Communist International verbally accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, among West European CP's inclusion of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the party program is not an indication either of the degree of support to Moscow, or of a division into "hard" and "soft" parties. Thus, for example, the Finnish party already dropped the term in 1965, during its participation in an earlier popular-front government; today the party is once again in a popular front

Paris Match

...Portuguese CP's Cunhal (left) raises fist, Italian CP's Berlinguer (right) extends hand. M dictatorship of the proletariat, oppose workers revolution.

s Delete "Dictatorship of Proletariat"

and it is precisely the Kremlin-loyal faction of Saarinen that is most committed to maintaining the alliance with its "own" bourgeoisie. Again, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), reputedly the "hardest" CP of West Europe, was the first party during the 1970's to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat from its program (in November 1974), replacing it with the "unity of popular forces in the political struggle." Among the "popular forces" it includes "even sectors of the middle bourgeoisie" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 9 November 1974).

Moreover, as much as 40 years ago the Stalinists were openly admitting—in fact, crowing—that their aim was not to establish a revolutionary working-class state. In August 1936, the PCF's *L'Humanité* published an article declaring: "The Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defense of the republican order, while respecting property" (quoted in Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*). As for Marchais' grotesque superpatriotism, already in the 1936 popular-front elections the PCF was calling for a "union of the French nation"! Those who are shocked by the recent speeches of Marchais and Berlinguer should read what American Communist Party leader Earl Browder was saying during World War II, when the CPUSA sang the Star Spangled Banner at cell meetings, ran ads for Victory Bonds...and broke strikes for FDR.

Informations Ouvrieres

Santiago Carrillo

É. Martino

hand. Marchais, Cunhal, Berlinguer all repudiate

Stalinist parties are those who are subservient to—who act as agents of, as transmission belts for—the ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states. In Stalin's time, Moscow was the "Third Rome" and there was rigid control from the Kremlin. Today, there are a number of deformed workers states outside the Soviet bloc (e.g., China, Vietnam, Cuba, Yugoslavia) and in the capitalist countries there are frequently two or more competing Stalinist parties, usually Brezhnevites, Castroites and Maoists (and often several shadings of the latter).

Poppertolo

Headquarters of the French Communist Party proclaimed the virtues of the Popular Front during the 1936 elections.

West European Communist Parties have by no means totally broken with Moscow. In small CP's such forms of subsidy as a guaranteed 4,000 subscriptions to the party newspaper from Soviet libraries are of considerable relative weight. Even the several million strong PCI reportedly obtains a substantial part of its financing from companies which serve as brokers for Italian-USSR trade. But this does not mean that Stalinist parties could not become social-democratic, dropping their ties to Moscow, Peking or Havana. In Europe, the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties are already well advanced along this road.

The clearest example of such a transformation is the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). As did most West European CP's, the CPA criticized the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. For various reasons, internal tensions in the party escalated and by 1971 Moscow-loyal elements felt so excluded from the top leadership that they split off to form the Socialist Party of Australia. This proved to be the watershed. Henceforth opposing an unambiguously Moscow-backed party on its national terrain, the CPA has evolved into a social-democratic party whose reformist commitment to the maintenance of bourgeois rule is unencumbered by any ties to the Russian bureaucracy. Commenting on the CPA's attempt to gain hegemony over the Australian left by absorbing every tendency into one big social-democratic swamp, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand wrote: "The bureaucratic centralism of Stalinism is replaced by the bureaucratic anarchism of social-democracy" (*Australasian Spartacist*, June 1974).

Bourgeois Workers Parties

In a document concerning the "Evolution of the Communist Parties in Capitalist Europe," the political bureaus of European sections of the self-proclaimed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) wrote of the Stalinist CP's that:

> "their political line at any given moment is a reflection of the interests of neither the bourgeoisie nor the petty bourgeoisie, but of the bureaucracy that has usurped power in the workers state of the USSR. It is this allegiance to the USSR, a degenerated workers state, that fundamentally differentiates the CPs from the Social Democratic parties, the objective foundations of whose political orientation consist of conciliation and capitulation to the imperialist bourgeoisie. Even when they render historically decisive services to the bourgeoisie, as they did at the time of the Popular Front or in the 1944-1947 period, the CPs do so not because of any allegiance to big capital, but because of the counterrevolutionary politics of the Soviet bureaucracy"
>
> —*Inprecor*, 12 December 1974

The document also refers to the PCI as a "workers party historically marked by Stalinism and more and more inserted into a reformist logic." Elsewhere, the USec has written that "The Spanish and Italian CPs are developing a policy more openly reformist..." (*Rouge*, 26 September 1975). All of these comments are clearly intended to mean that the Communist Parties of Europe are only *now* becoming reformist, that there is a *qualitative* difference between them and the social-democratic parties that is *currently* being bridged.

This is historically false. With the formation of the popular fronts during the 1930's, the parties of the Stalinized Comintern codified their passing into the camp of pro-capitalist reformism. Trotsky called them "Mensheviks of the second mobilization": they were not simply loyal to Moscow, but also to their own bourgeoisies, as they themselves stressed repeatedly. Moreover, the Stalinist parties outside the USSR were during the late 1930's and the Second World War if anything, *more* dangerous to the proletariat and the cause of socialist revolution than were the social democrats.

For example, in 1934 left-wing elements in the Spanish Socialist Party were calling for a break from the bourgeois parties and making plans for a workers insurrection if conservative forces should cut off their access to governmental office via the parliamentary road. (While the Madrid leadership decided to call off the insurrection at the last minute, SP sections in the Asturias region did rise up together with the anarchists and were brutally suppressed by the army.) In Austria, too, social democrats took up arms against a bourgeois government. In a number of countries the Socialist Parties or split-offs from them became for a time centrist formations distinctly to the left of the Stalinists.

Moreover, because of their subservience to the counterrevolutionary diplomatic policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the Stalinist parties were capable of crimes which the social democrats often did not have the internal cohesion to carry out. The CPs' claim to the authority of the October Revolution became in the hands of the Stalinists a powerful tool in the service of class treason. In the United States during World War II, it was the Communist Party that was the most rabid strikebreaking, scabherding force in the labor movement, standing well to the right even of many reactionary bureaucrats. In France and Italy at the end of the war, the bourgeois regimes could not have been stabilized without the aid of the Stalinist leaders in disarming their own militants.

During the 1970's there has been a rise in working-class militancy in West Europe and sections of Latin America. While for a time in the 1950's and early 1960's the Stalinists were rigidly excluded from governmental participation—outlawed in West Germany, put in concentration camps in Chile—now their services are once again urgently needed by the bourgeoisie. Hence the rise of a new wave of popular fronts, whose purpose is to brake the labor struggles, to bind the workers hand and foot to the class enemy. The bloody consequences of these class-collaborationist policies were seen in the 1973 Chilean coup and loom on the horizon in Portugal.

In the same USec document which denies that the Stalinist parties are loyal to big capital, or even to petty-bourgeois forces, the followers of Ernest Mandel go to great pains to distinguish recent Communist-Socialist blocs with small bourgeois formations from the "classical" popular front. They did so also in Chile, where instead of denouncing Allende's class-collaborationist Popular Unity (UP) coalition as a popular front and calling on the workers parties to break from the bourgeoisie, they instead conciliated the UP, terming it "reformist," calling on it to adopt more militant policies, etc. By their failure to warn the masses of the grave threat represented by the Allende regime, the Mandelites share in the responsibility for the bloody coup.

Ever since the early 1950's, when Michel Pablo (then head of the Fourth International) abandoned the Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism as a counterrevolutionary current in the workers movement—instead terming it centrist and ordering sections of the FI to submerge into Stalinist parties—the liquidationist current now embodied in the USec has fostered illusions in a succession of non-proletarian misleaders from the "centrist" Kremlin to the "unconscious Marxist" Castro. The characterization of the pro-Moscow Stalinist parties as not quite yet reformist is another aspect of this Pabloism, with consequences potentially as dangerous as those flowing from the USec's failure to recognize the existence of a popular front in Chile.

The Stalinist leaders often appeal to the October Revolution and Lenin; social democrats frequently deny any connection with Marxism or even to be a working-class party: both, however, are profoundly reformist, pro-capitalist currents within the workers movement.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not just "a single phrase from Marx" as Kautsky said. For the communards of Paris, for the Russian Bolsheviks, for authentic Trotskyists today the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a phrase to be deleted in contempt or added in cynicism. The struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat—for workers revolution—demands the construction of Trotskyist parties capable of breaking the working class from both forms of bourgeois workers parties—Stalinism and social democracy. ■

Warehouse Convention...

(continued from page 12)

before the bosses. Regarding the call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, he recognized it as a goal of the labor movement "sometime or another" (!), but did not think it appropriate for warehouse this year. McClain also asserted that it was not necessary to eliminate the no-strike clause in the contract since ILWU workers have struck despite this provision when "the issue was right," as at Heublein's. He failed to mention that these actions were undertaken in spite of the union officials' sabotage and suffered company retaliation such as the firing of stewards.

Although bureaucratic agenda arrangements prevented an overall reply to the officers' report, members of the Militant Caucus (MC) were able to clearly counterpose a class-struggle program to this sellout line during the discussion period. Despite the existence of several clusters of would-be militants in Local 6, only the MC supporters openly pushed at the convention to eliminate the no-strike clause and for the unrestricted right to strike, for elected strike committees, and for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, to create more jobs.

In addition, the Caucus argued for such necessary demands as 100 percent cost-of-living allowance; elimination of the employers' 90-day probation period, in favor of the "dispatch from the hiring hall means a job" policy; a one-year contract instead of the proposed three years, and a $2 per hour wage increase instead of the $1 hourly hike (which only amounts to a catch-up raise) proposed by the leadership. The MC fought for militant strike tactics, including the sit-down strike, to halt runaway shops, and for a mass mobilization of ILWU and Teamster warehousemen in the upcoming contract battle, backed by a refusal of longshoremen to handle scab cargo.

The other self-proclaimed militants did nothing but crawl before the bureaucracy, simply aping its disdain for rank-and-file opposition. One leaflet issued by "Warehouse Communist Party Members" was entitled "Unity, Unity, Unity" and spelled out in black and white the CP's grovelling loyalty to McClain & Co.:

> "...we must combat those forces who would disrupt and destroy our unity in the name of being 'supermilitant.' Our enemy is not the leadership of our union, but rather is the boss and the companies which exert control of the industry."

In the discussion, chief steward Joe Lindsay, an ardent supporter of CP views, proclaimed the officers' proposal as "basically a sound package." Lindsay argued meekly for a vague "shorter workweek," but cautioned that such a demand is "costly" and if won it must mean a cutback in wage demands!

Ranks Revolt

On the question of pensions there was an open revolt against the leadership. It began when Bob Mandel, member of the general executive board of Local 6 and a supporter of the Militant Caucus, denounced the officers' pension proposals, pointing out that no specifics were listed. Instead a vague phrase, "demands to be costed out," was inserted. Mandel pointed out that the leadership used the same ambiguous wording in 1973, while promising that the contract would allow retirement at age 62. But after the contract was settled and "costed out," it turned out that the retirement age remained at 65. McClain demagogically denounced this as "lies and slanders" but, unable to refute the charge, he quickly announced a lunch break.

After lunch the membership voted to separate out the officers' proposal on pensions, which stipulated a minimum of 80 hours work a month in order to qualify for pension credits. Then the 80-hour provision was voted down, a clear slap at the leadership. One retiree who proclaimed his loyalty to the union tops complained of receiving a pitiful $159 per month while on pension. The Militant Caucus put forward a sharply counterposed resolution:

> "Voluntary retirement after 25 years. Pension credits to begin from first day in industry. A pension equal to a normal month's wages with a 100 percent c.o.l."

By the time it came to vote, the membership was convinced of the need for drastic improvement. On a voice vote, the MC resolution passed overwhelmingly. Shocked by this turn of events, the bureaucrats called for a hand vote, and *again* the MC resolution passed! Mustering all their energy to save face, the bureaucrats then called for a standing vote, and finally managed to achieve a "majority." (Among McClain's supporters in this final vote was Vern Bown, well-known supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party [RCP] *Bay Area Worker*.)

The revolt momentum continued when militants from Sacramento Local 17 pointed out that the Teamsters had significantly better vacation benefits. A motion calling for parity with the Teamsters was ruled out of order by the heavy-handed chair, who decided that the discussion was getting out of control. A voice vote on the officers' proposals was so close that a hand count was needed, with the result of 170 for the leadership and 141 against. Included among those who gave the bureaucrats this vote of confidence were supporters of both the CP and Warehouse Victory, the "opposition" group touted by the RCP.

Enter Harry Bridges

At this point Harry Bridges stepped forward to beat down the revolt. Bridges tried to scare the delegates about the dangers of a strike: Don't "reach for the moon without being prepared for some action," he said. He warned of a "disruptive program" from radicals who often turn out to be "on the bosses' payroll." Clearly trying to slander the Militant Caucus as "bosses' agents," San Francisco port commissioner and Alioto pal Bridges made reference to literature being distributed in the hallway which goes "too damn far." In a warning to the delegates, he stated that other sections of the union, in particular longshore, are not obligated to back up the warehouse division. "We are not going to commit suicide," he threatened.

After this strikebreaking intimidation from the ILWU International president, delegates backed down somewhat. A resolution to eliminate the 90-day probation period failed, in favor of a resolution to merely shorten probation to 30 days. Following further discussion, with many resolutions still undiscussed, the convention voted to recess until another meeting can be scheduled, but this one had clearly posed before the union ranks a choice between two paths—the policies of betrayal of the McClain leadership and its Stalinist hangers-on, or the class-struggle program of the Militant Caucus. ■

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Bosses' Parties...

(continued from page 1)

attacking the workers.

In New Hampshire, Gerald Ford and "Jimmy" Carter won the Republican and Democratic primaries respectively in the nation's first contest. Even Carter, who is on record favoring "right-to-work" laws (i.e., prohibition of the union shop), is pursuing the workers' votes. Confronted by questioners about this union-busting position, Carter just smiles and says that if Congress passes legislation outlawing "right-to-work" laws, as president he would sign the bill.

Carter offers himself to the public as Watergate-clean in an atmosphere in which Washington politicians are considerably less esteemed than used-car salesmen and local gangsters. He makes the expected appeal for spiritual recovery, but his real pitch is to try to break off some of the Wallace vote. In his official campaign fund-raising letter Carter pleads, "I need your help *now* to end once and for all the threat Wallace represents to our country."

What Carter represents is a more respectable racism. Quick to point out that "I was proud to personally arrange for a portrait of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to be hung in our State Capitol," Carter campaigns against busing to achieve integration. He is spending his money and time on the Florida primary, leaving the soft-line racist vote in Massachusetts to Jackson, whose anti-busing stance has garnered the endorsement of racist Boston School Committee chairman Louise Day Hicks.

Labor Fakers—Tail on the Donkey

These are the Democrats' opening moves as they jockey for position in the quadriennial American sport that is part horse race and part horse trade. George Meany and the labor tops want to be in on the election gravy and are already wheeling and dealing with the labor vote. When the Democrats in 1972 had their "anti-machine" convention and nominated George McGovern, Meany pulled out labor's support, thus implicitly backing Nixon whose Vietnam policy was more to Meany's liking. Now, after McGovern's electoral fiasco and Nixon's Watergate, the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party are again on honeymoon terms.

Time magazine (1 March) predicts "organized labor will wield a tremendous influence in this year's election." Meany & Co. hope to deliver the labor vote to the Democrats through their Committees on Political Education (COPE). The present COPE treasury is $2 million but the big push for union donations is on now. It is not just money that the bureaucracy will dump into the Democrats' coffers, but also manpower: "In 1974, the labor federation reported 110,000 volunteers contributed millions of hours to COPE programs (*New York Times*, 18 January). This year the AFL-CIO has announced a plan to elect 500 "labor delegates" to the Democratic convention.

The AFL-CIO is prevented by law from using union dues to finance any political party or candidate. This is reactionary legislation aimed at preventing the labor movement from having its own political expression. The labor bureaucrats' staged "neutrality" is a holdover from the anti-political policies of Samuel Gompers and the craft-oriented AFL. After the rise of the powerful CIO industrial unions, there was no way to keep the labor movement from making its presence felt on the electoral scene. But the unashamedly pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy sees to it that the working people stay firmly chained to the Democratic Party.

As socialists, whose task is to carry the real political *class* struggles (transcending capitalist shadowboxing) into the labor movement, we advocate the trade unions' right to use their funds for political purposes unfettered by government interference. But union militants must demand that not one penny of COPE funds be used to finance the political campaigns of the bosses' parties!

Meany was proud to have blocked endorsement of "dove" McGovern. Meany's hard-line cold-war policies are reflected in COPE, whose national director Al Barkan defines the main enemy as the McGovern/ADA wing of the Democratic Party: "These kooks and feminists and New Lefts have never won an election in their lives" (*Time*, 1 March). The candidate that Meany and "dove" Woodcock both agree on is Hubert Humphrey, whom they are touting as the man to solve the economy's mortal ills through the phony New Deal represented by the Hawkins-Humphrey Full Employment Act.

Meany has termed Humphrey the "most electable" of the candidates (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 February). At the recent top-level AFL-CIO meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, Meany ruled out support for one Democrat alone—Wallace, whom Meany called "a disaster." Meany has apparently forgiven Henry Jackson for having last year backed off from pushing his anti-Soviet "Jackson amendment": "despite disagreements" in the past. Meany said, Jackson had a "good record" and besides, "labor does not demand perfection."

Break with the Democratic Dodo Race—Build a Workers Party!

A modern tradition of European journalism characterizes American presidential elections as a kind of meaningless carnival—the circuses of the Roman arena without the bread. A recent article in the London *Observer* compared this year's Democratic Party caucus and primary races to an incident in *Alice in Wonderland* wherein "the dodo organized a caucus race in which competitors placed themselves at random on a circular track and began running whenever they liked."

What makes U.S. elections seem so strange to Europeans is the absence of any independent electoral expression of the organized labor movement. The U.S. is the only major industrial nation whose massive labor bureaucracy has found a home in a capitalist party.

That the elections are a farce from the standpoint of the working people is clear not only to European political pundits but also to the American public. Pollster Peter Hart summed up the results of a recent poll by saying: "Most people don't believe there's a dime's worth of difference between the candidates on the major economic issue" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 February).

There has never been a mass struggle in the U.S. by the labor movement to free itself from the parties of the class enemy. In every other advanced capitalist country, the labor movement has reformist workers parties which are simultaneously the organized reflection of the proletariat's historic struggles and the political vehicles for the pro-capitalist policies of the labor bureaucracy.

Communists struggle to break the labor movement politically from the Democrats and Republicans by calling for the formation of a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. But labor will not achieve its own political expression so long as the Meanys and Woodcocks remain at the helm. The fight for a party representing the revolutionary interests of the working people must be centrally focused within the unions on breaking the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. Break with the Twin Parties of Capital—Dump the Bureaucrats—For a Workers Party! ■

Washington Post

(continued from page 4)

strike, before the scabbing wave had reached epidemic proportions. At the beginning it was not entirely sure which way the *Post* Guild unit would go, and a display of firm determination and militancy could have brought over wavering elements. But seeing the craft unions impotent or buckling in the face of management's drive for a showdown, the fence-sitters bowed to the company in order, they thought, to save their jobs. Through five different strike votes, a growing number of the *Post* Guild members defied their own leadership to cross the picket lines. The concessions made to retain the loyalty of the strikebreakers mean acquiescence to the emasculation of the Guild as a labor organization capable of collective action against the boss.

Playing out its role as would-be braintrusters for the union bureaucrats, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has entered the fray *on the side of the scabs*. The 27 February *Militant* actually argued *against* taking disciplinary measures against the scabs, for fear of alienating them. Instead, the SWP advocates a "persistent educational campaign" to win over the scabs (after five months of strikebreaking!). Having previously called for "free speech for fascists," the gutless SWP now stands up for the "rights" of scabs as well. Currently touring a presidential candidate—Peter Camejo—around the country peddling a phony "Bill of Rights for Working People," the SWP's disgusting parliamentary cretinism has found a natural companion: apologizing for scabs and union busters.

There is an old saying that there is more than one way to educate a scab. When persuasion fails, it is appropriate to make it physically unpleasant for scabs to cross picket lines. This means building picket lines effective and militant enough to intimidate strikebreakers. Even more effective would have been to occupy the plant. Such action was never undertaken in the *Washington Post* strike, however. Rather than fighting to shut down the paper, the pressmen's leadership offered to submit the dispute to an "impartial" umpire. The so-called Guild hard-liners, such as Brian Flores, never demanded anything beyond an extended consumer and advertising boycott of the *Post*.

This boycott proved totally ineffective. The newspaper recouped most of its early losses and was soon able to resume publishing a full edition while the strikers exhausted several million dollars in strike benefits, becoming increasingly demoralized at the seemingly impregnable position of the *Post* management. The central reason for the defeat of the strike, facilitated by the craft divisions among the unions, was the inability to shut down the paper. What was required was a mass mobilization of strikers against the anti-picketing injunctions, backed up if necessary by a strike of the entire Washington area labor movement. The rejection of such class-struggle policies by the current crowd of union leaders led straight to the immeasurably costly victory of the *Post*'s union-busting offensive.■

Spartacus Youth League Forum

Crisis of Bourgeois Economics

Speaker:
JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League Central Committee

Tuesday, March 9, 8 p.m.
University of Chicago
Ida Noyes Hall, East Lounge
1212 East 59th
CHICAGO

Tyrone Guyton Murder...

(continued from page 12)

march. Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, Tyrone's mother, in addressing the rally said: "I thank you Warehouse Union, ILWU.... you stand for what you believe in... you stand for justice for all people...." Patrick Heide, a business agent of Local 6, spoke pledging the union's support for the Justice Committee's goals. However, while the Local had pledged $200 to the committee, passed a motion (put forward by the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the ILWU warehouse division) officially endorsing the demonstration and heard Mrs. Shepherd speak at an Oakland membership meeting, the union leadership failed to push for a heavy mobilization among its several thousand members in the East Bay. Had there been such an effort, the ranks of the demonstrators would have been greatly swelled and its impact immeasurably strengthened.

The labor presence at the demonstration came primarily from several class-struggle union opposition tendencies in the Bay Area. In addition to the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6, there was the Militant Action Caucus of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco); the Committee for a Militant UAW, from UAW Local 1364 (Fremont); and supporters of *Longshore Militant*, in ILWU Local 10. (The latter were responsible for bringing Mrs. Shepherd to the Local 10 executive board where she received unanimous endorsement for the Justice Committee.) But despite the effort poured into building the rally by the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton—and by the SL/SYL and the Partisan Defense Committee, who played an active role in organizing it—many of the organized left groups showed little interest in protesting the slaughter of black youth. Even some of the groups who signed their names to the sponsors' list failed to show their faces, or else sent an insulting token supporter or two.

Outstanding among this bunch of fickle sometime supporters of the Justice Committee were the various union groups that the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party supports: Postal Workers, Concerned Muni Drivers, Warehousemen, May 1st Workers Organizing Committee. In Boston and Louisville these fake socialists oppose busing and cheer the "fight-back" of reactionary lynch mobs; in Oakland they can't be bothered to protest racist cop slayings of black youth. The pattern could not be clearer.

The Communist Party-dominated Bay Area Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression sent neither a contingent nor a speaker. The Black Panther Party, which had publicized the demonstration in its paper (mentioning all the supporting groups except the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee), disgracefully sent only a handful of its members and the BPP speaker, Elaine Brown, showed up only after the rally was over. The NAACP withdrew its speaker at the last moment and the Socialist Workers Party could only muster four supporters together with its National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Martha Phillips, speaking for the Partisan Defense Committee, condemned this backstabbing sectarianism. Pointing to the tremendous power of the working people, she expressed confidence in the ranks of labor to fight for justice for all the Tyrone Guytons. Paul Collins of the Spartacist League denounced the racist character of capitalist class "justice," demanded that the cover-up be stopped and that the killer cops Dale Phillips, Thomas Mierky and William Mathews be jailed. It is not by relying on the cops, courts and capitalist politicians that cop terror will be ended but only by mobilizing the workers movement for revolutionary struggle.■

WV Photo

Left:
Tyrone Guyton's mother, Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, speaking at courthouse rally.

Below:
March to the Alameda County Courthouse, February 25.

WV Photo

Hampton and Clark...

(continued from page 5)

by the Rangers against the BPP, by asserting that "the word 'hit' did not mean a murder contract. He testified that he defined it as something non-violent in nature" (*New York Times*, 22 February)!

Disclose the Truth—Punish the Real Gangsters!

Not surprisingly, various government agencies appear to be footing the entire, expensive legal bill for the defendants. Hanrahan's attorney was appointed by the former state attorney as a special assistant specifically to defend him against charges growing out of the Hampton Clark case in 1972, at a salary which makes him Cook County's highest-paid public official. The police defendants are represented by a city "special assistant corporation counsel," while the feds and their fink have two staff lawyers from the U.S. district attorney's office.

The main theme of these highly paid cover-up artists is the racist smear that, "The Black Panther Party... was a street gang composed of vicious individuals,... of gangsters" (defense attorney Volini in his opening statement to the jury). Another of the government attorneys, Joseph Witkowski, admitted FBI attempts to disrupt the Panthers, cynically remarking to the jurors: "When you hear the word 'conspiracy,' just think of it as cooperation between federal and state officials."

The real gangsters in this case are Hanrahan and his cronies and their superiors who masterminded government provocation and infiltration of the left. The December 4th Committee, which is sponsoring the current lawsuit, has performed a valuable service by its substantial investigative work attempting to bring new information to light through the trial. But the response of labor and black militants to the murder conspiracy by the FBI and Boss Daley's cops must not be limited to seeking monetary retribution. At a debate between mayoral candidates at the University of Chicago a year ago, a Spartacist League spokesman pointed out to the audience that Hanrahan (then running for office on a racist "get the criminals off the streets" program) was one of Chicago's most vicious criminals. The murders of Fred Hampton, Mark Clark and other dead Panther militants, said the SL speaker, would be avenged by victorious workers revolution!

Victory to the Panther survivors—relatives suit! Hanrahan and the FBI are killers—Jail the murderers of Hampton and Clark!■

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Southern Africa

(continued from page 1)

existence of our state.... We can then settle all the problems concerning South African interests and investments in Angola" (*Le Monde*, 14 February).

Détente in Shambles

Despite offers of negotiations from both Luanda and Pretoria, the possibility of renewed war in southern Africa cannot be ruled out. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (29 November) reports that, "Intensive diplomatic efforts are now being made by Western countries to try to restore what they would regard as a state of political equilibrium in South Africa and to prevent armed conflict on the Angolan pattern occurring on the frontiers of Namibia [Southwest Africa] and in Rhodesia."

South Africa's intervention against the MPLA in Angola was partly an attempt to strengthen "détente" with "moderate" African leaders such as the Kaunda regime in Zambia. Now this policy is in a shambles and the question is whether or not Vorster can strike up a new tune of "peaceful coexistence" in harmony with verbally more militant nationalists. In any case, he is taking no chances and has threatened massive retaliation if the MPLA aids guerrilla forces of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Meanwhile, on the same day Neto signed the pact with Mobutu, Radio Luanda threatened a southward sweep to drive remaining South African troops from Angolan territory.

Pretoria has been gearing up its war machine in anticipation of a major outbreak on the subcontinent. The 1975-76 defense budget was upped by 30 percent to nearly $1.5 billion. Millions of dollars are poured into expanding naval bases at Simonstown and Durban and the new air base at Grootfontein in Southwest Africa. West German interests are widely reported to be aiding the racist regime in developing its nuclear capacity. Simultaneously, stepped-up domestic repression has led to a wave of political trials of opponents of apartheid (see "Witchhunt Trials in South Africa," *WV* No. 98, 27 February).

Next month Pretoria will reactivate constitutional talks with its hand-picked representatives of Southwest Africa's tribal and ethnic groups. Vorster hopes to use a coterie of reactionary tribal chiefs as window dressing for the extension of "separate development" into the colonial territory taken over from Germany after World War I. Finally, the South African prime minister is pushing ahead with plans to grant nominal independence in October to the Transkei, one of nine so-called tribal homelands or "bantustans" within South Africa. Along with a few cosmetic changes in the "petty apartheid" segregation in major cities, Vorster hopes that "bantustan independence" will be seen as a token of social reform.

Breakdown in Rhodesia Negotiations

While the southward-advancing MPLA has been cautious toward the formidable South African forces, the isolated white minority regime in Salisbury may become the object of escalated guerrilla attacks. The imperialist press has lately been talking as if Cuban troops in Angola are about to leapfrog into Rhodesia to launch a revolutionary war. Mozambique, in turn, recently warned that it may invade Rhodesia in response to border violations by troops and mercenaries of the racist Smith government engaged in "hot pursuit" of nationalist guerrillas. Landlocked and wracked by a serious economic crisis, the Rhodesian Front government, representing 250,000 whites, received word from Pretoria last week that South African troops would not intervene to stave off guerrilla attacks (*New York Times*, 26 February).

But far from "exporting revolution," as U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger accused Castro of doing (*New York Times*, 18 February), Cuban foreign policy in general, and its Angola venture in particular, is firmly leashed to the Kremlin's aim of seeking a global "deal" with U.S. imperialism. Likewise, the sabre-rattling from African nationalist regimes, like the "friendly advice" from Vorster, has the immediate purpose of wringing concessions from Smith. In a radio speech full of hellicose threats to return "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," Mozambique president Samora Machel also offered a less sanguinary possibility: "Follow the course of negotiations while you still have time" (quoted in the *Star* [Johannesburg], 14 February). Meanwhile, a three-man British government delegation recently wound up private talks with Smith and nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo. "What we are saying to Mr. Smith," said a Foreign Office spokesman, "is that this may be his last chance" (*New York Times*, 20 February).

Balthazar Vorster Camera Press

AP

Rhodesian premier Ian Smith and ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo signing "Declaration of Intent" to negotiate a peace in December 1975.

Nkomo has demanded a transition to majority rule within two years, and a major role in the government immediately. The fly in the ointment is the intransigence of the Rhodesian Front, which represents not a foreign colonial power that can cut its losses but the entrenched privileges of a white settler caste that severed its legal connections with Britain by the Unilateral Declaration of Independence on 11 November 1965.

Additionally, the petty-bourgeois nationalist forces in Rhodesia are as divided as in Angola. Nkomo heads the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) wing of the African National Council (ANC) and is not recognized by the rival groups, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI).

A violent confrontation between ZANU and ZAPU in Salisbury last June 1 and the breakdown of late August talks between Smith and all wings of the ANC convinced Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and Vorster of the necessity to back Nkomo while isolating his opponents. Thus Nkomo's rivals are excluded from the current negotiations because they face arrest if they return to Rhodesia. One leader of the ZANU faction still inside Rhodesia, Edson Sithole, was reportedly thrown into a detention camp several months ago to strengthen Nkomo's claim to speak for the entire black population (*Southern Africa*, February 1976).

Emergency In Zambia

After heavily backing the neo-colonialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) headed by Jonas Savimbi, the Kaunda government of Zambia now feels threatened by the collapse of UNITA and the approach of MPLA troops to its borders. Likewise, the hapless state of Rhodesia negotiations indicates the precarious nature of the path of détente with racist South Africa that Kaunda has chosen. Lusaka and Pretoria are waltzing on a tightrope.

Vorster is willing to sacrifice the weak Smith regime in Rhodesia to his strategy of détente if this can ensure a moderate black government. Zambia supports "unity" among the Rhodesian nationalist groups in order to obtain a deal involving sufficient concessions to blacks to permit a re-opening of the border, the resumption of trade and shipment of Zambian copper through Rhodesia to Mozambican ports on the Indian Ocean. To this end, Kaunda has played the major role in preserving the tenuous "unity" of the ANC. He also permitted South African forces to pull out of Rhodesia last year (freeing troops up for service in Angola), by promising to seal off the border to guerrilla infiltration.

Although Kaunda has repeatedly proclaimed his neutrality in the Rhodesian nationalists' split (just as he continued to call for a government of national unity in Angola while aiding anti-MPLA forces), Zambia has taken concrete steps to help the ZAPU/Nkomo faction, which appears the most willing to come to terms with South Africa in return for cabinet posts in the Salisbury government. Thus when ZANU leader Herbert Chitepo was killed in Zambia by unknown assassins last March, the government seized the opportunity to arrest scores of ZANU guerrillas, many of whom are still in detention. In early September, Zambian soldiers entered a guerrilla camp, allegedly to break up a struggle among three factions, and left eleven ZANU militants dead (*Southern Africa*, December 1975).

Zambia's willingness to collaborate with white-supremacist South Africa is not the result of any personal failings of Kaunda, once widely hailed as an "anti-imperialist," or of any marked changes in his government or the ruling party. Rather, it flows from the position of an economically dependent bourgeois regime subject to the imperialist world market.

The Zambian economy is dominated by the copper industry (90 percent of all exports), which from independence on has been controlled by South African, American and Rhodesian capital. (In 1974 the government assumed a 51 percent interest in the mines.) However, Zambia lacks secure access to the sea for its exports; Kaunda's willingness to deal with Pretoria, like his desperate gamble in Angola, can in part be explained by his desire to see the Benguela Railway to the Atlantic in the hands of friendly forces. Now, along with MPLA victory in Angola, he must face a 60 percent drop in copper prices over the last two years. With a catastrophic balance of payments deficit, Vorster's offers of aid and the re-opening of the Rhodesian rail link were sufficient to entice Zambian leaders to sign up as a junior partner in a sub-continental "co-prosperity sphere" dominated by South Africa.

Repression and Conciliation of Apartheid

Like its bedfellows in Pretoria, the weak bourgeois regime in Lusaka complements external "détente" with a severely repressive domestic policy. Unemployed workers and youth, along with political opponents, are placed under military control in labor camps clearing previously uncultivated lands. Strikes are illegal in a number of "essential industries."

However, this did not prevent a wildcat strike wave in the copper belt last summer which forced concessions on wages and working conditions. Even the tame labor bureaucrats have begun to criticize the government. In response to the state of emergency declared last month, Newstead Zimba, general secretary of the Zambian Council of Trade Unions and leader of 68,000 organized copper miners, lashed out at "loud-mouthed leaders, the unfair budget, high prices, poor economic planning" (*Star*, 14 February).

Kaunda will move as sharply against rebellious miners as he did against ZANU militants in 1975 and against the students at the University of Lusaka in January (for holding a pro-MPLA demonstration). The turmoil among Zambia's workers and youth points to the urgent necessity of building a revolutionary vanguard party armed with the Trotskyist strategy of permanent revolution, that can forge proletarian unity across African borders. The fight against racism and colonialism can only succeed with working-class overthrow of capitalism throughout southern Africa. The petty-bourgeois strategy of guerrilla warfare, in addition to its general impotence in the face of powerful imperialist and sub-imperialist enemies, will only throw up new bourgeois regimes that will follow in the footsteps of Kaunda.

A case in point is the so-called "Marxist" regime established by FRELIMO in Mozambique. While it backed the MPLA in Angola and allows ZANU guerrillas to operate from its territory, the reputedly "militant" regime dares not challenge apartheid South Africa except in speeches for OAU (Organization of African Unity) consumption. Prime Minister Joachim Chissano stated many months ago that "We will not be the saviors or reformers of South Africa. That belongs to the people of South Africa" (*New York Times*, 18 September 1974).

"Revolutionary" Mozambique, just like "neo-colonial" Zambia, is economically dependent on South Africa. In fact, the FRELIMO government is doing more business with its racist neighbors than the Portuguese colonial administration did. The country's biggest source of revenues is tolls on the Rhodesian railway and port fees on South African and Rhodesian exports, and Mozambique operates in total disregard for the United Nations' economic sanctions against the Smith regime. Significantly, since indepen-

dence the number of Mozambicans working as contract laborers in Witwatersrand gold mines has risen from 100,000 to 150,000 as the new regime avidly seeks to accumulate foreign exchange reserves. (According to a colonial arrangement still in force, half the workers' salaries are paid to the Mozambique authorities in gold.)

South African Working Class: Vanguard of Liberation

Corresponding to the dominance of South African capital in the subcontinent is the key role of the substantial South African black proletariat in the struggle for liberation from the present despotic white supremacist regimes and their black nationalist quislings, clients and allies. Unlike the nationalist and Stalinist advocates of guerrilla warfare, the Johannesburg capitalists are well aware of the revolutionary potential of the black working class.

South Africa's blacks are not a primitive peasant group, as the architects of apartheid pretend, but a five-million-strong proletariat. The urban population is several generations removed from the "tribal homelands," although lacking any rights in the "white" areas (87 percent of the country).

The entire apartheid structure is more than a fiendish system of racial oppression; it is also a brutal system of labor control. The pass laws, urban residential restrictions, "bantustan" schemes and denial of political rights to the "non-white" population are an attempt to allocate labor power between various sectors of the economy at the lowest possible wages while preventing any effective combination of the workers against their exploiters.

Black workers in the apartheid police state face nearly insuperable obstacles to organizing in their defense, yet they have a long history of militant and courageous struggle. With the labor movement primarily restricted to whites, "African" unions have had no legal recognition in South Africa, except for a brief period during the mid-1940's, and have been met with constant repression. Under pressure from the ultra-reactionary National Party of Vorster and his predecessors, all unions which admitted black workers were excluded from the principal labor federation by 1954. While a handful of unions with leftist leadership joined with purged African unions to form the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), it, like the African National Congress (ANC) and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), was a victim of the intense witchhunt following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre of blacks demonstrating against the notorious pass laws.

Not Guerrilla War, But Proletarian Revolution

From January 1963 to December 1965, nearly 200 mass political trials were held, involving more than 2,000 defendants, in an attempt to smash all seeds of resistance to apartheid. Numerous SACTU members were among the victims; three union leaders were executed and two were sentenced to life in prison. Those not jailed were "banned" by the government or black-listed by their employers, and by the mid-1960's SACTU had almost ceased to exist. With the disappearance of black and multi-racial trade unionism and the outlawing of all mass protest by "non-whites," the left in despair made a verbal turn to guerrillaism.

Not much was ever done in the way of guerrilla or terrorist actions, and their impotence in the face of the heavily militarized Pretoria regime is readily apparent. It was not until a massive strike wave of black workers swept South Africa, beginning in 1972 and lasting well into 1975, that leftists again began to raise their heads (see "Black Workers Resistance Flares in Racist Hell," *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973). The government and employers responded with mass arrests and firings and, particularly in the mines, savage police violence. They have also attempted to undercut the growth of illegal black unions with minor wage and legislative concessions, and by sponsoring corporatist "works committees" to give an illusion of representation.

Although the few "African" unions have grown, legal persecution and employer recalcitrance have insured that less than 1 percent of the black workforce is organized. A central task for revolutionaries in South Africa is to struggle for the right of "non-white" workers to freely organize labor unions, and to forge unity among the black, "Coloured" (mestizo) and Indian workers. A vital feature of the mass strikes that paralyzed Durban in early 1973 was the solidarity among non-white workers in a city that was the scene of virtual race war between Indians and black Africans in 1949. In the minefields, where the vast majority of workers are migrants from Mozambique, Rhodesia, Lesotho, Botswana and Malawi, the strike struggles in 1973-74 drew them together for the first time and signalled the revolutionary potential created by this crucible of international working-class unity at the heart of South Africa's extractive industries.

Having gone nowhere during its paper guerrillaist phase, the CPSA is evidently turning once again to the unions, trying to revive SACTU. Facing the rigorous repression of Vorster's Nazi-style race laws and elaborate anti-communist legislation, it is difficult for South African Stalinists to precisely copy the respectable labor reformism of their counterparts in West Europe. At present, the keystone of the CP's policies is to slavishly tail the established black petty-bourgeois leadership of the African National Congress. However, the CPSA shares with its opportunist comrades throughout the world the reformist "theory" of revolution by stages: thus it calls today in effect for a non-racist capitalist state. Its real goal is to be little more than loyal "left" advisors of the aspiring Kaundas of the ANC.

To destroy apartheid root and branch requires the overthrow of South African capitalism. For that task a Trotskyist party rooted in the black proletariat is necessary. Such a party would join together the hundreds of thousands of mine, transport and industrial workers stretching from the Witwatersrand to the Copper Belt—and link up with their class comrades in the Angola and Mozambique port cities—to form the backbone of a future socialist federation of southern Africa. ■

The Star

Africa

Above:
As part of war mobilization, South African army is now organizing women's commando units.

Left:
Kenneth Kaunda

International Women's Day Forums

AMHERST
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 10 at 7:30 p.m.
University of Massachusetts
162 Campus Center

BERKELEY
Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 13 at 7:30 p.m.
Unitas House
2700 Bancroft Way
CHILD CARE AVAILABLE
Not Sponsored by Unitas House

BOSTON
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women and Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 8 at 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
305 Emerson

CHICAGO
Women and the Colonial Revolution
JANIS GERARD
March 10 at 8 p.m.
Place to be announced

CLEVELAND
Marxism vs. Feminism—Which Road for Women's Liberation?
March 6 at 8 p.m.
Case Western Reserve University
303 Thwing Hall

MADISON
Women and the Colonial Revolution
JANIS GERARD
March 14 at 7:30 p.m.
University of Wisconsin
Memorial Union

NEW YORK
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
KAY BLANCHARD
SL Women's Commission
Editorial Board,
Women & Revolution
March 6 at 7:30 p.m.
Columbia University
Ferris Booth Hall
Schiff Room (216)

PHILADELPHIA
Which Way to Women's Liberation?
D. L. REISSNER
Editor, *Women & Revolution*
SL Women's Commission
March 17 at 11:30 a.m.
Temple University
Student Activities Center
Room 309

SAN FRANCISCO
Women in Struggle
SHEILA DELANEY
March 6 at 7 p.m.
Buchanan YMCA
1530 Buchanan at Geary
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Oakland Demonstrators Demand "Prosecute the Killers!"

Cop Cover-Up Revealed in Tyrone Guyton Murder

OAKLAND, February 25—Approximately 175 militant demonstrators marched to the Alameda County Courthouse today demanding that District Attorney Lowell Jensen prosecute the murderers of Tyrone Guyton. Guyton, a 14-year-old black youth, was gunned down in cold blood on 1 November 1973 by three Emeryville, California, cops in one of the most wanton acts of police terror here during recent years.

The march called by the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton included the family and friends of the victim, community residents and black groups, students from Laney College, an official contingent from ILWU Local 6, workers from militant opposition groups in several unions and the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. The SL/SYL marched behind a banner demanding: "Jail the Murderers of Tyrone Guyton! For Militant Labor-Black Defense Against Cop Terror!" The demonstrators were united by their indignation against the racist system which allows youth like Tyrone Guyton to be cut down by the guardians of "law and order" or to rot in prison for the "crimes" of being poor and black, while the murderers and exploiters of the oppressed smugly walk the streets.

The cops who killed Tyrone Guyton—actually shot him in the back, on suspicion of being a car thief!—claimed the youngster was armed. However, sweeps of the neighborhood by more than 20 policemen immediately after the shooting produced no gun. They also claimed he shot at them, but neutron activation tests revealed no trace of powder burns on Tyrone's hands, indicating he hadn't fired a gun. The only piece of "evidence" these racist thugs have been able to dig up in their defense is the flimsy testimony of a teenage girl who claims she saw the youth shoot a weapon. Even the identity of this "witness" has been withheld from the victim's family, along with other materials of a grand jury investigation which are still sealed.

Cover-Up Bared

Now the whole case has been blown apart by recently uncovered evidence which broke into print last week. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (17 February), a new investigation revolves around the former head narcotics officer of the Emeryville police, Dale Phillips (one of the cops who shot Tyrone), and a long-standing underworld narcotics contact of Phillips, Dolores Wysingle. Wysingle has claimed that the youth pulled a gun on her a year or two before the shooting, and it was her 13-year-old niece who led police to a girl said to have seen a youth pick up a dropped gun and run off with it after the shooting. This "lead" turned out to be nothing but an unsubstantiated rumor circulating at the local high school.

The connection between Phillips and Wysingle was revealed in December, when Phillips testified in an unrelated federal district court case in San Francisco concerning three narcotics agents accused of shaking down dope dealers for bribes. In that trial, he and Wysingle are the two prosecution witnesses. During testimony, Phillips admitted falsifying arrest reports on Wysingle that had been submitted as evidence. Further, according to the *Chronicle*,

> "Phillips testified he picked up Mrs. Wysingle in August, 1973, for possession of a number of balloons of heroin. The heroin was said to have been confiscated and destroyed. Yet, Alameda county records show she was never charged with possession."

Then, only three months later, Wysingle turns up as the key source for Phillips' defense in the Guyton case. Moreover, the *Oakland Tribune* (24 October) reports that Alameda County investigators have now discovered that all 1973 arrest records have mysteriously disappeared! Phillips has since resigned from the police force and District Attorney Jensen has agreed to a new investigation, including the relationship between

Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton

Tyrone Guyton

Phillips and Wysingle and reports that the narcotics officer requested his drug scene contact to dig up a corroborating witness (the unidentified teenage girl) to cover his story. But just as three previous grand juries "investigated" the Guyton case without returning indictments, nothing can be expected from Jensen—the man who spearheaded attacks on leaders of the Black Panther Party in Oakland during the 1960's—except another whitewash. The labor movement and black organizations must take the lead in demanding that the butcher cops who killed Tyrone Guyton be jailed!

Racist Sectarianism

The banner of ILWU Local 6 (Bay Area warehousemen) stood out in the

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ILWU Local 6 Tops Preach Defeat

Bridges Beats Back Ranks at Warehouse Convention

Harry Bridges addressing ILWU Local 6 conference. WV Photo

OAKLAND—The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 contract convention held on February 28 made crystal clear the McClain leadership's determination to maintain its disastrous policies of class collaboration. However, the union's ranks are increasingly fed up with this no-win strategy and the officials' contract proposals passed only by a narrow margin and after considerable browbeating threats from the bureaucrats.

The kickoff speaker was San Francisco mayor George Moscone. The ILWU brass are intent on continuing their cozy relationship with the Democratic administration in city hall that existed under Joe Alioto, now retired to pursue his interests in Pacific Far East Lines. After a build-up from McClain ("We're expecting great things from Moscone"), the mayor gloried over the "virtues" of San Francisco ("we have a most convivial police department") and promised that "things will not change under my administration."

Reassuring to the labor fakers, ever eager to sell their support to capitalist politicos (ILWU International president Harry Bridges was appointed port commissioner by Alioto several years ago, and Moscone has just named McClain a fire commissioner), none of this will help the thousands of longshoremen who lost their jobs during Alioto's reign, the 15 percent of Local 6 that is currently unemployed, or the black population terrorized by "convivial" S.F. cops during the Operation Zebra dragnet.

McClain Excuses Disaster

The Local officers' report, delivered by President Curtis McClain, was a fraudulent apology for defeatism. McClain admitted that 1975 was not a good year for the ranks, that the union had been losing some large houses—such as Associated Foods—and that the membership had taken a cut in real wages under the last contract. But he sought to excuse the runaway shops. "The key is: what can you do?" he proclaimed innocently. He challenged, "If someone has a program to stop these actions... put it on the deck." However, in addition to stacking the deck so that stifling convention rules prevented oppositionists from presenting a counter-report, McClain made it clear that he opposed the "adventurous path"—a code word used by the bureaucrats and their Stalinist supporters to dismiss militant action by the membership in defense of its union gains.

On two key issues the Local 6 president made explicit his capitulation

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 100 12 March 1976

Rhodesia: White Supremacy Living on Borrowed Time

Samora Machel with FRELIMO guerrillas near the Rhodesian border.

MARCH 7—Mozambique's decision last week to seize Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) property and seal off the 800-mile-long border with the racist Salisbury regime has sharply increased military tensions in southern Africa. Mozambique president Samora Machel announced on March 3 that his country was in a "state of war" and ordered villagers in border areas to dig air raid shelters. He pledged to rigidly apply economic sanctions in response to an attack on a village called Pafuri carried out by Rhodesian jets and helicopters and an artillery barrage that left two Mozambicans dead and ten wounded.

Simultaneously there has been an escalation of Mozambique-based guerrilla strikes against Rhodesian targets during the past two months. Even Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, who last year jailed scores of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) militants in order to bolster moderate nationalists negotiating with the white government of Ian Smith, now sternly addresses Salisbury:

> "We have warned that if there is no natural birth of Zimbabwe, a caesarian operation will have to be performed. Africa has now got sufficient surgeons to bring about an operation."
> —*Africa*, March 1976

Kaunda remains the major black African spokesman for détente with

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500,000 Spanish Workers Strike in Basque Region

MARCH 9—In the most massive general strike that Spain has witnessed since the heroic 1937 "May days" uprising in Barcelona, more than 500,000 workers in the highly industrialized Basque region laid down their tools yesterday. Their action was a powerful protest against the slaying of four militants by the hated Guardia Civil (paramilitary national police) in the city of Vitoria last week. These incidents mark the sharpest clash so far between the restive Spanish workers and the reactionary post-Franco government installed after the dictator's death last November.

Even the official government news agency admitted that yesterday's strike action was virtually 100 percent effective as demonstrations occurred in every major town of the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, Navarra and Vizcaya. By the end of the day another young worker had been cut down by police bullets and scores were injured as outnumbered and nervous government forces struck out wildly at the protesters.

In the city of Bilbao, center of the Basque country, striking workers for a time held both sides of the Ria estuary, closing the docks, shipyards, Altos Hornos de Vizcaya steel works (largest in the country) and plants of such U.S.-owned "multinationals" as Westinghouse, General Electric and Dow Chemical. Most of the city's schools were also shut down. In San Sebastian, Pamplona and Vitoria the strikes were total as thousands of workers poured into the streets to protest the brutal repression by the Francoist regime. Marchers shouted, "Long Live Liberty!"

In an effort to dampen the protests, two of the more reform-minded ministers of the government of Arias Navarro were dispatched to Bilbao. In contrast to earlier hardnosed official condemnations of the demonstrators, self-described "civilized conservative" interior minister Fraga Iribarne even acknowledged a degree of government responsibility for the killings. But despite his order releasing most of the imprisoned Vitoria strikers and a deal worked out with bosses of the city's largest steel plant, Forjas Alavesas, to reinstate all dismissed workers, the protests continued solid.

The incident which set off the wave of agitation grew out of a month-old dispute at the foundries. Clandestine labor groups called a general strike in Vitoria last Wednesday to support the steel workers. "In the resulting fighting, traffic signs and street lamps were torn out of the ground, cars were overturned and street barricades were erected with whatever came to hand," reported the *New York Times* (5 March). When 3,000 workers gathered in a church during the afternoon, the government moved in anti-riot forces, lobbed tear gas into the building and then opened fire on the protesters as they rushed out. A subsequent *New York Times* (7 March) account graphically described the aftermath:

> "Just across the street from the church, a candle in a beer bottle marks the spot where one young worker died. His blood still stains the sidewalk. While it was still fresh, someone dipped a finger in it and wrote 'Justicia,' justice, on the pavement."

In addition to the dead, more than 100 were injured in this cold-blooded provocation.

One important aspect of last week's protests has been the way that they have lined up almost the entire civilian population against the hated Francoist regime. The killings at Vitoria provoked condemnations ranging from a bitter anti-government sermon by the bishop

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SIXTEEN YEARS OF STALINIST RULE IN CUBA

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Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress.....6

Editorial Notes

Woodcock Supports Carter:

"God Bless You" Open Shop

Leonard Woodcock is out campaigning for union-buster Jimmy Carter in the Florida Democratic primary. The UAW president must have sickened any militant auto worker when he spoke from the same platform as the former Georgia governor last week in St. Petersburg, saying of him: "I like a man who can say with simple grace, 'God bless you'" (*New York Times*, 6 March).

Carter has done more than utter the religious benedictions of which Woodcock is so fond. For one thing, he opposes repeal of anti-union "right-to-work" laws: he would "sign the bill" if Congress should pass one, but quickly adds with characteristic "simple grace" that he would "not mount a crusade for repeal."

But the head of the United Auto Workers isn't worried about issues like the right to organize a union shop. When asked by reporters how he could support Carter given the Georgia Democrat's position on "right-to-work" laws, Woodcock answered with cavalier disregard: "I'm not worried about that. It's hardly the most important issue facing us."

Well then, what is the most crucial issue according to Mr. Woodcock? Not to be outdone by the phony populists stumping the country for the Democratic nomination, Woodcock offered his own cracker-barrel wisdom: "I like a man who has the courage to discuss the simple verities....We need a man with vision to pull this country together."

It was the UAW that provided Carter with the organizational muscle to win the Democratic Primary caucuses in Iowa in January. Now the UAW has endorsed him in the Florida race. One might imagine from Woodcock's recent praise for Carter that the Cheshire cat candidate and the grinning union bureaucrat have some sort of sentimental relationship.

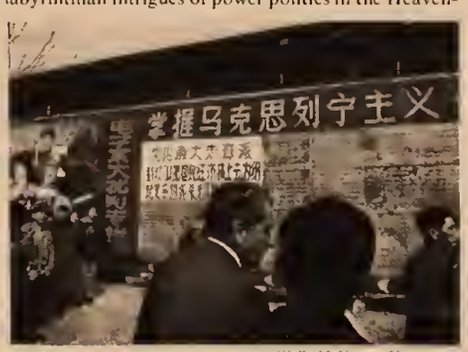
Actually, the effusive hosannas for Carter express Woodcock's fear of a large Wallace vote in Michigan. He is still smarting from the sting of having failed to deliver for his candidate, George McGovern, when Wallace took the 1972 Michigan primary. Woodcock no doubt figures that a strong vote for Carter in Florida will weaken support for Wallace in Michigan.

Woodcock has no answer to the racist union-buster from Alabama except to support a more respectable racist union-buster from Georgia. With all of Woodcock's talk of the "simple verities," it is not surprising that one simple truth never gets past his lips: that workers need to break once and for all with the political parties of their bosses!

Nixon Amid the Wall Posters

During his recent trip to China, former U.S. president Nixon was given a guided tour of Tsinghua University in Peking where officials earnestly interpreted for him the "big character" wallposters attacking so-called "capitalist roaders." Foremost culprit in this category is Deputy Premier Teng, until recently chief administrator of the Maoist bureaucracy. The posters portrayed Teng as "evil-minded" and "crafty as a fox," and someone who had "praised the gangster Chiang Kai-shek."

Though he may have difficulty following the labyrinthian intrigues of power politics in the Heavenly Palace or deciphering the deliberately obscurantist language of the wall posters, Tricky Dick is no stranger to bureaucratic purges. The author of the "Saturday Night Massacre" also agrees that the bad guys are the ones who are "soft" on the Soviet Union. However, Nixon remained silent during the tour, perhaps reminiscing that he, too, once praised the gangster Chiang. (He needn't worry: so did Mao.)



Wally McNamee/Newsweek

Chinese interpreter explains poster attacking "capitalist roader" Teng to Nixon.

After being the first private citizen ever feted in the Great Hall of the Peoples (while the People's Liberation Army band played "Home on the Range" and "America the Beautiful"), Nixon proceeded to kiss babies, quote Mao, and take a slow boat in China. To cap off a week filled with distorted clichés, he poetized about building bridges "from the Golden Gate of California to the Golden Gate of Heavenly Peace."

Having received more effusive praise from his Chinese hosts in one week than all the American Maoists have gotten in ten years, Nixon is apparently the most authorized interpreter of Mao Tse-tung Thought in the United States today. He might begin his new career as head of U.S. Maoism by clueing in the October League and Revolutionary Communist Party, who recently ran long obituaries for Chou En-lai just as the posters in Peking were insinuating that Chou was the secret sponsor of the "second Chinese Khrushchev."

From the bureaucratically manipulated "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" to this latest "mass educational campaign," Mao and his lackeys cynically employ leftist verbiage to cover up old-style "bag jobs" against competing cliques. Meanwhile, all factions of the Chinese Stalinists try to curry favor with leading capitalist gangsters like Nixon.

Mao & Co. excuse their alliances with such reactionary hangmen as Chilean dictator Pinochet, imperialist militarists like West German ex-defense minister Strauss and CIA-funded imperialist stooges such as the FNLA and UNITA in Angola with the need to "unite the many" against the Soviet Union. The nationalist Kremlin bureaucracy makes its alliances with the so-called "progressive" bourgeois politicos.

The only way to go beyond the superficial reshuffling at the top and to avoid the danger of a Sino-Soviet war is to sweep away the parasitic bureaucracies through workers political revolution in all the degenerated and deformed workers states. For communist unity against imperialism! Jail Nixon!

Baby HUAC?

With the activation of the House Ethics Committee this week, Congress has joined President Ford in an effort to roll back the tide of post-Watergate exposures of the U.S. secret police agencies. The committee, officially named the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, has never before investigated *anyone* in its entire existence since 1968 as a permanent standing committee. Now it has been voted the considerable sum of $350,000 to investigate the leak that led to publication of the report of the Pike committee's investigation of the CIA and FBI after the House had voted to suppress the document.

UPI

CIA-head George Bush with Daniel Schorr.

This enormous budget is not much less than the amount spent by the House committee investigation that produced the controversial "Pike Papers" in the first place, and the *New York Times* reports that it could "theoretically" be upped to as much as $900,000. Moreover, the Ethics Committee demanded broad "subpoena powers" to force testimony from non-members of Congress. It has a number of FBI staff detectives and a freshly resigned FBI inspector "to conduct the detective and legal work." No other House committee has such extensive legal powers and police personnel.

The obvious purpose of this effort is to stage a publicity-grabbing show trial (in the guise of "hearings") in order to clamp the lid on journalists exposing the CIA and FBI. Under the committee's expanded subpoena powers a journalist who refused to reveal his source could be jailed for "contempt of Congress." The ominous and broad-ranging powers of the "Ethics" Committee are reminiscent of the McCarthyite House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) active in the 1950's and 1960's.

The head of the committee, John Flynt, says that the investigation will not be directed "at any particular person," but no one doubts that the Number One target is Daniel Schorr, the broadcast journalist who leaked the "Pike Papers" to the *Village Voice*. Publication of the report actually added nothing new to what had already been printed earlier, so the Ethics Committee's "full investigation" is clearly aimed at all press attempts to publish unfavorable material about the government's spy apparatuses.

Schorr is also being witchhunted by the Justice Department, which is considering whether he can be prosecuted under federal espionage laws. And his employer, CBS, has taken him off the air. He is the immediate target in what is becoming known as the "secrecy backlash." Noting that the "mood has shifted" from "freedom" (?) to "security," Schorr remarked: "I got hit by a swinging pendulum" (*New York Times*, 27 February).

The case of Daniel Schorr raises the dilemma for liberals which was always inherent in the CIA/FBI investigations: how far are they willing to go in providing a semblance of public scrutiny before calling the whole thing off in order not to seriously damage the imperialist machine? Both liberal and conservative imperialists have concluded that the secret police must be secret.

The witchhunt of Daniel Schorr is only the narrowest focus of the secrecy backlash intended to get the heat off the secret police. From Ford's "reform" legalizing the "excesses" of which the CIA/FBI have been charged to the attempt to go after journalists in the name of "national security," the inevitable target is the left. The brazen attempt to gag the press and freeze criticism of the government must be stopped and this baby HUAC throttled in its cradle. Call Off the Witchhunt—Disband the Ethics Committee!

Letter to the Partisan Defense Committee

February 17, 1976

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

On behalf of Philip and the Committee we want to extend special thanks to you and the organization for your continued and diligent support that you have given us in this struggle.

It is heartwarming to have dependable friends like you. Although we value your financial help, we are especially impressed with all the efforts you are making to publicize the case.

It is so important that we reach as many people as possible, and your work has paid off because besides receiving financial and moral support from PDCs, in several cities, we have heard from individuals who have gained knowledge of the case through your publications.

Your latest correspondence about the radio show in Chicago has been received with great enthusiasm, and we would be extremely delighted to have the tape. Thanks tremendously for all the information.

In Solidarity,

Philip L. Allen Defense Committee
of First Unitarian Church
2936 West 8th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90005

Editor's Note: Last December 2 spokesmen for the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee appeared on Chicago radio station WVON's "Hotline" to discuss the frame-up of Philip Allen and demand his release. According to "Hotline" host Wesley South, the program reaches an audience of 250,000 to 500,000 and has more black listeners than any other Chicago station.

UPI

"Justice" American-Style

"Patty" Hearst, the Harrises and the SLA

For week upon week the bourgeois press has been indulging in an orgy of sex-and-brainwashing sensationalism in the continuing saga of "Patty" Hearst, on trial for robbing a San Francisco branch bank on 15 April 1974. As the trial winds down, one is forcefully reminded of an aphorism credited to Anatole France: "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread." The Hearst trial demonstrates a corollary: the rich and the poor have an "equal right" to wield the clout of a billion-dollar empire to acquire "justice under the law."

Hot-shot big-money lawyer F. Lee Bailey leads a virtual army of legal and psychological mercenary experts in defense of "Patty." The defense's strategy is an old and fundamentally simple story: somebody else did it. Not the bank robbery, of course; everybody agrees that as "Tania" it was Patricia Hearst on camera, carbine in hand. But "Patty," they contend, was brainwashed.

The "brainwashing" defense depends upon Hearst-Bailey's ability to divorce Patricia Hearst from the criminal and violent activities of the self-styled "Symbionese Liberation Army" (SLA). The scenario presented is of the poor little rich girl tortured by a deranged sociopathic cabal until she "freaked out"; now the prodigal daughter, suitably sobered by her ordeal, returns home to a heart-warming reconciliation with her family and its fabulous wealth. If Patricia's pecadillos were not so serious, "Tania's" experiences might just be put down to "getting mixed up with bad company."

The Heiress and the Harrises

What is strange about the trial is that it is often hard to tell the defense from the prosecution. To demonstrate what good terms "Patty" is now on with her family, the Hearsts were allowed to be present at the jury selection. Bail was denied, apparently in keeping with a Hearst-Bailey design to keep the defendant out of trouble. One San Francisco radical lawyer, Michael Kennedy, pointed out: "A first year law student could get the appellate court...to admit bail. None of the high-powered lawyers for Hearst has even mentioned bail since...shortly after her capture" (*San Francisco City Magazine*, 11 February).

The "brainwashing" defense means a frontal assault on the only other living members of the SLA, William and Emily Harris, who are themselves awaiting trial in Los Angeles. Like "Patty," the Harrises face charges in L.A. for kidnapping, assault with a deadly weapon and robbery. The Harrises wanted to be tried along with "Patty." But in a rather unusual move the government allowed the Hearst defense to sever Hearst from the Harrises and try "Patty" alone, prior to the Los Angeles proceedings, on the less serious San Francisco charges. In reality, it is the Harrises who are now being tried, in absentia, by both the prosecution and the defense.

"Patty's" line is: the Harrises did it. She testified that she had not tried to contact her parents after May 17 because the Harrises "would have found out.... And if the Harrises found out...they would have killed me." Emily Harris responded that "if she had wanted to escape there were plenty of opportunities" (*New York Times*, 22 February).

Unlike Patricia Hearst, the Harrises had something of a political history on the left before they joined the kill-crazy cult SLA. William Harris came back from Vietnam in the mid-1960's and in 1968 joined the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In the early 1970's both the Harrises became involved with prison reform projects in California and there presumably made the contacts through whom they eventually came under the influence of the convicts who dominated the SLA. As members of the group that claimed to have killed school superintendent Marcus Foster as part of a longer personal vendetta "hit list," the Harrises are not defensible from the perspective of the class struggle.

The Harrises do not come from poor families, but they are not likely to get the F. Lee Bailey treatment. They are, however, likely to get a talkative "Patty" as a key witness for the prosecution. "Patty" has also discussed her journeys as a fugitive from justice, naming the names of many who "harbored" her and setting them up for federal charges. To convincingly demonstrate contrition, she must eagerly supply information about those who—perhaps under the mistaken impression that they were rendering humanitarian services to a heroic outcast from bourgeois legality—sheltered her.

Anti-Communist Myths

The press' obsession with the details of the Hearst case goes beyond its usual prurient and racialist interest in interracial sex. The defense has also tapped into a persistent bourgeois fantasy about the "nice girl from a good home" who, like the legendary Trilby, is hypnotized into becoming the mindless pawn of the diabolic Svengali. In this more modern version, Trilby is an heiress metamorphosized into a soulless "revolutionary." The tale is given added spice by the fact that in this instance Svengali was a black man.

The defense says "Patty's" captors kept her in a closet for weeks, raped her continually and forced her to act like a member of the SLA gang. They supposedly coerced her into denouncing her parents as the "pig Hearsts" and her fiancé as an "ageist and sexist pig." She now claims that her personal journals—filled with the incoherent ramblings of a class-guilty juvenile—were "dictated" to her by her captors.

In his opening statement to the jury, Bailey insisted that Patricia Hearst "had no interest in radical politics" (*San Francisco City Magazine*) at the time she was kidnapped. He states that she is now "once again" not political or radical. These two contentions, at least, are almost certainly true (and go a long way toward explaining her evident lack of the sort of solidarity that is said to exist even among thieves). The defense further argues that "Patty," having been "brainwashed," was in fact not really political at all during her SLA episode.

Now here is a half-truth whose validity turns not on the question of coercion—its putative existence, nature or extent—but on the character of the SLA itself. The SLA was not primarily a political group at all, but a criminal, violence-crazed cult. Whatever the nature of Patricia Hearst's involvement with the SLA, it can in no sense be considered "political."

The "brainwashing" defense in the Hearst case is merely another anti-communist "dupe" legend Hearst-Bailey would like to cast the Harrises as the "dupers," practitioners of Maoist behavior modification. The court heard three psychologists testify about brainwashing. Robert Jay Lifton explained how "Patty" had her "sense of self dehumanized and betrayed" and compared the process to the Chinese Communists' "conversion" of clergy, which he claims to have seen many times. Another psychologist, Martin Orne, testified that he had "studied the personalities of revolutionaries" and concluded that "Miss Hearst was unlike" them, especially because she "did have feelings for individuals" (*New York Times*, 27 February).

Both the defense counsel and the

continued on page 9

UPI

UPI

Bill and Emily Harris

Tony Korody/Sygma

SLA hideout in flames after attack by more than 300 L.A. SWAT police and FBI agents in May 1974.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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International Women's Day 1976

SL Forums Call for Women's Liberation through Proletarian Revolution

WV Photo

International Women's Day demonstration in Chicago.

NEW YORK—A few days before International Women's Day a Spartacist League supporter telephoned *Majority Report*, a weekly feminist newspaper, to ask what events were planned here for the occasion. "We don't know anything about it," she was told. "It isn't a feminist holiday."

Indeed it is not. In the past the feminist movement has obscured the origins of the holiday commemorating women garment workers' strikes in the early twentieth century. In February 1917 a massive demonstration of Russian women on International Women's Day sparked the revolution, and in 1920 the Communist International proclaimed the day a proletarian holiday.

This year, at least in New York, the feminists have begun to abstain from even participating in International Women's Day activities. Demonstrations and rallies here were markedly smaller than in previous years.

In the last year many feminists have been deeply shaken by the scandalous "cooperation" of Jane Alpert with the FBI and revelations about Gloria Steinem's services to the CIA in the early 1960's. Possibly reflecting the polarizations in the women's movement provoked by these issues, there were few "umbrella-group" demonstrations this year. Most events were held separately by various ostensibly socialist organizations. In New York the largest was a Black Women's United Front conference sponsored by the Congress of Afrikan Peoples (CAP) and the October League (OL), which attracted roughly 400 women. A subsequent CAP/OL rally brought out about 300 people.

Elsewhere, several demonstrations around democratic reform issues (abortion, ERA, etc.) were called by the National Organization of Women (NOW), with its bourgeois politics and its reformist friends of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). NOW's big draw was a San Francisco "Day in the Park for Women's Rights" where 250 women heard movie star Jane Fonda speak and could then pick up her Democrat husband's campaign materials from the nearby "Tom Hayden for Congress" literature table.

In Boston and Detroit there were no demonstrations at all. In Chicago about 50 people turned out for an OL demonstration and a meager 20 for a planned Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) march. In the Bay Area an assortment of left groups sponsored a women's cultural festival at Oakland's Laney College which was attended by about 300.

SL Forums

The Women's Commission of the Spartacist League held a series of forums nationwide commemorating International Women's Day and explaining the Trotskyist program of women's liberation through proletarian revolution. Before West Coast audiences, Sheila Delaney pointed to the example of the "pots and pans" demonstrations of Chilean housewives—part of the reactionary anti-Allende mobilizations that preceded the bloody 1973 coup which toppled the Unidad Popular government—to demonstrate that the mass organizing of women can be a powerful tool for *either* side in the class struggle. Rather than succumbing to petty-bourgeois calls for an "independent" women's movement, the revolutionary party must struggle to win the masses of women away from reactionary ideology to the proletarian cause. Only the workers' vanguard party, based upon a clear program in the historic interests of the proletariat and all the oppressed, can effectively combat the rightist obscurantists' efforts to misdirect the fears of plebeian women into the service of reaction.

In Detroit and Ann Arbor Helen Cantor spoke on "Women, Culture and Class Society." She discussed the theories of cultural feminists who argue that the contributions of great women artists and writers have been left out of history. The "herstory" line of "writing women back into history" assumes the premise that centuries of women's oppression have not taken a cultural toll on women—i.e., that their oppression was not real. Contrary to the utopian view that altering a few textbooks will change the facts, Cantor insisted that women have *not* participated fully in the creation and development of human culture precisely because they have been excluded from social production, discriminated against in education and cloistered in the nuclear family for child-rearing and housekeeping. Until women are freed from enervating domestic trivia and the narrowness of the family to participate in all realms of societal activity "women's history" can be nothing other than a tokenistic testimonial to a handful of exceptional individuals in the context of centuries of misery, powerlessness and frustrating, dehumanizing isolation from social life.

Finking Is Feminist?

In forums in the New York area, Kay Blanchard focused on the current rise of "anarcho-feminism," a currently fashionable trend emerging out of the bitter controversy in the women's movement on the issue of collaboration with the repressive bourgeois state. The issue was brought into focus by the actions of Jane Alpert and Gloria Steinem. In late 1974 the bourgeois media reported that ex-Weatherwoman-turned-feminist Jane Alpert had emerged from hiding and, in order to buy lenient treatment from the authorities, had "fully cooperated with the government." A few months later Pat Swinton, a former associate of Alpert's, was arrested after four years as a fugitive.

Within the women's movement, the SL speaker explained, deep divisions long plastered over by the spirit of "sisterhood" suddenly came seething to the surface. While many groups said Alpert should be kicked out of the movement for capitulating to the FBI, a star-studded cast of feminists including Steinem, Robin Morgan, Kate Millett and Susan Brownmiller, formed the Circle of Support for Jane Alpert. Circle of Support does not deny that Alpert finked to the FBI; Steinem & Co. insist that "informing is not the issue" and that the left vilifies Alpert simply because she is a woman and one who "struck a mortal blow at its credibility."

"Sisterhood" and the CIA

A few months later Circle of Support jumped to Steinem's defense when the feminist group Redstockings exposed her 1959-1962 role as director of the CIA-funded Independent Research Service, where her job was to compile biographical data on members of international Communist-led youth organizations. Steinem's most interesting—and dubious—defense came from CLUW honcho Edith Van Horne, a United Auto Workers International representative. In a letter to Redstockings Van Horne protested that "all of us were suckered by the CIA in the 1960's." Tell us more, Ms. Van Horne! The workers movement deserves a more detailed account.

These graphic demonstrations that "consistent feminism" hardly leads to socialism—contrary to the SWP's claims in justification for embracing petty-bourgeois feminism—have sparked a sorting-out process among feminists. A number of women's collectives were forced to admit that the state was a greater enemy than their old anathema, "male-dominated" left groups. Many women courageously refused to cooperate with subsequent grand jury investigations concerned with the whereabouts of radical fugitives and themselves suffered jailings and harassment as a consequence.

Anarcho-Feminism and the Fat Underground

Many among this wing of the movement, however, now claim to advocate "anarcho-feminism," a confused doctrine based on an implicit absurdity: that the state can be abolished without proletarian revolution and the construction of a workers state, which lays the basis for the elimination of class society, and with it the state.

Blanchard conducted the audience on a guided tour through the maze of reformist currents in the feminist movement a myriad of hyphenated amalgamations such as the socialist-feminists, radical-feminists, lesbian-feminists, Jewish-feminists, etc. "Just when you think that there couldn't possibly be any more specialized organizations we read about the Fat Underground," she said. Blanchard read from its statement that there is a "class division between fat and slim people—the fat are forced to slave and sweat while the slim are encouraged to eat and relax!"

In closing, Blanchard pointed out that all the various feminist programs, taken to their logical conclusion, amount to sex war. She counterposed to this the Spartacist League's program for the emancipation of women through proletarian revolution, through the forging of the vanguard workers party to unify and lead to victory the struggles of all the exploited and oppressed. ■

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In Anti-Trotskyist Frenzy

West German Maoist Thugs Disrupt Own Demos

Kommunistische Korrespondenz

February 25 demonstration in Berlin against public transit fare hikes.

BERLIN—The collapse of the West German "economic miracle" in the context of a world-wide capitalist depression has had a sharp impact on the biggest industrial proletariat of West Europe: already several hundred thousand foreign "guest workers" have been shipped home and the unemployment rate is over 5 percent, almost triple that of two years ago. The German bourgeoisie has responded by taking the lead among advanced capitalist countries in greatly expanding its already extensive repressive legislation designed to hamstring or crush all serious working-class resistance.

In addition to such actions as turning the border guards into a militarized national police and spending millions of marks on the drawn-out "Baader-Meinhof" show trial, last month the Social Democratic Party (SPD)-led government pulled out all the stops to enact a draconian "extremist law." The measure would make membership in "anti-constitutional" organizations grounds for dismissal from all civil service jobs, from state administration to teachers and librarians.

The bill failed solely because it was not severe enough for the tastes of the Christian Democrats, who control the upper house of parliament and are thirsting for an election campaign centering on the accusation that the SPD is "soft on reds." However, such dismissals have already been occurring by the score (with hundreds of new job applicants turned down) on the basis of state "extremist laws," and the federal constitutional court has already ruled that such dismissals do not violate citizens' rights.

In January a law making it illegal to advocate the forcible overthrow of the state was unanimously passed by the Bundestag. The terms of this measure were so broad as to include any call for the dictatorship of the proletariat or the overthrow of capitalism. Despite disclaimers that the measure would apply only if "the existence or security of the federal republic" were threatened, the viciously reactionary German police and courts (who have been notoriously lenient toward Nazi war criminals) will certainly cooperate in using the new provision (paragraph 88a of the penal code) to harass supporters of all groups to the left of the SPD's Young Socialists.

Already there have been a number of government moves against ostensibly revolutionary groups, notably coordinated raids and arrests directed against the Maoist KPD (Communist Party of Germany) in 1973. Maoist groups have also been hard hit by witchhunts in the unions. The SPD has been in the forefront of this anti-communist campaign, with the pro-Moscow DKP (German Communist Party) aiding it by fingering alleged "ultra-leftists" in the plants.

In this situation of stepped-up repression, the elementary need is for working-class unity in the struggle against the witchhunt and to oppose the extension of dictatorial powers of the bourgeois state. But instead of efforts to build a strong united front against capitalist repression, the Maoists are instead trying to curry favor with the bourgeoisie by aggressively demonstrating in favor of NATO and even, in one case, bringing a court suit against the West German defense minister for insufficient vigilance against "Soviet social imperialism." An integral part of this campaign for "defense of the fatherland" is the Maoists' current anti-Trotskyist frenzy.

The recent wave of Stalinist gangster attacks against ostensibly Trotskyist groups began with the attempt by the KPD and the KPD-ML to storm a GIM (International Marxist Group, German section of the United Secretariat) meeting at the Technical University in Berlin last November (see "West German Maoists Squirm Over Chinese Support to NATO," *WV* No. 90, 2 January 1976). The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany, section of the international Spartacist tendency) joined with the GIM and the Spartacusbund in a joint defense guard that succeeded in driving off the Maoist attackers.

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In two different incidents in late February the Maoists have again resorted to thug attacks in order to quarantine their supporters from "contamination" by exposure to Trotskyist politics. On February 25, a demonstration against drastic (up to 80 percent) hikes in public transit fares was called by a high school students' organization in West Berlin. During the course of the march, the KPD-ML launched a brutal and sustained assault against the TLD, the Spartacusbund and the "critical Maoists" of the Communist League (KB).

After harassing other participants to keep them away from Trotskyists, a KPD-ML goon squad attempted to separate the TLD and Spartacusbund from the preceding contingents. Once the "popular masses" were far enough away that they could not see the Maoist bully boys going about their dirty business, the attack began. Although heavily outnumbered, the TLD defended itself vigorously in extended fighting that lasted for about half an hour along the route of march. At one point the TLD broke through the Maoists thugs and advanced to in front of the KB contingent, whereupon the KPD-ML proceeded to attack their erstwhile comrades-in-arms of the KB as well. Only after giving a good account of themselves in this Maoist-provoked melee did the TLD supporters withdraw in protest, as did the KB and Spartacusbund.

During the February 25 Berlin demonstration, the Communist League of West Germany (KBW) marched in league with the KPD-ML, tolerating the vicious attacks on other demonstration participants in silence. In typical Stalinist fashion, the KBW shows its disdain for workers democracy; at an earlier (January 16) Berlin demonstration against paragraph 88a it contrived to prevent co-sponsors KB and GIM from speaking by declaring the rally over after its own speech. (Here the KBW was actively aided by the police, who moved in to dissolve the meeting.) An even more serious attack by these cynical mouthers of "participatory democracy" jargon took place at a February 21 demonstration in Köln.

The Köln protest was against the infamous paragraph 218 of the criminal code which outlaws abortion. The KBW, which has a penchant for dreaming up bizarre reformist demands in "democratic" plumage, had sought to focus the demonstration on its call for a referendum on the anti-abortion law. The TLD marched in the demonstration with placards calling for abolition of paragraph 218, for free abortion on demand, for a workers government and with one sign denouncing the "referendum" gimmick as a reformist ploy. When the Köln comrades of the TLD refused to remove this placard, various KBW heavies forced their way into the TLD's ranks and managed to destroy the sign during the confrontation.

In the course of these demonstrations and meetings, every one of the Maoist groups has made crystal clear its sectarian disregard of Leninist norms of proletarian democracy. The attitude of the KPD, KPD-ML and KBW was made clear by their brutal attempts to break up demonstrations and meetings rather than permit the expression of Trotskyist politics. The KB, in turn, even though it was itself a victim of this Stalin-style gangsterism on February 25, had previously prevented KPD members in Berlin from selling their press. Furthermore, in commenting on the November incident at the Technical University and the TLD's principled defense of workers democracy, a KB Berlin newspaper explicitly stated that it considers attempts to suppress the views of other left tendencies as in principle justified, the only question being whether the relationship of forces makes such attacks opportune!

In November the ostensibly Trotskyist GIM and Spartacusbund signed a joint statement in defense of workers democracy together with the TLD and formed a common defense guard. However, in Köln, when the TLD approached the local GIM committee and the sympathizer circle of the Spartacusbund requesting joint defense arrangements for the February 21 demonstration in view of the expected KBW attack, they received vague promises. The Spartacusbund eventually sent an observer (who observed). GIM supporters in the abortion action committee also observed the Maoist attack... from the ranks of the KBW-led contingent. They made no organizational move to aid our outnumbered comrades, although a few individual GIM supporters did defend the TLD. Thus it becomes clear that these fake-Trotskyists support workers democracy only when they themselves are attacked (or, in the case of the Spartacusbund, when it concerns a group they wish to play games with). Their main distinction from the KB in this respect is a lack of frankness and a heavy dose of hypocrisy.

—Stop the Maoist gangster attacks! Defend workers democracy!

—For freedom of propaganda in joint actions!

—For the construction of a Trotskyist party in Germany! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International!

SIXTEEN YEARS OF STALINIST RULE

IN CUBA

Granma

Cuban Communist Party Congress in Havana, December 1975.

Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress

"Carrier pigeons flew today from remote villages in the Sierra Maestra with early returns in Cuba's first national vote since Fidel Castro seized power in 1959," reported the 16 February *New York Times*. In balloting on the new "socialist constitution" the final count was 97.7 percent in favor and 1 percent opposed, with about 5.6 million people over the age of 16 participating.

This first national plebiscite came only a few weeks after the maiden congress of the Cuban Communist Party (PCC) held in late December. After 12 months of preparation (1975 was proclaimed "The Year of the First Congress") and a great deal of fanfare, the meeting convened at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana with a cast of thousands of delegates and foreign dignitaries.

The carefully orchestrated six-day conference, a masterpiece of political sterility, listened to a seven-hour report by Fidel Castro and follow-up speeches praising the "brilliant ability" of the "jefe máximo" to "interpret and express historical necessity" (*Granma*, 25 January). Commenting on why the congress had not been held before, Castro remarked with a bureaucratic arrogance that would make even the most cynical Stalinist hacks blush, "We are fortunate to be holding it now. Fortunate, indeed! This way the quality of the Congress is endorsed by 17 years of experience"!

Despite all the hoopla about "socialist democracy," the first-ever PCC congress certainly did not represent a break with the capricious Stalinist regime which has governed the island since a bureaucratically deformed workers state emerged in the fall-winter of 1960. But it is significant as an attempt by the narrow Castro ruling clique to solidify and broaden the governmental and party apparatus. This operation has meant a facelifting for the regime, extending even to the personal appearance of its leaders. Gone are the days when Raúl Castro was the only commander of state armed forces to sport a pony tail. At the congress, both Castro brothers wore stylishly tailored officers' uniforms (no battle fatigues here!) complete with epaulettes.

A Rubber-Stamp Congress

The main theme of the congress was "the process of institutionalizing and restructuring the country." Until now virtually all decisions have been made by Castro himself or a small circle of close associates. Castro's report contained a long section, entitled "mistakes made," which admitted that there has been no semblance of democratic decision-making in the Cuban party-state:

> "For years the Party's activities had been conducted by the Secretariat for Organization. The Political Bureau functioned as the Party's highest authority, but in practice the Central Committee did not exercise its functions. In addition to this, the Political Bureau—composed of comrades who were in charge of many state functions—considered the most important political questions, but there was no strictly systematic work in the leadership of the Party and the state."
> *Granma*, 4 January

Castro's conclusion was to propose a new constitution based on "representative organs of the proletarian state: the National Assembly and the Provincial and Municipal Assemblies of People's Power."

In his report to the PCC congress, Castro motivated the need to replace the 1940 Fundamental Law by referring to the "continual clash between a profoundly revolutionary process and the formulations of a bourgeois constitution." He hailed the new document as "an exemplary text of socialist democracy" and "a text worthy of the first socialist state of workers and peasants, of manual and intellectual workers, in the Americas, in which sovereignty and power are truly in the hands of the working people..." (*Granma*, 4 January).

The 1976 constitution does codify the collective ownership of the means of production, a historic conquest of the working class. It also guarantees certain rights to the Cuban people, such as free medical care and education, equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leaves and vacations, social security benefits, as well as the right to vote, work and full social equality.

But despite all the talk of elections and "organs of people's power," the "socialist constitution" is a far cry from workers democracy. It not only writes into law the political monopoly of the Communist Party (as "the leading force of society and the state"), but also the Castro regime's foreign policy of tailing after the Kremlin ("fraternal friendship, assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries").

Actually, Cuba's new "socialist constitution" resembles nothing so much as Stalin's 1936 constitution, which falsely proclaimed the advent of socialism and the disappearance of classes in the Soviet Union. In addition to territorial division of votes by an atomized population instead of soviet democracy organized around the workplace, this document wrote into law the political expropriation of the working class (through reference to the "leading role" of the Communist Party [CPSU], by then merely a mouthpiece for the ruling bureaucracy).

The "Great Leader of the Peoples" did not let the people approve (much less decide upon) his constitution, but in 1937 elections to the "supreme soviet" of the USSR the regimented voters duly cast 98.6 percent of their ballots for the Communist Party candidates (Stalin, "Report to the 18th Congress of the CPSU," March 1939). If Castro got a mere 97.7 percent for his exercise in "socialist democracy," we can only assume...that some of the carrier pigeons got lost in the Sierra Maestra!

For the rest, the congress adopted a party platform and statutes, and passed numerous resolutions covering every field of social and political life, all without a word of dissent or criticism. Castro was, of course, "re-elected" first secretary of the PCC and his brother Raúl, now a self-promoted lieutenant general, was awarded the post of second secretary.

Matanzas: A Farce of Workers Democracy

To test the waters of "people's power," the Cuban bureaucracy has conducted an "experiment" in the province of Matanzas, with mid-1974 elections for district, regional and provincial assemblies. The *Wall Street Journal* (4 December 1974) quoted Ramon Castro, Fidel's older brother (and a high-level Havana administrator), as saying of the Matanzas vote: "Now we are putting into the hands of the people the power of governing that they should have."

To provide an appearance of "grass-roots democracy," a choice between different candidates was permitted, with 4,712 individuals running for 1,114 positions in the provincial assembly. All residents 16 years of age and older were permitted to vote except prisoners, applicants for permanent emigration and candidates in the 1958 "elections" of the Batista dictatorship. In addition to the above, candidates could be excluded if they were ever political, military, police and trade-union officials in the last Batista government, or if they had been "sanctioned for nonfulfillment of military duties and [dis]respect for national emblems" (*Cuba Review*, December 1974).

A close look at this "experiment" reveals its utterly farcical character and how far it is from genuine proletarian democracy. Aside from the formally democratic features of multiple candidates, right to recall and majority election, in practice all candidates were scrupulously screened by the PCC's electoral commission. Above all, no other workers parties that defend the social and economic gains of the Cuban Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution were permitted to run in opposition to the candidates of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Thus, according to the *Cuba Review*, "If any detrimental information about the individual was found, the nominee was given the opportunity to withdraw as a candidate. Those choosing to remain in the race had the information included in their biographies" which were posted publicly along with their photos. Since no money could be expended in campaigning, candidates were elected strictly on the basis of these biographies, with the obvious assumption by many voters that those who had

been appointed to the most posts in the past were the most qualified.

An even more restrictive screening process was employed for elections to the key post of executive committee, the

full-time executive/administrative arm of the assemblies. Here nominees did not even have to he elected delegates! Moreover, the slates drawn up hy the PCC electoral commission had to be accepted or rejected (no new candidates could he added); if turned down, the commission simply draws up a new slate. It is no surprise, therefore, that 75 percent of those elected as delegates to the provincial assembly were either members of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League (UJC).

A Five-Year Plan for Cuba

In announcing the Matanzas elections, Cuba's deputy premier and defense minister Raúl Castro linked them to the struggle against bureaucratism: "We are convinced that to the extent the masses participate in state affairs, the struggle against all forms of bureaucratism will he more effective, the needs of the population and the community will be better met and the revolutionary state will be stronger, more democratic and solid" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 22 July 1974). Similarly, the recent PCC congress which approved the new constitution placed special emphasis on overcoming the irrationalities of the present economic organization—or, more accurately, disorganization—of Cuha.

Castro's report stated that, in the past, "Economic management methods that have been put into practice have not been the best possible. Generally, our administrative cadres do not have the required economic consciousness, the required concern for matters regarding costs and production efficiency in general." That is only scratching the surface.

The report stated that in the early years, government economic expenditures were governed by a rudimentary budget financing system (designed by Ernesto "Che" Guevara) which aimed at recouping outlays and centralizing administrative control. However, faced with inadequacies of the cost controls, particularly in agriculture, the Cuban leaders in 1967 introduced "a new system of economic records, preceded by the elimination of all commodity forms and the abolition of charges and payments between units of the state sector"!

By abolishing all cost accounting in the state sector—relying exclusively on physical output quotas—the managers predictably could make only the crudest comparisons of various alternative projects. Meanwhile, the entire economy was geared to Castro's pet projects: first wild diversification without adequate technical knowledge or supporting resources; then an all-out drive to maximize sugar production in the late 1960's. This culminated in the famous fiasco of the "10-million ton harvest" of sugar cane in 1970, which actually produced only 8.5 million tons—a whopping 15 percent shortfall.The entire economy was dislocated as virtually the entire workforce was mobilized for the harvest at the expense of all other production.

This catastrophe—and a swift kick in the pants from the Russians—finally sobered up the Cuban leadership, whereupon it fixed upon emulating the present procedures of Soviet economic planning and management. The year 1971 was symbolically proclaimed the "Year of Productivity" and a heavy use of material incentives was begun, distributing scarce consumer items (television sets, refrigerators, washing machines, bicycles, watches, etc.) to the most productive workers. Now this is to be complemented by adoption of Cuba's first five-year plan, the "Economic Management System."

The plan represents a considerable step forward from the willful irrationality that has characterized Castro's economic policies in the past. One third of investment is earmarked for industry, and sugar output is expected to increase

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SWP and PST on Collision Course

War in the USec Minority

For several years, the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has been deeply factionally polarized between its centrist wing the International Majority Tendency (IMT) based on its European sections, primarily the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) of France –and the reformist "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF) dominated by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) of Argentina.

Despite both sides' commitment to maintaining the USec as an unprincipled bloc through organizational horse-trading, the inherent instability of a centrist-reformist international conglomeration has led to splits in country after country as the partisans of the competing factions find it impossible to coexist in the same "section." The polarization initially found its clearest expression over the issue of guerrilla warfare (IMT vicarious petty-bourgeois adventurism vs. SWP/LTF ultra-legalistic fake-orthodox "party building"), but the sharpest polemics of the past year or so have taken place over Portugal, with the IMT tailing the Communist Party and "progressive officers" of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) while the SWP invokes "democracy" to front for the CIA-funded Socialist Party-led rightist mobilization.

But the degenerated "unity" façade of the USec has lately developed a new wrinkle. LTF ideologue Joseph Hansen took to the pages of the SWP's public factional organ (*Intercontinental Press*—the IMT's counterpart is entitled *Inprecor*) on 9 February to present the SWP's version of a split in the Mexican Liga Socialista. Well, you might be asking at this point, what's so unusual about another split in the USec? What makes this particular split news is that the Mexican USec forces were already broken up into two "sympathizing sections" (one for the IMT and one for the LTF) and the new cleavage is the result of a savage battle within the LTF between SWP supporters and a PST-inspired grouping within the Mexican LTF organization.

Hansen's long polemic reports that the PST supporters obtained a majority in the Mexican group, broke off relations with the SWP and according to Hansen repressed the democratic rights of their antagonists so ruthlessly that the pro-SWP minority found itself compelled to launch a "public faction"—i.e., to split and form a competing public organization. Similar tensions within LTF-aligned groups have been reported in the Portuguese PRT and the Spanish LCE. In both cases the PST-backed elements favor a rapprochement with the IMT.

Fundamentally, what is going on in the USec can he described quite simply. Having held together this long as a paper "international tendency," the USec in reality is so far from possessing any cohesion whatsoever that even the long-standing antagonism between the IMT and LTF no longer suffices to keep the two wings unified within themselves. The de facto break is so far advanced that the two wings have been pursuing realignments on their own (e.g., the LCR's courtship of the French Parti Socialiste Unifié, the prolonged negotiations between the SWP and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste).

Meanwhile the cliquist and factional polarizations within the national sections themselves can no longer be restrained by any felt sense of a need to stand together against a common opponent within the USec. The open break within the Mexican LTF finds parallels, for example, in the chaotic internal situation of the French LCR or the multi-faceted factionalism within the pro-IMT International Marxist Group in Britain. The USec rotten bloc is fracturing into "two, three, many" international tendencies at breakneck speed. At the mid-February meeting of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the USec, a third tendency (presumably thePST and its supporters) emerged on the question of Portugal (*Inprecor*, 4 March). At the same time, the IMT, in an effort to counter its waning influence in Portugal, called for a fusion between the PRT and LCI in Portugal.

Falling Out Among Reformists

Persistent rumors of frictions within the LTF over Portugal and Angola are now amply confirmed. The Angola dispute is particularly instructive. The SWP's Angola position—a disingenuous "neutrality" between the nationalist MPLA and the MPLA's CIA/South Africa-backed foes—is a sitting duck for leftist criticism. Proving that its cynicism knows no bounds, the PST has attacked on the Angola question with a show of fake-orthodoxy which puts not merely the SWP but the MPLA enthusiasts of the IMT to shame.

In the 5 December issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PST takes a long swipe at the SWP:

> "For Marxists there is only one way to confront the problem: to determine which class interests each band [guerrilla group] represents and which social forces it bases itself on. This enables us to determine which sector is more progressive. .
> "To say that the war is 'fratricidal' is to say nothing. A civil war is nothing more than the intensification of the class struggle which is permanently fought out in more 'peaceful' forms (political struggle, strikes, etc.).
> "Without a doubt, if the MPLA wins it will try to contain and repress the mass movement on which it bases itself today. In this sense it represents a potential enemy....
> "But its defeat is a much more immediate and grave danger Because its defeat also will mean the smashing of the trade-union and political organizations of the Angolan working class and the urban popular sectors.... It will mean a retreat in the revolutionary process begun in the country by the war against the Portuguese."

Borrowing criticisms from both USec camps—from the IMT, the need to solidarize with the MPLA against the imperialist/colonialist puppets; from the SWP the correct observation that the MPLA nationalists will smash any independent mobilizations of the workers—the PST almost comes up smelling like a rose. But not quite.

For the PST was not born yesterday. Its sordid history of social-democratic groveling before the bloody feet of Peronist bourgeois nationalism has gained the PST a well-deserved reputation among Latin American militants as a thoroughly rotten and reformist organization. For all its "orthodox" pontificating about Angola, the PST has shown its reformism on the terrain which is decisive: its posture toward its "own" bourgeoisie in Argentina.

The PST's current phony orthodox stance neatly parallels another period in its history. At the same time as it was raising abstractly correct criticisms of the Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario of G. Lora for joining the class-collaborationist Frente Antiimperialista Revolucionario (FRA), closer to home the PST had thrown its support behind the "process of institutionalization" in Argentina following the Peronist electoral victory in 1973. And what did the PST mean by "institutionalization"? Defending the "continuity of this government, because it was elected by the majority of Argentine workers."

Today the PST's program to meet the crisis in Argentina is to establish "a forum for the free interchange of ideas among all sectors of the society, culminating in discussions as to what course to take." This is nothing less than a call for an Argentine FRA! This is exactly what the PST's Uruguayan co-thinkers called for in 1974 and demand today in Mexico (where the PST-backed "Militant Tendency" has signed an electoral agreement to propagate, among other things, "the general positions relative to peaceful coexistence").

As for the centrist IMT, neither the PST's social-democratic program for Argentina nor the IMT's past criticisms of the PST (due, of course, solely to the latter's alignment with the SWP/LTF) can be construed as precluding a future reintegration of the arch-reformist PST into the IMT. However, as the entire history of the USec bears witness, unprincipled combinationism cannot build a stable international tendency, but merely plants the seeds of future splits. ■

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Teamsters...

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national agreement negotiated by Fitzsimmons and struck for an additional 55 cents per hour. After wildcats spread throughout the Midwest, Fitzsimmons was forced to adjust the wages of all IBT drivers upward to achieve parity with Chicago.)

While real wages have decreased and the right to strike has been throttled, unemployment has increased dramatically and now exceeds 15 percent in many drivers' locals. The depression has precipitated a wave of failures among trucking concerns, with larger outfits buying out bankrupt companies. The total number of jobs in the new consolidated enterprises has not only been slashed, but in many cases drivers previously employed by the bankrupt concerns have forfeited their seniority.

The IBT bureaucrats have remained totally passive in the face of this assault on fundamental union rights; indeed, the notoriously corrupt and gangster-influenced union leadership has proven more than willing to sign away contract protection for the membership. Increasingly common are sweetheart agreements in which local union bureaucrats agree to exempt trucking companies from the wage and other provisions of the master freight agreement, allegedly in return for kickbacks. In the New York-New Jersey area alone, leaders of several Teamster locals concede that well over 50 percent of the trucking workers in the area are covered by local contracts generally inferior to the national agreement (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 December 1975).

TDC: Economist Trade Unionism

The disastrous 1973 contract, along with the disappearance of the popular former Teamster president, Jimmy Hoffa, has greatly weakened the position of the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. Into the breach has stepped Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) which, as the only active and visible national opposition in the IBT, has succeeded in tapping a broad layer of discontent in the union.

Most of the successes of TDC have been on the West Coast, where there are a number of IBT locals with a history of dissidence and militancy. TDC motions (endorsing TDC contract demands and calling for the right of locals to ratify contract supplements) have passed in the major Teamster locals in California—Locals 208 and 375 in L.A., Local 70 in Oakland and Local 287 in San Jose.

This has drawn the fire of Fitzsimmons, who reportedly issued instructions to local bureaucrats that the TDC motions are "illegal" and "out of order." Oakland Teamsters told *Workers Vanguard* that the TDC motions were passed in drivers Local 70 while president Chuck Mack was out of town involved in national negotiations, and that upon his return he launched a harnhy-harn red-baiting campaign aimed at TDC. Several TDC members have been disciplined or fired by companies, and numerous physical attacks emanating from the IBT bureaucracy have been reported in the Midwest.

Although TDC's program is reformist, all militants have an obligation to defend trade unionists against red-baiting, company harassment and bureaucratic attacks. Unfortunately TDC undermines its own defense, which should be organized on the principle of workers democracy, by sanctioning government intervention in the Teamsters. TDC has written approvingly of court suits initiated by dissidents in order to get their locals out of receivership. Democratic rights for Teamster members cannot be defended by calling in the capitalist government, whose only concern in intervening in unions is to straitjacket the labor movement!

TDC is a catch-all of Hoffa supporters, opportunists, out-bureaucrats, rank-and-file Teamsters who simply want a better contract and even scattered militants with real impulses toward class struggle. Although it is lavishly praised in *Workers' Power*, organ of the International Socialists (I.S.), in no way does it have a radical program. In fact, TDC appeals to the traditional militancy of drivers on wages and job conditions, and deliberately ignores issues that might offend the prejudices of backward elements in the union.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition to Fitzsimmons

Genuine militants begin with the concrete needs of the working class and then lay out a program that explains what must be done to achieve these ends such as: a sliding scale of wages and hours, nationalization of industry without compensation, workers control, an independent workers party. Teamsters for a Decent Contract, on the other hand, concerns itself with what can be won "now"—i.e., with what the capitalists are willing to grant.

As such, its program is not qualitatively different from that of the IBT International; it merely seeks to squeeze a few pennies more from the companies than Fitzsimmons does. It is not surprising that even local bureaucrats firmly wedded to the capitalist system can vote for the milquetoast TDC demands. As Archie Murrietta, president of drivers Local 208 in L.A. put it in supporting the TDC contract resolution: "Anyone who isn't for a decent contract is a fool" (*Convoy*, March 1976).

TDC's demand for a one cent raise for each 0.2 percent increase in the cost of living is no different from what Fitzsimmons calls for, and entails a cutback in buying power for any worker earning over $5.00/hour. While the TDC calls for $2.00 an hour wage increase over three years, Fitzsimmons is now asking $2.50! Furthermore, TDC refuses to call for a struggle against unemployment. Its demands are limited to making overtime voluntary and paid at double-time. Class struggle militants would demand a program of jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. TDC's refusal to call for even "no overtime during layoffs" reflects its refusal to combat the viewpoint of the capitalists and their trade-union lackeys that shorter working hours necessarily means less pay.

TDC's chastisement of IBT leaders for selling out on non-economic issues is a phony. For fear of offending backward elements within the Teamsters, Teamsters for a Decent Contract has refused to take a position opposing Teamster raiding of the Farm Workers (UFW)—even though several major IBT locals on the West Coast have openly supported the Farm Workers and in recent years IBT cannery workers in northern California have gone out on unsanctioned strikes against Fitzsimmons' demand that their contract prohibit them from handling UFW produce.

In justifying their refusal to defend the Farm Workers, TDC leaders retort that they only take positions on the contract. However, the February issue of *Fifth Wheel*, a Bay Area publication which uncritically supports TDC, printed a motion which TDC got passed in Local 287 (San Jose) which demands that the IBT withdraw support from Gerald Ford. The motion makes no mention of the need for a political party of labor or the need to break from the Democrats. It is apparently all right for TDC to take positions on "non-contract" issues like giving backhanded support to the Democrats, but not all right to defend the UFW against raiding!

Similarly TDC refuses to raise the issue of racism in its program, although the trucking companies have traditionally hired black and Latin workers into lower-paying and less desirable jobs, where they are forced to stay because of contract provisions that require them to give up accrued seniority for bidding and layoff purposes upon transfer to higher-paying jobs.

For a Militant Nationwide Teamsters Strike

The starting point for militants must be the recognition that the existing trade-union leadership is incapable of waging a serious struggle against the capitalists. TDC, however, sees itself mainly as a pressure group which can force the IBT leaders to fight for the membership. From the beginning it has taken an equivocal position on a strike, asserting that only if Fitzsimmons failed to negotiate a decent contract would one be necessary. TDC set itself the task of pressuring Fitzsimmons into negotiating just such a contract through a petition campaign. As one Teamster steward commented aptly to a *WV* reporter about the petition campaign: "What's Fitzsimmons going to do with the 100,000 [sic] petitions? Just throw them in the trash can."

When the trucking companies took a hard-nosed stance in negotiations (it is reported that Trucking Employers Inc., whose member companies employ 200,000 drivers, has walked out of every negotiating session), Fitzsimmons began to mumble about calling a strike. TDC took this as good coin. One of the two resolutions it is now pushing at union meetings asserts that the TDC program should be adopted and that union leaders will have the "full support" of the membership in fighting for a decent contract.

Fitzsimmons and his cohorts are not interested in such "support" from the rank and file, and militants who think that the IBT leaders can win a good contract or lead a successful strike are deluded. It is conceivable that Fitzsimmons could call a limited strike in order to channel off militancy, but a strike led by the IBT bureaucracy would be sold out. Instead of "supporting" Fitzsimmons, Teamster militants must demand that strike committees be elected in the locals, as the first step in creating a centralized national strike leadership responsible to the membership.

To be genuinely effective, a strike must be extended nationwide. (There has never been a nationwide Teamsters strike, although the first master freight agreement was negotiated over ten years ago.) Such a strike must be broadened to include warehousemen as well as teamsters organized in related industries like United Parcel Service (UPS), who traditionally have worked under contracts inferior to the master freight agreement. Such a united struggle, which would include demanding parity for UPS workers and equal across-the-board wage increases for all Teamsters (warehousemen as well as drivers) could ignite a nationwide upsurge in the class struggle.

The TDC consciously strives to imitate the tough-talking, "no-nonsense" approach of former Teamster president Jimmy Hoffa. But contrary to the impressions of even many truck drivers, Hoffa was not a practitioner of militant struggle against the companies. While the Teamsters under Hoffa were one of the few unions to make real progress in organizing after World War II, and a section of the union membership (drivers) won steady wage increases, these gains were mainly due to the fragmented nature of the trucking industry, which was dominated by hundreds of mostly smaller concerns generally unable to stand up to the giant Teamsters union. The powerful industrial union structure of the Teamsters was not built by Hoffa, but by socialists like then-revolutionary Farrell Dobbs. Hoffa discouraged strikes and was contemptuous of rank-and-file action. The consolidation of large trucking concerns better able to resist the IBT, along with the onset of a depression, rendered impotent Hoffa's business unionism, based on the premise of a "fair share" for both labor and capital.

Every one of the major policies Fitzsimmons today pursues he inherited from Hoffa. Fitzsimmons' current raids on the UFW are an imitation of Hoffa's own raids on rival unions like the brewery workers. Corruption and strong-arm tactics are certainly nothing new under Fitzsimmons. The red-baiting by IBT officials today is no worse than Hoffa's own exploits as a hatchet man for then-Teamster president Dan Tobin, who purged the socialists who led the 1934 Minneapolis general strike which launched the Teamsters as an industrial union. Hoffa as well as Fitzsimmons strenuously opposed a nationwide Teamsters strike. Hoffa signed his share of sweetheart agreements and was not averse to breaking strikes by dissident Teamster locals. If Fitzsimmons has "dictatorial" power today, it was Hoffa who concentrated power in the office of the IBT president. And if Fitzsimmons supports the anti-labor Republican Party, Hoffa backed candidates from both the Republican Party and the equally anti-labor Democratic Party.

The American working class is ripe for militant struggle. The current trade-union bureaucracy, old and discredited, has done nothing to halt the decline in real wages or the spread of unemployment. However, groups like the TDC, which offer only a slightly slicker version of the class collaboration of the present labor fakers, are incapable of providing an alternative. Rather than educating Teamster militants to a class-struggle program, TDC adapts its program to whatever is backward in the existing consciousness of the workers. But, in the last analysis, the TDC and its supporters in the I.S. deceive only themselves. Bluster and gimmicks will not win class battles, and it is by this criterion that workers will judge, and reject, the TDC. ■

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Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

from the present 5.5 million tons to 8 million annually by 1980. But the fundamental bureaucratic character of the reform was indicated by Castro's characteristic comment that the first condition of success was that party and state leaders "should regard its implementation as a matter of personal concern, and a matter of honor"!

Compared to a non-system where projects are selected and dropped at the passing whim of a single leader, no doubt adopting the "Russian model" will produce improvements in the economy. But the new system will be far from a rationally planned economy, for it is still based on the exclusion of the working class from the fundamental political decisions governing the plan and its implementation.

Not Bureaucratic "Honor," But Workers Democracy!

Castro periodically calls up images of "workers participation" in the state apparatus and hands out tongue-lashings to the bureaucrats when another disaster takes place. Thus, after the failure of the 1970 sugar harvest, his address to the annual July 26 demonstration suggested the establishment of workers' committees to regulate distribution of goods and services to consumers, and called for some kind of workers' representation in management. The new "organs of people's power" are likewise touted as a means of increasing "participation by the masses in state and administrative affairs." But the key question is not "participation" but political power, which (naturally) Castro leaves in the hands of the bureaucracy, seeking above all to *solidify* it.

In response to the Matanzas elections the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) commented that reliance on the "decision-making machinery" typical of "current practices in the Soviet Union ... only increases the party's vulnerability to bureaucratic influences...." "The Cuban revolutionary leaders should be the first to be aware of" these dangers, it added (*Intercontinental Press*, 22 July 1974). This conclusion is accompanied by a description of the organization of soviet power under Lenin in the early years of the revolution, and the friendly suggestion that Castro adopt this model instead.

The SWP article contains a subhead stating "Lack Analysis of Stalinism," directed at Castro and the Cuban "revolutionary leaders." Actually it is more appropriate for the SWP! The Cuban leadership is well aware of the consequences of the model it has selected, for to institute real workers democracy, through sovereign soviet bodies, would destroy its own privileged position and bonapartist rule. There is no better illustration of this than the fact that Castro selected none other than Blas Roca, long-time bureaucratic hack who led the Moscow-line Stalinists from 1934 until the late 1950's (when it boycotted Castro's guerrilla struggle in the Sierre Maestra), to carry out the "experimental" elections and screen candidates in Matanzas! What is needed is not the SWP's friendly advice, but a workers political revolution which will shatter the bureaucracy and replace it with soviet rule! ■

Hearst, Harrises

(continued from page 3)

government have a real stake in the all-out attempt to portray the SLA as a revolutionary organization. The defense can capitalize on anti-communist mythology which pictures revolutionary militants as dupes manipulated by diabolic masterminds equipped with fantastic techniques of "thought control." The government hopes to discredit the left by equating it with the SLA, a crazed killer-cult that adopted some "revolutionary" vocabulary popular with the California hippie-radical milieu. But if "Patty" was really kidnapped and brainwashed, it was by deranged and criminal elements, not by revolutionists.

Trial by Fire

The capitalist state went after the SLA with a ferocity it usually reserves for Vietnamese peasants and, sometimes, black militants. In the midst of the Hearst show trial, the court witnessed a less theatrical but far more dramatic example of the spectacular class differential of American capitalist "justice." On February 19, the Hearst trial was not given over to sex in the closet, nor shoplifting, nor playing with weapons, nor Hearst family life. Instead, the jury watched a videotape of the 17 May 1974 cop raid which massacred the six inhabitants of the SLA's Los Angeles house. This was the raw, murderous stuff which lurks behind the facade of American "justice." It was SWAT and the FBI—more than 300 of them firing thousands of rounds from their M-16's, riot guns and tear-gas guns—bullets spraying the area for an hour and a half, shooting up and eventually burning down three homes in the black neighborhood.

The firepower directed, DMZ-style, against the SLA's small frame house was so intense that, according to the coroner's reconstruction (*New York Times*, 24 May 1974) those who did not die from gunshot wounds smashed up the floorboards and hid in the 20-inch crawl space, placing the foot-thick foundation between themselves and the saturation shooting. But it did no good. The cops burned the place down. The rubber gas masks the helpless targets were wearing melted on their heads; one of the victims may have shot himself rather than die a more horrible death in the holocaust.

No need for the troublesome niceties of a courtroom when the cops can act as judge, jury and executioner! While insisting that "the Spartacist League does not defend in any way the 'SLA' or its acts of indiscriminate terrorism," *Workers Vanguard* expressed its outrage at this "military overkill intended to create a police-state atmosphere" (*WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974). The bourgeoisie's hideous massacre of the SLA does not in any way excuse or justify the SLA's violent crimes against innocent people, but it does indict the nauseating hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie which claims to be trying Patricia Hearst and the Harrises in the name of "law and order."

We stand for justice. But there will be no real justice until the victorious proletariat enforces justice on the vanquished bourgeoisie and its hired guns. As part of that struggle for justice through the destruction of capitalism, we fight for democratic rights and equality under the law. For the SLA members shot and burned to death, it is of course too late.

While exposing the differential "justice" meted out to the six dead SLA'ers, the Harrises and the granddaughter of "Citizen Kane," we have no wish to see Patricia Hearst stuffed under the floorboards of a wooden house and burned to death. Patricia Hearst should get her full accord of democratic rights and probably will. The Harrises will not.

We must fight for democratic rights—especially for those least likely to get them, the oppressed and exploited—and against the atrocities of the capitalist state until the day that the state of the class-conscious proletariat once and for all takes "justice" out of the quotation marks and renders it a reality. ■

Spanish Workers Strike...

(continued from page 1)

to formal statements by the city and provincial councils.

The strikes have been called by leftist groups; the police single out the ORT (Revolutionary Workers Organization, a Maoist-influenced tendency of left-Christian origins). But the treacherous reformist apparatus of the Communist Party (PCE) has apparently played no significant role, thus making it difficult for it to easily sabotage the labor action, as the PCE has repeatedly done elsewhere in Spain during the last three months.

Bakers, Soccer Players, Cops All On Strike

While the Basque strike has become the focal point of working-class unrest for the moment, the other main battalions of the Spanish proletariat have been far from quiescent in recent weeks. A ten-day truckers' strike focusing on Madrid caused food shortages in the capital and tied up more than 100,000 rigs. Even the bakers in Madrid went on strike, depriving the population of traditional hot bread for breakfast. For the first time, soccer players have struck, for a 44-hour week.

In another center of labor militancy, Barcelona, almost 100,000 construction workers were on strike for more than a week when they were joined by the municipal workers, led by the firemen (the transit police were also among the first to go out). On February 17 local functionaries filled the plaza in front of city hall. After construction workers arrived, the city employees moved on to take over the municipal building in a sit-down demonstration, preparing to spend the night. However, around 11 p.m. the authorities dispatched two busloads of armed police to assault the demonstrators.

After a tear-gas barrage, the militarized police forces were preparing to attack the gasping city workers when five fire trucks dramatically arrived, surrounding the cops and dispatching gas masks and oxygen bottles to the besieged strikers. After some minutes of a tense stand-off, the protesters were able to withdraw in good order. Even the threat of a bloodbath did not dampen the workers spirit, however, and there followed an impressive 1 a.m. procession through the city led by firetrucks, traffic police cruisers, ambulances and other city vehicles with their sirens blaring in unison. According to accounts in the liberal *Cambio 16* (1 March), the demonstrators were uniformly applauded by the residents leaning out of their windows in night clothes.

The fact that the striking Barcelona city workers were temporarily joined by even the police underlines that the Spanish tinder box could burst into flame at any moment. The deep crisis of Spanish society, at this moment focused most acutely on the Basque region, tends to polarize all sections of the population, raising the possibility that the combative working class can mobilize support for its struggles among broad middle-class strata and even some bourgeois elements.

While taking advantage of the support of sections of the police when they break with their commanders in what is essentially an act of mutiny, the striking city workers must exclude the police and all bourgeois elements from the workers' organizations, insisting that any police supporters of the strike must unconditionally submit to the workers' decisions. Likewise, in the Basque areas it is important to capitalize on broad sympathy for the strike, organizing support committees which can aid in supplying food and other material necessities. But the strike leadership must be in the hands of the organized workers, not such class-collaborationist organs such as the Democratic Assembly of Euskadi (the Basque region).

Down with the Francoist Monarchy! For a Workers Government!

The Communist Party has done everything possible to subordinate all labor action to its policy of a "democratic breakthrough" in alliance with bourgeois forces ranging from Christian Democrats who supported Franco in the Civil War (Gil Robles) to the political advisor of the Count of Barcelona (Calvo Serrer), father of King Juan Carlos. In addition to limiting labor action to one-day protests, and refusing to call out key factories, the PCE has been careful to issue all calls for action through the popular-front Junta Democrática.

The Stalinists make no bones about their anti-strike attitude. The 13 February *Noticiero Universal* (Barcelona) reports on a London meeting between the Junta Democrática and the Platform of Democratic Convergence, dominated by the social democrats (PSOE), where they talked about unifying the two formations into a super popular front. The article quotes PCE leader of the clandestine workers commissions Marcelino Camacho as saying, "We don't want to Portugalize the economy nor the politics of our country. We are not responsible for these latest strikes...." As previous *WV* articles have pointed out, this disavowal of the strike wave is entirely consistent with the PCE's policy since Franco's death.

Even more scandalous is the action of its international allies, in particular the Polish government. In the Asturias region, coal miners of the state-owned HUNOSA company have been on strike since January 19. According to the 24 February *Financial Times* of London, however, the Spanish government is overcoming shortages of the key fuel by increasing its imports of Polish coal! This is the *third time* in this decade that Polish coal has been used to break Spanish miners' strikes (the earlier occasions being 1970 and 1971). Adding insult to injury, the newspaper account reports a PCE announcement that "Polish comrades" had just made a paltry 30,000 peseta (US$500) donation to the strikers! This cynical strikebreaking has meant that Asturias is the *only* region of Spain where the arthritic PSOE, which practically disappeared for some years, was able to retain its working-class support.

The ORT, credited by the government with sparking the present general strike in Vitoria, has undergone a leftward evolution in recent years and is perhaps not so hardened in its reformist politics as the PCE. Nevertheless, it is part of the Platform of Democratic Convergence, and is thus fundamentally committed to the same program of class collaboration as the Communist Party. Moreover, its infatuation with Mao Thought, if consistently applied, would mean giving support to the Spanish bourgeoisie's efforts to keep the several key U.S. nuclear bases on Spanish soil, as part of China's effort to shore up NATO against "Soviet social-imperialism"! The counterrevolutionary potential of the several thousand U.S. troops presently on Spanish soil should be clear to anyone aiming at ousting the present regime.

None of the competing Spanish reformists have a program for victory for the militant strikers of Barcelona, Asturias and the Basque country. The workers' demands can be satisfied only through extending general strike action to bring down the Francoist regime. Their perspective must be not to replace the bonapartist monarchy with a "democratized" bourgeois regime—i.e., to strangle the proletarian uprising—but rather to erect in its place a revolutionary workers government, based on organs of soviet rule! ■

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

politicking, second only to hockey as a popular pastime, ensures exceptionally high voter turnouts as a matter of course.

Emergence of a Paramilitary Racist Right

The vote in South Boston represents something more than the inchoate frustrations and embitterment of white workers which Wallace has attempted to tap with his right-wing populist rhetoric. Although Wallace himself remains within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary politics, his support in South Boston reflects a deepening rejection by anti-busing zealots of parliamentary leaders and legal tactics. Despite his partly successful pursuit of a respectable image, including garnering black votes in Alabama, to "Southie" Wallace is still the man in the schoolhouse door, a symbol of violent resistance to desegregation.

The "official" leaders of ROAR, the umbrella anti-busing group, are products of the old-time Boston Democratic Party machine. The "reactionary" Hicks and her traditional opponent, "liberal" mayor Kevin White, are linked to each other by the usual mechanisms of patronage and under-the-counter political deals. For Hicks the anti-busing movement has always been first and foremost a vehicle for her political career. While helping to shape the political climate which nurtures lynch-mob violence, she has always paid lip service to peaceful tactics and sought to confine ROAR's activities to the limits tolerated by the racist local "establishment."

The sharp differentiation which is now occurring within the anti-busing movement between Hicks and the most rabid racists was partly manifested in the form of electoral support for Jackson versus support for Wallace. Indicative of the mood of Wallace's supporters is the fact that at his January 10 campaign kick-off rally at Boston's staid, downtown Statler Hilton Hotel, members of the audience who failed to applaud were set upon and beaten by a particularly dangerous group called the South Boston Marshals. When Jackson attempted to address a meeting on February 12 in Charlestown, an impoverished Irish-American ghetto like South Boston, the surprised candidate was met with hoots and jeers and finally driven off the platform.

On February 25, Hicks testified in Washington on behalf of the Boston City Council in favor of a bill introduced by Jackson, which would help pay for the city's expenses related to desegregation ("These children have suffered enough," wheezed Jackson). However, Hicks was obliged to record the opposition of ROAR, which considers the bill to be back-handed support to busing. At a large ROAR meeting on March 3 from which, even though it was held in City Hall, newsmen were barred, the Hicks forces attempted to purge "violence-prone" Wallace-backers from the organization. Although one of Hicks' opponents, School Committee member Pixie Palladino, was reportedly ousted from the leadership, after the meeting the participants marched out chanting "ROAR United Will Never Be Defeated!"

South Boston Marshals

The South Boston Marshals were originally formed to monitor ROAR's anti-busing motorcades and marches. Their disruption of pro-abortion, pro-integration and Equal Rights Amendment rallies soon revealed that they had appetites other than maintaining order at demonstrations. Last year, in response to a May Day march through South Boston sponsored by the Progressive Labor Party (PL), a so-called South Boston Citizens for Self-Defense was formed "to defend the citizens of South Boston from the PLP," according to ROAR's chief marshal in South Boston, Ray Minucci (*Real Paper*, 9 July 1975). This group, whose membership was anonymous, was widely reported to overlap with the South Boston Marshals.

To mobilize the lumpen youth and ultra-reactionary bigots who are its natural base, the Citizens for Self-Defense issued a crude leaflet calling for an assault on PL's May Day march: "Bring a bat...it's open season!" Repeated armed assaults took place throughout the summer against PL and its Committee Against Racism. On July 27 the anti-busing vigilantes geared up their supporters to meet a rumored "black invasion" of Carson Beach in South Boston. When the so-called "invasion" failed to materialize, the racist thugs viciously assaulted six black bible salesmen who unwarily intruded on "Southie turf." The following month, the South Boston Marshals spearheaded hundreds of white racists who attacked an NAACP march protesting the terrorization of black people at the public beach.

Acting autonomously from the largely female and more cautious ROAR leadership, the Marshals have grown increasingly brazen and, like circling jackals, come ever closer to their first fatal bloodletting. Last fall, while federal judge Arthur Garrity was considering a petition from Boston NAACP head Thomas Atkins to close South Boston High School, scene of repeated attacks on black students, Marshal leader Dan Yotts wrote in a local newspaper: "If Garrity closes Southie and Atkins is not wiped out and NAACP headquarters along with him, I'm going to be the most surprised and disappointed guy in Southie" (*South Boston Tribune*, 26 November 1975). Two weeks later, the court took over the high school and NAACP headquarters were blown up.

As if to confirm speculation about where the group, or elements within it, are headed, another spokesman for the South Boston Marshals, Warren Zaniboni, sponsored a press conference in December for David Duke, leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. When this racist rodent made his first visit to Boston in the fall of 1974, he was treated as a pariah. Now he slithers back under the auspices of men who urge frenzied white youths to attack black school children with baseball bats. At the press conference, Zaniboni said that it was the job of the Marshals "to protect the people of South Boston...against these Communist, Socialist and agitation organizations that have been coming in here" (*Boston Globe*, 12 December 1975).

Bill Brett/Boston Globe

ROAR leaders Louise Day Hicks (second from left) and Pixie Palladino (third from left).

On February 15, this bunch even upstaged ROAR by calling its own anti-busing demonstration, the so-called Fathers' March. When cops prevented them from staging a rally on the steps of South Boston High School, the crowd of 400 attacked the police with rocks, clubs and tire irons. The racists' riot showed a high degree of coordination: Marshals in their maroon windbreaker uniforms kept in constant contact through walkie-talkies, and the mob was even supplied with tear gas canisters. Even the conservative anti-busing *Herald American* felt impelled to carry a cartoon depicting "Anarchy" stalking the streets, baseball bat in hand.

Not Cops and Courts, But Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Marauders

In New York City, economic disaster conditions and a drastic ruling-class austerity plan have been met by pro-forma blusterings from the established labor leadership, followed by total capitulation. In Boston, where high unemployment intersects an explosive racial polarization, the Wallace vote and the ominous growth of paramilitary gangs like the South Boston Marshals show another direction that mass response to capitalist depression can take: virulently racist right-wing populism growing into proto-fascist terrorism.

The shameless Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has actually tried to take the lead of the "fight back" against integration in Boston, complaining that the Hickses hold back the anti-busing protests by their ties to the Democratic Party. Since these Jim Crow Maoists are assiduously trying to sidle up to the most bitterly racist elements, for whom Jackson and even Wallace are too tame, it is fitting that the RCP's idiot-populist slogan, "The People United Will Never Be Defeated," should now be copied by the likes of ROAR!

For its part, the pacifist-reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has responded to marauding lynch mobs in South Boston with treacherous and impotent calls on the capitalist state to enforce law and order. After the February 15 march local police threatened to "get tough," and federal prosecutor James Gabriel announced that the FBI would investigate the march organizers. But contrary to the illusions of liberals and fake socialists, neither the local nor national police forces of the bourgeois state are going to cut down emerging ultra-rightist paramilitary and proto-fascist movements.

Only this December it was revealed at hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that, through an undercover agent named Gary Thomas Rowe, federal agents in Alabama during the early 1960's actually knew in advance of KKK attacks on civil rights activists, including murders, and did nothing to stop them! The racists in Boston, who have held demonstrations against police brutality, have shown that they know how to use occasional harassment by police to bolster their claims as spokesmen for the "little guy" pushed around

Don Preston/Boston Globe

Racists led by South Boston Marshals confront police in attempt to assault black demonstrators at Carson Beach last August.

Ulrike Welsch/Boston Globe

South Boston Marshals coordinated "Father's March" in South Boston last month.

hy liherals in "hig government."

The threat to black people, organized lahor and the left represented hy groups like the South Boston Marshals must not he underestimated. Their hully tactics and terrorist attacks must he crushed by a powerful, united labor/black defense of endangered school children, the black community and pro-husing demonstrations. Only hy relying on the potential strength of organized hlack masses and the workers movement will school integration become a reality.

Wallace, who aspires to be a "king-maker" in the Demoeratic Party, is not identieal to some of the elements among his present supporters, whose obvious direction is toward increasing reliance on open terror tactics to assault the demoeratic rights and very lives of black people. However, the answer to both is the mobilization of a politically class-conscious and racially united workers movement. This requires above all the creation of a revolutionary proletarian party capahle of channeling seething working-class discontent into the path of class struggle, thus preparing to sound the death-knell for the oppressive capitalist society which spawns the genocidal racism off which the likes of Wallace and the South Boston Marshals feed. ■

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Rhodesia...

(continued from page 1)

racist South Africa. Yet following the debaele of South African-led forees in neighboring Angola, and with some pressure from other African leaders, even Kaunda recognizes that the Portuguese departure from Mozamhique and Pretoria's post-Angola retreat have left Rhodesia an isolated salient of white supremacy, waiting to be lopped off. After the January Organization of African Unity summit where Kaunda politely slugged it out with Machel and other African backers of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Zambia now claims to be working behind the scenes with Mozambique, Botswana and Tanzania in a pincer operation designed to force concessions from Smith. With a population ratio of 20 blacks for every "European," the days of white Rhodesia are numbered.

Stepped-Up Guerrilla Attacks

From its camps in Mozambique, the ZANU faction of the African National Council (ANC) has reportedly launched a wave of attacks along virtually the entire length of Rhodesia's eastern border. Many guerrillas are now operating from within the country. White-owned farms have been burned, security police shot up and land mines planted to disrupt transportation. The racist Smith government was particularly outraged by uniformed guerrillas' armed robbery of a hotel and dance hall last Sunday in the mountainous Inyanga region, a popular vacation spot for white tourists.

Salisbury's military forces have retaliated with vicious reprisal raids on Mozambique villages. Black Rhodesians sympathetic to the ZANU/ANC rebels have also been victims of murderous repression. A British veteran of the Rhodesian army, now living in London, recently blew the lid on a My Lai-style massaere of some 60 Africans in a Rhodesian village besieged by government forces last October (*Times* [London], 3 March).

Guerrilla operations have been especially intense in the Chipinga region of southeastern Rhodesia where rolling hills and deep forests provide cover for the ZANU fighters. The Ndau tribe spills over both sides of the border, providing reinforcements for the guerrillas' ranks. Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leaders of the militant exiled ANC faction, once preached at American missions in the area. Since last summer thousands of their former students have crossed the border to training camps in Mozambique. ZANU's strength in this staging area is currently estimated at over 10,000 soldiers.

Since South Africa pulled its troops out of Rhodesia last year and informed Smith that they would not return, the Salisbury regime's military prospects have dimmed. To counter growing Chinese influence in southern Africa, the Soviet Union has begun equipping Mozambique's 10,000-man army with the same artillery, missiles and rocket launchers that turned the tide for the MPLA. The lure of modern weaponry may also win the Rhodesian guerrillas away from China, whose military aid is notoriously stingy. The Sithole/Muzorewa wing of the ANC recently deposed Robert Mugarvy, a military leader of the guerrillas allegedly sympathetic to Peking (*New York Times*, 7 March).

In the past, Salisbury's army has had little trouble containing offensives by the badly armed and faction-ridden guerrilla forces. But the isolated racist regime cannot hope to hold out for long in a major conflict against Soviet-armed troops. In a full mobilization of its regular, reserve and police forces, Rhodesia could muster perhaps 25,000 men. They are known to be short of modern equipment and spare parts. With almost no heavy armor, their most formidable pieces of ground equipment are 20 Ferret scout cars and World War II-vintage 25-pounder guns. The air force consists of 1,300 men and about 40 obsolescent combat aircraft (*Times* [London], 4 March).

Joshua Nkomo, left, and Ian Smith.

Camera Pix

Tightening the Vise

South Africa's cautious response to the border closing indicates the intense pressure on Smith to negotiate a settlement with the moderate Joshua Nkomo wing of ANC, which is demanding seats in the government and progress toward majority rule. South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster would not go beyond a non-committal prediction that the Mozambique/Rhodesia border closing "will in due course leave gaps and require adaptations not only for these two countries but also for quite a number of other countries in southern Africa, including Zaïre and South Africa" (*New York Times*, 5 March). Vorster's speech only underscored South Africa's willingness to see white rule give way in Rhodesia rather than become involved in another losing war like Angola and totally jeopardize its possibilities for reaching a modus vivendi with the economically weak bourgeois regimes to its north.

Yet the Rhodesian Front government remains intransigent and appears to be using the "constitutional" talks with Nkomo merely to play for time while it angles for imperialist support against the "Communist threat." (In response to Machel's action putting Mozambique on a war footing, Salisbury's defense minister Pieter van der Byl ostentatiously thanked U.S. secretary of state Kissinger for his warnings to Cuba not to extend its MPLA alliance to backing nationalist guerrillas in Rhodesia.) One observer said of Smith's latest proposals that they "could bring about majority rule in, at a generous estimate, two decades" (*Africa*, March 1976).

White settlers along Rhodesia's eastern border live a garrison existence. The lush farms and tea plantations around Chipinga are mainly owned by Afrikaaner immigrants from South Africa, twentieth-century *Boertrekkers* defending the ramparts of white privilege and supremacy. Government protection grants have financed spotlights and ten-foot-high, barbed-wire-topped fences around the farms and local police stations are connected to the farms by elaborate alarm systems. Government bounties are offered, ranging from $500 for a guerrilla rifle to $8,000 for a captured guerrilla leader (*Observer* [London], 29 February).

Rhodesia's 270,000 whites are digging in for a protracted siege. In 1974 the last non-racialist opponent of the Smith regime was ousted from the legislative assembly, and liberal former premier Garfield Todd remains under detention. Meanwhile, new right-wing and fascist groups opposed to any concessions are growing. A Rhodesia White People's Party with a swastika as its official insignia was recently formed in Bulawayo, Rhodesia's second largest city. The fanatic obstinacy of Rhodesia's white settler population may well be the rock on which Pretoria's grand design for southern African "détente" is broken; but for themselves it will mean a bloody and ultimately suicidal fate.

The very name Rhodesia is a legacy of British empire builder Cecil Rhodes, and the territory's former colonial masters have lately been trying to reintroduce the British crown into southern Africa, this time in the guise of "neutral" arbiter between white and black. U.K. Labour Party prime minister Harold Wilson, who didn't lift a finger to prevent the racists' "Unilateral Declaration of Independence" (UDI) in 1965, has laid great emphasis on the "last chance" offered by the current negotiations. Foreign Secretary James Callaghan even made the scandalous suggestion that "troops might be sent if Rhodesia were to accept British sovereignty" (*New York Times*, 20 February).

Despite war cries from some Tory back-benchers, Foreign Office spokesman Edward Rowlands informed Commons on Wednesday that the Labour government decided to "welcome President Machel's announcement that his Government intends to apply forthwith full United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia..." and "to fully support...an international programme of aid to Mozambique to offset the effect of sanctions." Behind a bi-partisan consensus (opposed by some Labourites who favor military aid to the guerrillas and by some Tories who favor support to Smith) to temporize and put maximum economic and diplomatic pressure on the racist Salisbury regime is the unresolved question of Britain's possible direct involvement in the escalating conflict.

Since UDI ten years ago, Britain has sought to protect its economic interests in Rhodesia by persuading Salisbury to broaden the African franchise and allow the development of a politically moderate black petty bourgeoisie to administer the government. With typical imperial arrogance, British leaders, including Harold Wilson, have held talks with Smith that excluded African representatives. While categorically denying that it would aid the "illegal regime" against the African majority, the Labour government has not closed the door to some form of "peace-keeping" operation, including a possible Congo-style imperialist intervention under United Nations cover. Socialists and labor militants in Britain must oppose any steps to send British troops to Rhodesia, no matter what the ostensible purpose of the military expedition.

The immediate prospect for Rhodesia is a steady escalation of guerrilla warfare and internal resistance to racist rule. The possibility that left-talking Mozambique leaders, heavily mortgaged to South Africa's economic might, will actually launch a full-scale invasion is unlikely. In either case, revolutionaries must solidarize with military struggles to smash white supremacy in Rhodesia while withholding political support from the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships.

The emergence of a black bourgeois regime in Rhodesia such as now exists in Zambia or Mozambique will not end the economic oppression of the black masses. Only the unification of the proletariat of southern Africa in a struggle to overthrow all capitalist exploitation can destroy white racist rule and smash the imperialist domination of the continent. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Wallace Vote: Right Shift in Mass. Primary

Paramilitary Racists Are Marching in the Streets of Boston

BOSTON, March 8—Revolutionaries have never regarded the "crooked mirror of democracy" (Trotsky's characterization of bourgeois elections) as a true reflection of the political desires of the working masses. At most, the arithmetic of the polling booth is an episodically approximate thermometer of momentary shifts in political moods.

The mechanisms of bourgeois "democracy" are elaborately designed to deceive and betray the working masses. Since the New Deal coalition the Democratic Party, in particular, has hawked its wares as the party of working people while conducting every major imperialist war, smashing countless strikes and passing draconian anti-labor laws in the interests of its big-business paymasters.

The March 2 Democratic presidential primary in Massachusetts evidenced a disquieting shift to the right, especially among Boston's largely Irish-American, working-class electorate. Once fervent Kennedy country, this year the "Don't Blame Me" state—the only one in which unctuous left liberal George McGovern beat Richard Nixon in 1972—cast its votes unequivocally for the right wing of the Democratic Party.

The anti-Soviet "Senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson, posed as the "respectable" voice of the anti-busing movement. He was endorsed by large numbers of labor bureaucrats as well as racist politicians like Louise Day Hicks, and carried the state as a whole. But Boston, the so-called "cradle of American liberty," cast its bi-centennial ballot for George Wallace, the man who coined the slogan, "Segregation now, segregation forever."

From 10.9 percent city-wide in the 1972 primary, Wallace's vote tally jumped dramatically to 28.4 percent this year. In South Boston, out of a field of a dozen candidates (none of whom attained more than 23 percent statewide), Wallace got an overwhelming two thirds of the vote. And this was in a community where Democratic Party

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Michael Lutch/Time

George Wallace campaigning in Boston.

German Trotskyists Salute Workers Vanguard No. 100

Berlin
2 March 1976

To the Editorial Board of *Workers Vanguard*:

Hearty Congratulations to *Workers Vanguard*, No. 100!

The publication of the 100th number of *Workers Vanguard*, which has appeared weekly since issue No. 76, is a great success for the Spartacist League/U.S. and for our international tendency. The issues of weekly *Workers Vanguard* to date are a renewed demonstrative proof of the responsible publication policies of the Spartacist League. *Workers Vanguard* is no "paper tiger" such as the recently deceased daily newspaper of the Healyite WRP, whose pseudo-agitation to a large extent replaced the organization's activity. The articles demonstrate the revolutionary activity of the organization and its serious work in constructing the revolutionary party in the USA as well as an international Trotskyist league. *Workers Vanguard* has remained a Marxist publication as a weekly newspaper, in the tradition of the best Bolshevik journalism. We greet the 100th issue of *Workers Vanguard* and are reminded of the Leninist *Iskra*.

As No. 100 of *Workers Vanguard* appears, the Trotskyist League of Germany is working on the publication of No. 13 of *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, a bi-monthly publication which does not yet encompass the all-sided propaganda and exemplary agitation of weekly *Workers Vanguard*. But for us, in addition to the political level of *Workers Vanguard*, the responsible publications program of the Spartacist League serves as a model. The weekly *Workers Vanguard* serves the Trotskyist League of Germany, as well as all sections of the international Spartacist tendency, as a powerful weapon in the struggle for the revolutionary world party of the proletariat.

—Forward to the construction of the International Trotskyist League!
—Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Political Bureau
Trotskyist League of Germany

For A Militant National Teamsters Strike!

On March 31 the Master Freight Agreement, which covers 435,000 over-the-road and local cartage truck drivers who are members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), expires—to be followed in the next few months by expirations of Teamster contracts covering key sections of the United Parcel Service and over 600,000 warehousemen. Management, government, the trade-union bureaucracy and rank-and-file workers are watching this contract struggle closely. As the first of several national bargaining tests scheduled in 1976, it will be an important barometer for the class struggle in the next period.

IBT president Frank Fitzsimmons is universally unpopular among truck drivers. The contract he negotiated in 1973 was a disaster. Fitzsimmons, one of few trade-union bureaucrats who openly backed Nixon in the 1972 elections, was committed to supporting wage-price controls. The 1973 wage settlement was within the 5.5 percent guidelines then extant, and the cost-of-living clause provided for a maximum yearly increase of only 11 cents an hour—which has meant a significant decline in real wages for drivers.

Fitzsimmons rammed through this contract by restricting the right to strike of the membership. He did away with local-by-local ratification of the contract and instituted a contract referendum by mail vote, which was supervised by the Department of Labor and required a two-thirds vote to authorize a strike. (In 1970 Chicago Teamsters and independent truck drivers rejected the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 101 19 March 1976

Woodcock Prepares Defeat at UAW Bargaining Convention

Victory Program for Auto Workers

UPI

Auto workers demonstrate against UAW tops' secret agreement with the company in 1973.

MARCH 15—The special bargaining convention of the United Auto Workers (UAW) meets in Detroit this week at a key moment for U.S. labor, as over 4 million workers face contract expirations over the course of the year under conditions of continuing massive economic assault on the working class.

Key unions with contracts coming due between now and September include the Teamsters, with the national master freight agreement up at the end of March, and United Parcel Service at the end of April; the Rubber Workers (URW) facing the "Big Four" tire and rubber companies in mid-April; and electrical workers negotiating with General Electric and Westinghouse in June and July.

Food and construction industry workers will also be dealing with new contract talks before the UAW heads into the biggest bargaining month of the year in September, when agreements with the four auto manufacturers and major agricultural implements companies fall due. A class-struggle program is needed now to provide focus for the contract struggles, and unite the entire labor movement in a fight to smash the capitalist offensive.

Workers in all industries have been hit hard by the economic downturn, which is only now beginning to be alleviated ever so slightly.

• *Unemployment*, still at 7.6 percent of the work force, is barely reduced from its peak of 9.2 percent in May 1975. Official figures disguise real unemployment, which includes workers who have given up looking for work, workers forced to accept reduced hours with wage cuts, etc.

• *Inflation*, which raged at 8.8 percent in 1973 and at 12.2 percent in 1974, continued to cut wages by over 7 percent during 1975. Wage increases for workers under union contracts expiring this year averaged at only 7.3 percent per year (including cost-of-living adjustments, if any). Real wages have fallen steadily since 1972.

• *Productivity speedup*: While hundreds of thousands have been permanently driven out of major industries, others have been forced to boost corporate profit margins through speedup, automation, heavy overtime, etc.

• *Cutbacks*: Banks and corporations are putting the squeeze on cities and states to cut back services, raise rates and lay off tens of thousands of municipal workers. Meanwhile, as social needs go unfulfilled and unemployment lingers on, the Bureau of Labor Statistics admits that "industrial production is still far below capacity" (*Monthly Labor Review*, December 1975).

Union leaders and contracts have failed miserably to protect workers against this economic abuse. The Woodcock leadership of the UAW brags expansively about the cost-of-living protection in its current contract, which it claims kept pace with inflation through a total average increase of $1.59 an hour since September 1973 (*UAW Solidarity*, January-February 1976). But the most obvious facts about auto and related industries in the last two and a half years are the disastrous unemployment and the continued heavy overtime and speedup.

Woodcock did absolutely nothing about the massive layoffs which began in November 1973 and have affected about half of all auto workers either temporarily or permanently since then. Supplementary Unemployment Benefit funds were over-extended, and well over 100,000 auto workers lost their recall rights and may never regain their jobs.

Break with the Bosses' Parties!

Especially in a presidential election year, the economic situation cannot be separated from the political. The loss of real wages suffered by workers over the last four years is due in part to Nixon's wage controls, Ford's economic conservatism, and the refusal of labor officialdom to fight either with anything more than a few more hours spent testifying before Congressional committees in favor of more government spending or quotas on imports. Placing the Democrats in office would be no better, as demonstrated by the continued advocacy of wage controls by such aging liberal darlings of the trade unions as Hubert Humphrey. Neither bourgeois party is capable of ending inflation or unemployment, twin economic evils of capitalism.

While wage controls were in force, trade-union leaders used them as an excuse not to fight for more than the "guidelines" allowed. Now that they are

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Court-Martial Convicts Anti-Francoist Officers

Turmoil in the Spanish Army

MARCH 13—After a hasty two-day trial, nine Spanish army officers, arrested last July for "seditious" activity and accused of being members of the clandestine Democratic Military Union (UMD), were sentenced on March 10 by a military court.

In an obvious attempt to avoid fueling the massive anti-government demonstrations and strikes sweeping Spain, the sentences handed down to the nine officers were considerably less severe than the 12-year jail terms demanded by the prosecution. The sentences ranged from eight years for Major Luis Otero Fernández down to two and one half, four and five years for the seven captains. Two of the latter were even let out of jail pending review of the sentences, and the court also recommended application of the royal clemency decree issued last November.

A tenth officer escaped the roundup last July in which the nine were taken prisoner. In addition, last October, three more officers were arrested and early this month another was arrested in a continuing attempt to purge dissidents in the armed forces.

The UMD claims to have an estimated 500 members and an equal number of sympathizers, mainly in the middle echelons of the officer corps

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In struggle to smash apartheid, the working class will not forget....

Keystone Press

The Sharpeville Massacre

PAGE 6

Editorial Notes

How Mandel-Thought Defends Mao Betrayals

LOS ANGELES – On March 12 Milt Zaslow, National Coordinator of the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee (RMOC), debated independent Maoist Bill Weinstein on Chinese foreign policy.

The prelude to the debate occurred a week before when Frank Pestana of the U.S.-China Friendship Society was given an entire session to himself to present the first set of arguments in defense of China's "complicated" foreign policy. In the discussion period Pestana was confronted by withering criticism from supporters of the Spartacist League. This was evidently more than he had bargained for, and Pestana withdrew from the debate, as did Marilyn Katz of the New American Movement (NAM), who said NAM would wait for a "real debate" with the Maoists.

Only Bill Weinstein agreed to try to defend the indefensible – and he couldn't do it. He used only a fraction of his allotted rebuttal time and then just gave up.

With Mao's partisans in such disarray, the debate could have provided the opportunity to elucidate, through a fundamental critique of Chinese Stalinism, why it is that Mao's self-appointed defenders are having such a hard time. But no such explanation was provided by Milt Zaslow. Unable to present a coherent Trotskyist analysis of the Chinese revolution bureaucratically deformed from its outset – Zaslow confined himself to a list of the Maoists' recent betrayals. A Trotskyist could have illuminated the central axis of the class-collaborationist foreign policies of the Mao bureaucracy, but there was no Trotskyist at the podium. There was only a muddled centrist anxious to play both ends against the middle and simultaneously cash in both on Mao's former popularity and on his present discreditment in petty-bourgeois radical circles.

Zaslow's presentation, like the RMOC leaflet handed out at the debate, merely elaborated the crimes of the Maoist bureaucracy since 1971. Why was 1971 the "great divide"? Zaslow never explained.

So an SL spokesman took the floor to demand to know why the shopping list of Maoist foreign policy betrayals omitted the 1965 Indonesian massacre which took the lives of hundreds of thousands of militants. The pro-Chinese Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) – then the largest in the world not holding state power – under the direct guidance of Mao politically disarmed the Indonesian masses and prepared the way for the decimation of the PKI by the "anti-imperialist" dictator Sukharno.

Zaslow's answer was despicably dishonest: he hadn't had time in his speech to bring out everything that China had done wrong and the RMOC hadn't wanted to make its leaflet too long. Yet the leaflet did include plenty of Mao's betrayals: Pakistan, Ceylon, Thailand, Iran, Oman, Zaïre, Sudan, Ethiopia. Oddly enough, nothing here predates the 1970's. Why? Indonesia – which of all of Mao's criminal betrayals was certainly the most monumental in terms of its massive consequences – was omitted not because of space, but because of politics – Zaslow's politics.

The audience was offered the real explanation by an SL speaker who read from a document of the international current to which the RMOC claims allegiance (the majority faction of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" [USec]). Instead of exposing Mao's treachery in Indonesia, Zaslow's mentors were busy providing back-handed excuses:

> "Even if one wished to attribute to Mao exclusive responsibility for the defeat of the Indonesian revolution – which in any event would be excessive: the Kremlin's responsibility is at least equal to if not greater than Mao's in this tragedy – this event weighs less heavily on the 20th century history than the victory of the Chinese revolution."

The RMOC tailists cannot debate Maoism from a Trotskyist perspective. The centrist United Secretariat majority – which did not call for a political revolution in China until 1969, which suppressed the "appeal" of the Trotskyists rotting in Mao's jails, who tailed after Mao's left-talking "Cultural Revolution" – are in no position to cast any light on the historical current represented by Chinese Stalinism. The beleaguered Bill Weinstein, saddled with the job of defending an apparently endless string of Maoist betrayals, finally said of Zaslow's eclectic presentation: "This won't substitute for Marxist analysis." That comment was one of the most incisive of the evening.

Maoist Running-Dog-Fight

SAN FRANCISCO – *Guardian* editor Irwin Silber walked into the emotionally charged atmosphere of a room filled by nearly 500 Maoists March 12 to present a forum on Angola. Just about every one-time "progressive friend of China" in town was there, either hoping to be instructed how to be "critical" without breaking from Maoism or, like the October League (OL), waiting to assert a claim to the "orthodox Maoist" niche – a once hotly contested spot on the radical spectrum now grown remarkably less populous in a hurry.

Tensions ran high as the OL supporters present in force denounced Silber for "objective support to Soviet social-imperialism." The discussion period was mainly a duel between Silber and the OL. At one point, though, a speaker for the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) demanded to know why the *Guardian* has been refusing to run advertisements from the RCP when it takes them from the Spartacist League and other "Trots." Silber replied that ads for "Red Papers No. 7" and the latest issue of the RCP newspaper (which labels Cuba "state capitalist") were rejected because "the *Guardian* considers Cuba a socialist country."

Silber carefully avoided any direct criticism of the Chinese bureaucracy, characterizing the USSR as "social-imperialist." He spoke of "class collaboration Moscow-style" and warned of "class collaboration Peking-style" in Angola, as the OL and RCP squirmed in their seats or heckled. He observed that the idea that the Soviet Union constitutes "the main enemy today" leads to "reactionary consequences" – which he easily documented from the pages of the OL's *Call* and the RCP's *Revolution*.

Prating about "frank differences" and "comradely criticism," Silber rallied the numerous *Guardian* supporters in the audience around an anti-China pitch. He began: Who believes that the USSR is the main danger today? The scum of the earth. South Africa believes the USSR is the main danger. Portuguese imperialism believes it. U.S. imperialism. The CIA. FNLA/UNITA. And who else believes the USSR is the main danger? The audience in its majority chanted: "China, China, China."

China's shameless tailing after U.S. imperialism, particularly in Angola, has ostracized loyal Peking apologists from their accustomed habitat, to the point that today the *Guardian*, traditional weathervane of mainstream petty-bourgeois radical opinion, treats the RCP as worse than "Trotskyites." But the anti-communist potential inherent in Silber's more urbane rabble-rousing is no less dangerous than the anti-USSR, anti-Cuba frenzy of the orthodox Maoists. What Silber represents is decades of Stalinist class collaboration, *Guardian*-style.

Letters

Stalinism and the Stalinists

Chicago
7 March 1976

Dear Editor,

The article "West European Stalinists Delete 'Dictatorship of Proletariat'." (*WV* No. 99, 5 March 1976) contains the following passage:

> "Ever since the early 1950's when Michel Pablo (then head of the Fourth International) abandoned the Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism as a counterrevolutionary current in the workers movement – instead terming it centrist – and ordered sections of the FI to submerge into Stalinist parties...."

While the sense of the passage is correct, the formulation "counterrevolutionary current *in the workers movement*" (my emphasis, J.S.) oversimplifies Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism in its world-historic complexity. Specifically, this formulation fails to distinguish between Stalinism when referring to the *organization of Russian society* – bureaucratic (petty-bourgeois) government based on collectivized (proletarian) property forms – and Stalinism when referring to the worldwide *political movement* emerging from the denegeration of the Leninist Third International.

Trotsky held that the Russian state bureaucracy and the Communist parties in the capitalist world were not analogous social formations. Both have played a counterrevolutionary role on a world-historic scale, but do so from very different material and social bases, for differing motivations, by different methods and in different contexts.

By 1933 the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was no longer a political party; it was not like the German and French CP's despite a formal similarity and the common leadership of Joseph Stalin. Rather the CPSU had become a direct extension of the state bureaucracy lacking an autonomous mass base. In 1933, Trotsky wrote:

> "The present CPSU is not a party but an apparatus of domination in the hands of an uncontrolled bureaucracy. Within the framework of the CPSU and outside of it takes place the grouping of the scattered elements of the two basic parties: the proletarian and Thermidorean-Bonapartist."
>
> "It Is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew"

When the "Transitional Program" denounces the treacherous leadership of the Stalinists over the working masses throughout the world, it specifically refers to the Third International, not to Stalinism in general:

> "The Third International has taken to the road of reformism at a time when the crisis of capitalism definitely placed the proletarian revolution on the order of the day.... The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the bureaucracies of the Second, Third, Amsterdam and Anarcho-syndicalist Internationals...."

There is a further point to make about the class/political character of Stalin's Comintern, one more important in the post-war period than during Trotsky's lifetime. The Stalinized Third International could be considered a current within the workers movement on the basis of its central organizational locus. But not all Stalinist parties were in the workers movement.

When the Chinese Communist Party abandoned the cities for peasant/guerrilla war in the early 1930's, it transformed its class nature, becoming a petty-bourgeois radical nationalist formation fundamentally different from the French CP, for example. The transformation of the class character of the Chinese CP was anticipated by Trotsky in his important, germinal article "Peasant War in China and the Proletariat" (1932):

> "Meanwhile, the majority of the rank-and-file Communists in the Red detachments unquestionably consists of peasants, who assume the name Communist in all honesty and sincerity but who actually remain revolutionary paupers or revolutionary petty proprietors. In politics he who judges by denominations and labels and not by social facts is lost."

The use of the term Stalinism without reference to any specific historic organization or institution is a source of much confusion within the Trotskyist movement.

Comradely,
Joseph Seymour

WV replies: Comrade Seymour's letter makes a valuable point. There is, of course, an additional sense in which the term Stalinism can be used, namely to denote the common features of the ideology propagated (for example) by the French Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party and the ruling bureaucracy of the Soviet Union.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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At London USec "Unity" Jamboree

Mandel Yearns for the Second International

LONDON, March 6—Last night the International Marxist Group (IMG) held a rally featuring Ernest Mandel on the "European Revolution and the Building of the Fourth International." The leading spokesman for the United Secretariat (USec), the international fake-Trotskyist conglomerate with which the IMG is affiliated, Mandel was there to deliver an appeal for "unity" of the "revolutionary left." Although ostensibly directed at groups outside the USec, the message was clearly also intended for the IMG membership, which had been mobilised from other centres across the country for the rally and for educational sessions held earlier in the day.

To combat confusion and demoralisation in the IMG—the English incarnation of an "International" rent by deep factional cleavage, and itself a web of tangled and shifting alliances between numerous competing clique/tendencies—Mandel put forward a concept of "unity" which is nothing other than a frontal assault on one of the fundamentals of Leninism: the need for a programmatically cohesive, disciplined international vanguard party. In typical fashion, the IMG attempted to camouflage the import of the gathering in light-mindedness. The trappings included "workers songs from County Durham," a film on the Portuguese newspaper *República* and some "Spanish pipe music."

The audience was also treated to a 30-minute fund-raising interlude by IMG National Secretary Brian Grogan which recalled some of the USec's more memorable stunts making a mockery of revolutionary politics. (Past "highlights" have included a spokesman for the Canadian RMG who in a January 1975 Vancouver forum responded to supporters of the Spartacist tendency by going into a tap-dance routine, and a recent French LCR handbill depicting Trotsky as a clown on a tightrope.) Grogan told the audience of 500 to shell out for the IMG and keep an eye on the others: "If anyone hasn't got their hands in their pockets, I bet they're in the CIA" or, he added, they might be "the KGB watching the CIA." The biggest laugh came when he announced, "We are the professionals."

Mensheviks, Charlatans and Liars

Grogan's main presentation centred on the claim that the USec—deeply divided between a European-based centrist majority and a reformist minority led by the American SWP—is based on principle. He characterised the differences (which have led to splits in virtually every country where both wings have significant forces) as merely tactical. Boasting that the USec is not "monolithic," he pointed to the debate over Portugal (where the positions taken by the two main factions would put them on opposite sides in the major class battles there).

Mandel added his bit, boasting that USec "democracy" is demonstrated by the fact that it allows public debate, even "passionate public debate." He praised the USec for getting back to the traditions of the international socialist movement before World War I. But what does this mean? Mandel is rejecting the practice of Lenin's Comintern—with its rigorous membership criteria and democratic-centralist structure—in favor of the Second International! To justify an "international tendency" whose "internal discussion" is public because a dozen vitriolic splits have made it public, Mandel implicitly repudiates the entirety of Lenin's struggle against the Mensheviks, which took place precisely over the question of the disciplined communist vanguard.

Concretely symbolising what "unity" means in the USec was the presence on the platform of the notorious Bala Tampoe, head of the USec's Ceylonese section. Although aligned with the centrist USec majority faction, the Ceylonese grouping's political practice is fully reformist; its main activity inside Ceylon is to function as an appendage of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, of which Tampoe is the top bureaucrat.

In 1969, at the initiation of Edmund Samarakkody, the USec "World Congress" was forced to constitute a special Ceylon Commission to investigate Tampoe's extremely dubious activities, which included—on top of shameless pro-government policies in Ceylon—a trip to the U.S. financed by the CIA-hacked Asia Foundation.

When the Ceylon Commission suppressed the damning specifics of the uncontested allegations against Tampoe, Samarakkody and the international Spartacist tendency brought the affair to the attention of the world movement. The IMG played an important part in the USec's frantic cover-up attempt, publishing a pamphlet by one Jaya Vithana which claimed that the matter was a fabrication instigated by the Healy tendency. Unfortunately for the IMG USec, Vithana went overboard and baldly asserted that there had been no investigation and no commission—a claim easily disproved by the official minutes of the "World Congress," which included the vague and never implemented recommendations of the allegedly non-existent "Ceylon Commission."

Shifting Sands of IMG Maneuverism

The general rightward drift of the IMG was highlighted by Grogan's lengthy presentation of perspectives in Britain, particularly the orientation toward the Labour Party "lefts." Rightward motion is also indicated by a softer line now being taken toward the reformist American SWP. In the past the IMG majority faction ("Tendency B" led by Grogan, John Ross and Bob Pennington) had been among the SWP's most vehement USec opponents.

As part of the new tilt, recent issues of the IMG's *Red Weekly* have contained a series of articles (directed mainly against the WSL, a split-off from the Healyites) attempting to pervert Lenin's struggle for the Bolshevik party and Trotsky's fight for the Fourth International into justifications for the USec rotten-bloc style of organisation. In a recent "Statement to the ICL [a fusion between the Workers Fight and Workers Power groups] from the IMG," the IMG boasted that:

> "Today the Fourth International is able to put its programme to the test of the real class struggle. Many of its organisations are still propaganda organisations of the size of the ICL, but still others—especially in France and Spain, the USA and Argentina, are already organisations which can have an important effect on the class struggle."

The American SWP and Argentine PST have led the USec minority (what exists in Spain is a split). It would appear that the IMG is now endorsing the "effect on the class struggle" of the programme of the SWP (which calls for "free speech" for fascists, advocates sending the U.S. Army to Boston to "protect" black people, and solidarises with the reactionary offensive headed up by the Portuguese Socialist Party last year) and of the Argentine PST's loudly proclaimed support for the "continuity" of the murderous bourgeois Peronist regime.

The USec's claims to "democracy" are given the lie by the series of grossly undemocratic expulsions carried out by the side with the upper hand in a particular country against its domestic minority. On a smaller scale, it is indicative that this public IMG meeting made no provision for discussion from the floor.

The whole of the Mandel/Grogan "unity" appeal is a fraud, as is the USec's claim to represent the Fourth International. The revolutionary Trotskyist programme is upheld neither by the reformist minority nor by the different variants of centrism which constitute the majority. The basis of the existing USec "unity"—and for the regroupment pitch to other organisations made at the meeting—is maneuverist willingness to coexist with abject reformism and to tolerate the myriad and often counterposed manifestations of unprincipled accommodationism practised by the centrist sections in their different countries.

Mandel and his collaborators lecture

continued on page 10

LCR "humor": making a mockery of Trotsky and Marxism.

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pour toute correspondance:
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95120 Ermont, France

Protest WV Exclusion from ILWU Local 6 Convention

OAKLAND, March 13—The leadership of ILWU Local 6 has taken another step to further undermine the once relatively democratic traditions of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. At the second session of the Local 6 contract convention Local president McClain endorsed and rammed through a motion aimed to exclude a *Workers Vanguard* reporter from covering the meeting. While the motion referred simply to "the press," its author specifically attacked "the Vanguard," the only paper represented at the moment.

McClain got up to whine about how the press "gets the facts mixed up as to what is true and untrue." But, in fact, it is precisely *WV*'s complete and honest reporting—combined with revolutionary analysis and program—that bothers the labor fakers. The collusion of the ILWU bureaucrats with the bosses at the expense of the union ranks is thoroughly exposed in the pages of *Workers Vanguard*. *That* is what McClain & Co. don't like.

In particular, McClain might have been embarrassed by our exposure of his insistence on maintaining the no-strike clause in the contract at the first session of the warehouse contract convention (see *WV* No. 99, 5 March). Likewise, the story of how the bureaucrats overturned two votes by the body rejecting their miserable proposed pension, may not have been appreciated. McClain no doubt would also have preferred to have his praise for San Francisco mayor George Moscone go unreported after Moscone hailed the S.F. police department—which terrorized the city's black population last spring in its Operation Zebra dragnet as "most convivial."

Whatever the pretext offered, clearly McClain's concern was to *suppress* the facts through this bureaucratic move to censor the working-class press. As Bob Mandel of the Militant Caucus pointed out, direct access to relevant events by pro-labor press can only increase the accuracy of the reporting, thereby aiding the union cause. It is the bosses' press which portrays workers' wage gains as the cause of inflation and indignantly lays the blame for strike violence on those who defend their picket lines as opposed to the scabs who would cross them protected by the clubs of the cops. As for capitalist politicians like Moscone, they merit not respect but contempt from the ranks of labor, whose class interests can be represented only by an independent workers party. It is the Moscones who should be unconditionally excluded from the councils of labor!

In defending workers democracy Mandel noted that several labor socialist papers, including *People's World*, the *Bay Area Worker* and *Workers Vanguard*, had attended the previous session. George Cazzara of Warehouse Victory, which is politically supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and its *Bay Area Worker*, then took the floor to attack *WV* as having "nothing to do with the working class."

Thus these Stalinists add their voices to the chorus of anti-communist hacks seeking to hide their sellouts with tirades against "outside agitators." Such pandering to vicious bureaucratic red-baiting will inevitably rebound against militants—including, if McClain so chooses, against the Warehouse Victory grouping. Sectarian rejection of workers democracy threatens essential class solidarity and the ability of the working class to struggle to defend itself against the class enemy. It is both short-sighted and dangerous.

Jim Crow Maoists Declare Cuba Was Always Capitalist

Prensa Latina

Venceremos Brigade members, many of them supporters of the RU (RCP), visited Cuba in 1970.

The defeat of CIA/South African-led forces in Angola by the Soviet-backed, Cuban-spearheaded People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has left the Maoist cheerleaders for imperialist aggression with a political black eye. For months the Peking-line Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has been howling that the so-called "Soviet social-imperialists" not the U.S. imperialists nor the white-supremacist brasshats, mind you – were the "Number One enemy" in Angola and Africa.

Earlier the RCP had gained notoriety by its obscene policy of hailing the "fightback" of racist anti-busing demonstrations in Boston and Louisville. Now, while imperialist warmonger Gerald Ford assails Castro as an "international outlaw" for intervening in Angola against the South African invasion, these Jim Crow Maoists slobber foam-flecked denunciations of the Cuban "aggressors" but "neglect" to demand the withdrawal of South African troops (*Revolution*, 15 January 1976).

For the RCP the victorious Cuban troops presiding over the consolidation of a bourgeois regime in Luanda represent the shock troops of the "New Tsars." So now the RCP has declared polemical war on the Castro regime. In a seven-page tirade blaring from the latest *Revolution* (15 February) these Maoists bellow – in italics for increased volume – that "*in fact Cuba was never a socialist country*" but rather has been "state capitalist" ever since the 1959 revolution!

The tendency that now calls itself the RCP has gone from uncritical political support for Castro to siding with U.S. imperialism against the Cuban revolution. Supporters of the former Revolutionary Union once helped organize the Venceremos Brigades which took several hundred subjectively revolutionary youth to Cuba where they cut cane and played baseball with Communist Party members. Now, if the RCP's new analysis is believed, it turns out that Bob Avakian was a labor contractor for "Soviet capitalists" and RCPers played ball with the bosses.

"Purchasing 'Socialism'"?

It is true that Cuba was never a "socialist" country; but since 1960 neither has it been a "capitalist" or "state capitalist" country. The Spartacist tendency has uniquely maintained that since that time Cuba has been a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The Cuban revolution smashed capitalist rule on the island and then established and defended collectivized property in the principal means of production. The RCP simply dismisses the need to protect these historic gains. Rather, communists must defend those gains against imperialism and counterrevolution. Our aim is proletarian *political* revolution to sweep away the petty-bourgeois Stainist bureaucracy and bring the workers to direct political power through sovereign soviets and a revolutionary vanguard party.

The RCP can back up its outrageous analysis of the Cuban deformed workers state as "capitalist" only by the most feeble and cynical recitation of Mao-Thought tautologies and homilies. Since the economic policies of the Cuban Stalinist regime are not qualitatively different from those of the Chinese bureaucracy, Avakian & Co. are reduced to the babble that in Cuba "things, not people, are decisive" (?) while in China "politics is in command"(??).

Similarly these fake-revolutionary Maoists denounce the Cuban bureaucracy's use of sugar exports to buy manufactured goods from the Soviet bloc as "purchasing 'socialism' instead of relying on and mobilizing the class struggle of the working class and masses." But Cuba during the first half of the 1960's also traded extensively with China. Then, in 1966, Peking reneged on its rice-sugar exchange program with Cuba and joined in the imperialist embargo. Yet according to the RCP, China abandoned Cuba in a noble and proletarian internationalist act contributing to the development of Cuban "self-reliance" and "self-sufficiency"!

The RCP also takes a poke at the Cuban "mania of nationalization" in the late 1960's, pointing to the rapid pace of collectivization and the expropriation of "hot-dog sellers, grocery store owners, bar keepers and other small proprietors." But the RCP praises Stalin's far more disastrous forced collectivization launched in 1929 and hails the Cambodian Stalinists' brutal and retrogressive forced population transfer of the urban masses into the countryside to "build socialism" on the technical level of the ancient Khmers.

Birddogging for Kissinger

Missing from these seven pages is any mention of the U.S. imperialist outpost at Guantánamo. The article rails at the Russian military shield provided Cuba in the past but never once even notes the chain of U.S. military bases in the Caribbean. What the RCP does say is still more despicable. Cuba is supposedly a "colony" which "has not even won its independence and national liberation" from Russian "imperialism." According to this line of "reasoning," Maoists would support a *bourgeois* struggle for independence from "Soviet social-imperialism" and its Havana quislings, i.e., they would support capitalist-restorationist counterrevolution! It would seem that Henry Kissinger is a ventriloquist, for the RCP is certainly a mouthpiece for the most far-sighted section of the U.S. bourgeoisie, which recognizes in the Russian degenerated workers state the main present obstacle to its dream of imperialist world domination.

The RCP line on Cuba is one more nail in the political coffin of these discredited Maoist running dogs of U.S. imperialism. In the petty-bourgeois radical milieu from which the RCP draws its support and recruits, the Cuban revolution still commands great respect (and the Castro regime enjoys the confidence which these radicals incorrectly place in petty-bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists in all their incarnations). For over a decade the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions have represented the epitome of "Third World" nationalism and anti-imperialist "people's war." Even for New Left Maoists, Castro and Ho Chi Minh were icons standing above the Sino-Soviet rift and its polemics. Although Peking-Havana relations became icy in 1966, when China cut its aid to Cuba, Maoist-inspired radicals in this country could continue to support Cuba, since both Mao and Castro at that time preached that the "main enemy" in the world was U.S. imperialism.

Indeed, the New Left Maoists became Castro's fiercest apologists in the U.S. When the Progressive Labor Party (PL) broke from nationalism and Third World Stalinism in a very partial and deformed manner and began to denounce the Cuban and Vietnamese leaders from the left, the Revolutionary Union (RU) attacked PL for "Trotskyism" in its *Red Papers 1*. Later at the 1969 SDS convention RU forces, unable to defeat Progressive Labor politically, "expelled" PL from SDS for criticizing revolutionary "vanguards" such as "the revolutionary government of Cuba."

But the China-U.S. rapprochement increasingly brought the U.S. Maoists into conflict with mainstream Third World Stalinism as the "main enemy" became "Soviet social-imperialism." The Maoists, notably the RCP and the October League, have denounced Ceylonese JVP youth rebels, Dhofar guerrillas, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Cuban leadership as front men for the Soviet "imperialists" (see the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*), each time alienating elements of the petty-bourgeois radical milieu.

Simply on the political basis of its attack on Cuba the RCP likewise should denounce the Vietnamese Stalinists, who now nestle snugly in the diplomatic orbit of the USSR, who now laud Soviet policy in Angola and India and Portugal, and who now even fight Chinese Communist troops in a reactionary "turf" conflict over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. China has refrained from disowning the Vietnamese only because they, unlike Cuba, are strategically situated in the defense perimeter of China and the Chinese consequently are willing to overlook "revisionism" as long as fence-mending diplomacy can prevail.

Yet not once in this article does the RCP mention its previous support to the arch-"capitalist" Castro. Not once does the RCP mention that its cadres rushed to Cuba year after year to cut cane—thereby presumably boosting the "profits" of the "state capitalists"! The RCP spits on the real gains of the Cuban revolution while obfuscating and covering for the bureaucratic parasitism which deforms Cuban society.

A crucial acid test for a revolutionist is the desire to struggle against one's "own" class enemy. In the mid-1960's it was the issue of Cuba which centrally defined the anti-capitalist elements emerging from the New Left milieu. The New Leftists who cheered Castro were manifesting not so much any elaborated class analysis of the Cuban revolution as a gut reaction against the intensity of U.S. imperialism's frontal assault on Cuba. They were viscerally opposed to the unmistakably revanchist appetites of their "own" bourgeoisie in its frenzied drive to grind into the dust Latin America's first non-capitalist "domino."

PL's initial pronouncement that Cuba was capitalist flowed from a different motivation than the present declaration by the RCP, although both could produce similar logical problems. No sooner had PL produced its "analysis" of Cuba than some of its more curious members began to ask what *material conditions* separated China from a similar characterization. A few years later, PL declared that indeed China, too, was a capitalist country filled with the same sort of "red bosses" that inhabit the "capitalist" island 90 miles off the Florida shore.

But the RCP intends to have no such trouble. Its "analysis" boils down to this: socialist societies are run by Mao-Thought, capitalist societies are not. This simple-minded idealism will satisfy only the most naive among the RCP membership. The others, however, are by now no doubt sufficiently cynical to understand that such "theoretical" exercises are pure eyewash, that they are simply engaged in anti-Soviet propaganda in the narrow nationalist interests of the Chinese bureaucracy.

The RCP tendency having crawled behind Mao for so long that it has breathed its last gasp of subjective anti-capitalist impulse – avidly embraces an implicit bloc with U.S. imperialism against Cuba. In the course of a few months the RCP has defined itself by barely veiled support of South Africa's military adventure in Angola and opposition to defense of the gains of the Cuban revolution. Blindly following the cadence of Peking, these fake-socialists now march in lockstep with the Pentagon and the CIA. ■

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Orgy of Redbaiting

I.S. Opportunism Backfires at TDC Rallies

MARCH 14 –The International Socialists (I.S.) received a rude jolt when its favorite model of "class struggle unionism," Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), proved itself to be a hotbed of anti-communism. At a heavily publicized rally in the Bay Area, a contingent of TDC supporters yesterday attacked supporters from several left organizations, including the I.S.!

The TDC is an unprincipled reformist group which calls for nothing beyond simple trade-union economism. It has persistently refused to attack racism, support the UFW against Teamster raids, demand a break from the capitalist political parties or defend workers democracy. When the Spartacist League (SL) criticized the TDC for these shortcomings, it drew only scoffs and jeers from the I.S. The I.S. not only gave uncritical support to the TDC, but hailed it and similar groupings as "the biggest step forward for the working class since the 1930's" (*Workers' Power*, 12 December).

The Bay Area TDC leadership had laid careful plans for Saturday's demonstration. At a press conference two days prior to the rally, TDC leaders took violent exception to criticisms of its refusal to defend the Farm Workers. They stated openly that the group had not taken a position on the UFW in the past and had no intention of doing so in the future. An SL supporter was informed that placards in support of the UFW would be unwelcome, and that the TDC was "prepared to deal with anybody who brings slogans that are not part of TDC's demands."

Although preparations had been made to deal with left critics, the disruption at the rally came from another source: a group of right-wing TDC supporters who attacked supporters from all left organizations present, the SL, Workers Viewpoint (a small Maoist sect) *and the International Socialists*. Newspaper salesmen from both Workers Viewpoint and the I.S. had papers torn out of their hands while another *Workers' Power* vendor was pushed around. Meanwhile the official TDC "security squad" which had come prepared to muzzle the SL—stood by and did nothing to interfere with this indiscriminate attack on all socialists, including the loyal TDC supporters of the I.S.!

The anti-communism at the rally was not limited to this one incident. Several TDC supporters took advantage of an open microphone to attack leftists. One speaker threatened paper salesmen that they "had better cool it," while another denounced the socialists for seeking "to make money off Teamsters" (by selling newspapers!). This trash went virtually unopposed from the speaker's podium. John Larson, a prominent TDCer who described himself as a "socialist," did mutter some mealy-mouthed phrases against redbaiting, but he refused to explicitly raise the issue of workers democracy or defend the right of left groups to sell their press.

The Bay Area rally was one of several TDC demonstrations that took place March 13, and in some areas the anti-communism was even more virulent. In Cleveland, for example, prominent TDC spokesman Ken Paff was heavily redbaited. After a series of sharp attacks on Paff from the floor, a Teamster finally rose to Paff's "defense" by asserting that he had visited the local FBI and been assured that they had nothing on Paff!

The principle of workers democracy, which defends the right of all viewpoints (excepting those of outright fascists and scabs) to be heard and debated *within* the labor movement, has been flagrantly violated by the TDC. It has repeatedly endorsed court suits against the Teamsters union and it reaffirmed this policy Saturday. In Cleveland the TDC announced a suit against the Local leadership for interfering with the right of TDC to distribute literature. In Los Angeles a TDC member announced her readiness to file a class-action suit on grounds of sexual discrimination against the Teamster International for offering a rotten contract to Teamster office workers, who are mainly women.

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy cannot be defeated by calling in the bourgeois government or by using strong-arm tactics. The goon tactics designed to muzzle the SL are precisely what the TDC rails against when they are used *against it* by the bureaucracy. Such tactics inevitably backfire, as TDC leaders discovered this week. Workers educated to use violence against one left group can hardly be expected to defend other labor organizations against right-wing attacks.

The surfacing of anti-communism within the TDC should be no surprise. Where it has gone beyond a small number of I.S. supporters, the TDC has become a home mainly for disgruntled Hoffa supporters. While their militancy on wage issues is legitimate, they share the parochialism, anti-communism and racial insensitivity of both the Hoffa and Fitzsimmons bureaucracies. As the contract expiration date approaches the TDC has capitulated increasingly to these sentiments and become even less distinguishable from the bureaucracy to the point where it could announce at the L.A. rally that it had forced Fitzsimmons to fight for the membership and would send a wire to the IBT president announcing that they were behind him and the negotiating committee all the way in the contract bargaining!

The disturbing evolution of the TDC is another object lesson in the I.S. school of labor reformism. The I.S. has built the group from its inception and apologized for every capitulation of the TDC to reformism and anti-communism. If today its Frankenstein monster awakes and attacks the I.S., it has only itself to blame. ■

Spanish Army...

(continued from page 1)

(captains and majors), but reportedly counts several generals and many colonels in its ranks as well. With supporters in all branches of the armed forces, according to an interview in *Le Monde* (10 March) the UMD also claims sympathizers in the armed police, the civil guard and even in the army intelligence service.

During the trial the victimized officers read personal statements denying membership in any political organization, but called for "democratization by the path of liberty and social justice" (*New York Times*, 11 March). The most conservative of several dissident groupings in the army, the UMD places itself politically between the Christian Democrats and the social democrats. It calls for the disarming of all right-wing groups and sees its main task as guarding against an ultra-rightist coup. While demanding the release of all political prisoners and legalization of the Communist Party, it repeatedly asserts that Spain is not Portugal. Asked if the group would play a role similar to the Portuguese MFA, one of the Spanish captains replied that they would not be drawn into politics, and would return to the barracks "as soon as a democratic regime were installed in Spain" (*Le Monde*, 23 October 1975). UMD leaders also express great concern for the careers of its members, studying ways of improving the "professional capacity" of military personnel and speeding up the promotion system.

The Military and the Left

The question of the military is key in Spain today. It was in an attempt to sharply crack down on all dissent in the praetorian guard of the Francoist regime that the government initially arrested and "admonished" scores of officers. It was because a lengthy trial and heavy sentences could produce an explosion in the army and the working class that the prosecution dealt with the "seditious" officers so gingerly last week. Even more indicative of the discontent in the army is the fact that since the fall arms and munitions have been kept locked up under guard, rarely brought out even for training, as the poorly paid draftees (whose salary is 200 pesetas, about US$3.50, per month) are considered unreliable.

The Communist Party (PCE) has highlighted the case of the arrested alleged members of the Democratic Military Union in its press. But it cannot wage a real defense of those who say they would resist a rightist coup, for that could stir up opposition in the army ranks and thus weaken its role as guardian of the interests of capital. This, in turn, would threaten the PCE's program for a peaceful "democratic breakthrough."

A declaration by the party's executive committee in January stressed that, "The breakthrough will not affect either the armed forces, government officials or the existing social system" (*Mundo Obrero*, 14 January). The latest PCE pronouncements go even further in underlining the reformists' commitment to capitalism, calling for "a provisional government growing from a broad agreement of the democratic opposition, the army and the church [which] would re-establish civil liberties and open a constituent process..." (*Mundo Obrero*, 25 February).

While opposing such blatant class collaborationism, two of the ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Spain have raised demands which likewise imply support for a ("democratized") bourgeois army. Thus, in addition to a number of legitimate demands for civil liberties within the army and calls for the formation of soldiers committees, a recent wall poster of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR, supporters of the majority faction of the United Secretariat) in a Spanish university also called for "purging the military of reactionaries." It is incredible that having closely followed the turmoil in Portugal next door, where hundreds of reactionary officers were purged in late 1974 and early 1975, the LCR should raise this reformist call. The events of November 25 should have made clear to them—if Marxism and previous historical experience hadn't already done so—that the *entire* officer corps defends capitalism. As Trotsky wrote of Spain in the 1930's:

> "...at the approach of the proletarian revolution the officers' corps becomes the executioner of the proletariat. To eliminate four or five hundred reactionary agitators from the army means to leave everything basically as it was before. The officers' corps in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch."
>
> —"The Lesson of Spain," July 1936

While USec majorityites call for purging only the reactionary officers (and presumably, therefore, leaving the army in the control of "progressives" such as the UMD, which would certainly crush any attempt at workers revolution), sympathizers of the minority—the Communist League of Spain (LCE)—have called for "democratic control of the army" (LCE leaflet "Con SEAT: Todos en lucha," Barcelona, 12 January 1975) and "democratic control by soldiers committees." Similar demands were raised during the Spanish Civil War when the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM) called for workers control of the army.

But the task of soldiers committees in the army is to break with the command structure and *destroy*, not control, the bourgeois army. As Trotsky wrote, "The army is a weapon of the ruling class and cannot be anything else.... The proletariat cannot 'control' an army created by the bourgeoisie and its reformist lackeys. The revolutionary party can and must build its cells in such an army, preparing the advanced sections of the army to pass over to the side of the workers" ("Is Victory Possible?", April 1937).

As in Portugal, Argentina, Chile and elsewhere when a working-class upsurge has sharply posed the question of proletarian revolution, in Spain the followers of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat have, in tailing after the present backward consciousness of the workers, again renounced some of the most fundamental principles of Marxism. While vigorously defending the arrested officers of the UMD against the Francoist dictatorship, the task of revolutionaries is *not* to build confidence in the liberals of today who tomorrow will act as hangmen of the revolution. Rather we seek to awaken among the workers and the soldier ranks the consciousness of the need to break with *all* wings of the bourgeoisie and fight for proletarian revolution. ■

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In Struggle to Smash Apartheid, the Working Class Will Not Forget...

Keystone Press

Aftermath of Sharpeville massacre, 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on demonstration against pass laws leaving 69 dead and 178 wounded.

The Sharpeville Massacre

On 21 March 1960, 150 heavily armed police opened fire on thousands of South African blacks demonstrating at Sharpeville township against the noxious pass laws which tightly regulate the daily movements of the African population. Hundreds of bullets were pumped into the unarmed crowd from machine guns, rifles and pistols. When the orgy of bloodletting was over, 69 Africans lay dead and 178 wounded.

Gaping wounds in the backs of most victims told a story of cold-blooded murder, as demonstrators attempted to flee the hail of police bullets. The carnage at Sharpeville was repeated the same day on a smaller scale at Langa township and other suburban black ghettos surrounding the white cities. Recorded by reporters and photographers, the killings provoked world-wide protests, not only from left and labor militants but even from South Africa's imperialist allies embarrassed by the naked face of racist barbarism revealed in newspaper and newsreel photos.

Massive stay-at-home strikes and protest demonstrations in the black townships rocked South Africa. The regime of Hendrik Verwoerd declared a state of emergency, employing the full arsenal of repressive laws developed over twelve years of Nationalist Party rule. The government rounded up 2,000 leaders of the predominantly white, anti-apartheid Liberal Party; the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which had launched the anti-pass campaign; the African National Congress (ANC); and a number of other groups clustered around the ANC-led Congress Alliance.

These militants were "detained" without trial for up to five months. Another 20,000 Africans were sentenced after secret trials held in the jails. The ANC and PAC were outlawed, and several oppositional newspapers banned. In Cape Town PAC led 30,000 blacks in a march on parliament. The police responded to a three-week-long strike in the nearby shantytowns with random attacks on black laborers found in the streets. After house-to-house searches, many blacks were hauled off Gestapo fashion and not seen by their families for months. Some were reported to have died of "pneumonia" while in jail (Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, 1964).

The domestic social crisis and international outrage following Sharpeville shook the confidence of many foreign investors. Some prominent Afrikaner politicians were also shaken, producing a short-lived relaxation of the pass laws. But in general the regime chose to brazen out the crisis and continue its efforts to crush all opposition. Impervious to criticism, Verwoerd opposed any inquiry into the murders. In response to civil claims for government compensation, parliament passed an Indemnity Act which prevented all legal actions against the government arising out of acts committed during the state of emergency from being heard in the courts.

Black African unrest and police repression were not confined to the suburban townships. Government-appointed Bantu Authorities were repeatedly challenged in the rural "native reserves." On the other hand, less than three months after the atrocity at Sharpeville a tribal gathering at Ngqusa Hill in the Transkei was attacked by police, and 11 blacks were killed. The Pondoland was subjected to military occupation for years, and hundreds of tribesmen were detained.

Constructing a Police State

The infamous Sharpeville massacre was a landmark in South African history. It signaled the ruling Nationalist Party's decision to suppress all manifestations of black protest against white supremacy by unleashing an unbridled reign of police state terror; it also forced the major anti-apartheid groups to re-evaluate and sharply change their pacifist tactics.

Since coming to power in 1948, the Afrikaner-based Nationalist Party had successfully used the reins of government and the rural constituencies' weighted vote to steadily increase its legislative majority and whittle down the threat from oppositional parties. One draconian law after another was introduced to disenfranchise, segregate and control all non-whites and to intimidate all political opponents. In 1948, Indians lost all parliamentary representation. The Communist Party (CP), then represented in parliament, was outlawed in 1950.

The Group Areas Act of the same year restricted ownership and occupation of land by ethnic group. This was part of the legal foundation for the apartheid "separate development" fraud by which a mere 13 percent of the land is "reserved" for the African majority. In 1951 the Separate Representation of Voters Act removed the "Coloured" (mulatto) voters from the common roll in Cape Province and set aside four seats in the House of Assembly for "Coloured" representatives.

A 1952 Natives Act consolidated all the mandatory identity cards carried by blacks into a single reference or pass book to be carried *at all times*. For the first time, women had to carry passes. As many as half a million Africans a year have been convicted of pass law violations since then, giving South Africa one of the highest per capita prison populations in the world. Many of the convicts are then contracted out to Afrikaner-owned farms as forced laborers.

In this period the Nationalists were still constructing the apparatus of the apartheid police state and faced serious opposition not only from the non-white masses but occasionally even from within the bourgeoisie. For five years the courts ruled against the Separate Registration of Voters Act as unconstitutional until the regime had stacked the judiciary with loyal appointees. While routinely backing laws bolstering the government's police powers, the predominantly English-speaking United Party (U.P.) opposed aspects of apartheid which interfered with the free flow of black labor into industry. Faced with an acute shortage of skilled workers, the United Party's capitalist backers demanded a relaxation of the color bar on job categories and limited improvements in the educational and economic opportunities of blacks.

ANC and PAC

During the 1950's, the ANC and its "left" advisers from the CP attempted to bolster the feeble bourgeois legislative and judicial opposition with pacifist protests. A mass Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws was launched by the ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) in June 1952. Thousands of volunteers came forward, were sworn to non-violence and filled the jails, gaining international publicity. But the laws remained intact and the campaign was abruptly called off.

The ANC and its allies hoped that "democratic" imperialist powers would back the "democratic" capitalists of the U.P. (and after 1959, the Progressive Party [now Progressive Reform Party] of diamond millionaire Harry Oppenheimer) and force the Nationalists from office through diplomatic and economic pressure. During the 1950's, the CP consistently advocated electoral support to the "lesser evil" U.P. Describing themselves as "the premier, oldest-established and most responsible organizations of their respective population groups," the ANC and SAIC addressed an appeal to the United Nations in November 1952. It closed with a classic statement of the ANC's impotent liberalism:

> "With clear consciences and the knowledge that we are armed with lofty humanitarian principles common to all the great philosophies and religions of the world, we appeal to the men and women of our own country, and indeed of all others, for that moral and practical support which will enable us to enter into the liberty and dignity which is the birthright of all men everywhere."
>
> quoted in Council on African Affairs, "Resistance Against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa," 1953

Differences over tactics and orientation within the ANC culminated in a split and the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in April 1959. In general the new group represented a shift from the ANC's respectable, Stalinist-influenced petty-bourgeois nationalism to a tactically more militant nationalism, flavored by the Pan-Africanist theories of Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore. Its immediate roots were in a section of the ANC Youth League which, beginning in the 1940's, criticized the old-line leadership for "collaboration with the white oppressors." A particular point of contention was the ANC's participation until 1950 in the government-initiated Native Representation Council.

The 1959 PAC manifesto charged that the white, "Coloured" and Indian organizations in the Congress Alliance dominated the ANC and that the Alliance's "Freedom Charter" represented a demand for "constitutional guarantees" and "national rights" as opposed to majority rule:

> "These 'leaders' consider South Africa and its wealth to belong to all who live in it, the alien dispossessors and the indigenous dispossessed, the alien robbers and their indigenous victims. . . They are too incredibly naive and too fantastically unrealistic to see that the interests of the subject peoples who are criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded, are in sharp conflict and in pointed contradiction with that of the white ruling class."
>
> Richard Gibson, *African Liberation Movements*, 1972

Although critical of the ANC's liberalism and generally oriented to the plebeian masses in the African townships, the PAC's pursuit of a "national democratic" revolution marked by political unity between the black masses and the aspiring black petty bourgeoisie was a roadblock to the development of a revolutionary proletarian strategy. Nor were all the PAC's attacks on the reformist CP directed from the left. At the founding meeting, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, a key leader, stated that "Africanists reject totalitarianism in any form and accept political democracy as understood in the West." Such anti-Communist sentiments paved the way for close ties with some Liberal Party

members who went underground in the mid-1960's.

Impotent Guerrillaism

Despite the PAC's muddled politics, it took many of the best militants out of the ANC. Its ill-defined plan to win "freedom and independence" by 1963 sparked a new wave of militancy that culminated in the massive demonstrations against pass laws on 21 March 1960. The savage violence at Sharpeville and the ensuing repression convinced the major anti-apartheid organizations that guerrilla violence was the only alternative.

On 16 December 1961, bombs went off in Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg, marking the birth of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). A statement issued by the new military formation testified to the continuation of old policies in the new phase:

> "We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to its senses before it is too late, so that both the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war... we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country, Black, Brown and White, whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalists."
>
> Bunting, *op. cit.*

Beaten down by the wave of repression, the ANC and CP launched a half-hearted campaign of sabotage designed to pressure the government and reassert the ANC's claims to lead the "national liberation movement," while concentrating their main efforts on rousing international bourgeois opinion against the white regime. One of their few attempts at serious armed struggle was the disastrous collaboration with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Despite their courage and heavy Soviet weapons, several hundred ANC and ZAPU fighters were decimated in pitched battles against Rhodesian troops and South African jet fighters in August 1967.

The most famous trial arising out of Umkhonto underground activities was that of respectable former lawyer and CP leader Abram Fischer. Despite apparent deep personal conviction and valor, Fischer's statement to the jury revealed that even in its flirtation with guerrillaism, the CP never transcended its role as left wing of the liberal opposition. Assuring his jailers that neither in 1950 "nor at any stage since then has a socialist revolution been on the agenda in South Africa," he explained that the Umkhonto sabotage campaign was designed to make the white oppressor "reconsider his whole attitude." He added:

> "If it had succeeded in that it would have succeeded without loss of life or injury to persons, the very things which stimulate race antagonism. It might in addition have the effect of deterring extremists, whose numbers and influence were growing at an alarming rate, from undertaking precisely that kind of terrorism which we have fought to prevent."
>
> Gibson, *op. cits*

In 1963 the PAC, through its military arm Poqo, attempted to spark armed uprisings in the townships by encouraging indiscriminate attacks on the white oppressors. But the year of "freedom and independence" ended only in a deepening government reign of terror. PAC's efforts at guerrilla warfare, while undertaken with more seriousness than the ANC's, were no more effective. In 1968 a PAC unit was wiped out by Portuguese soldiers while trying to cross Mozambique into South Africa.

Moreover, its belief in Pan-African solidarity was not reciprocated by South Africa's black allies and client states. In 1968 it was driven out of Zambia. In 1970 the Lesotho government attacked base areas from which

continued on page 11

Keystone Press

South African police break up demonstration of women in segregated "township" of Cato Manor.

State Amnesty Plan Is a Whitewash

Free Attica Rebels, Not Murderous Guards!

UPI

Attica prisoners during rebellion.

Late last month, the most recent in a long series of official "investigations" of the 1971 Attica prison rebellion wound up its work. On February 26, New York special prosecutor Alfred J. Scotti recommended that all indictments in the Attica case be dismissed except for one murder charge against a fugitive inmate alleged to have killed another prisoner widely regarded as a stoolpigeon.

Scotti's investigation followed that of Bernard Meyer, who found that "the state dealt unfairly with the defendants." Meyer, however, recommended no action beyond appointing yet another investigator. Scotti recommended dropping the whole issue, and while all but one of the immediate beneficiaries of the special prosecutor's recommendation are present and former inmates, his real purpose is to continue the cover-up of the murderous crimes of the state police and prison guards in retaking the building.

In making his amnesty announcement, Scotti stated that he "uncovered evidence that strongly suggests unjustifiable homicides were committed by individual law enforcement officers." He also charged that the three previous Attica prosecutors had neglected to bring to light various crimes by troopers and guards, but qualified his accusation by saying the cover-up was not intentional but was the result of "deficient" investigation and mishandling of evidence.

During the assault of Attica by Rockefeller's stormtroopers, 39 were killed by gunfire from troopers and guards; 29 of these were inmates and 10 were guards. Beyond this carnage, 89 others were wounded. Scotti's discovery of "misconduct" on the part of the cops is not new; numerous other "special investigations" have pointed toward this same conclusion, only to be superseded by another officially appointed investigative body.

In September of 1972 the New York State Special Commission's "Official Report" was released, making amply clear that outrages and atrocities were committed by state troopers, prison guards, park police and cops "on loan" from local sheriffs' offices. This "Official Report"—released by the commission's chairman Robert McKay—made no impact on the prosecution, which continued to indict inmates while Rockefeller's cops remained untouched. (For *WV* reports on Attica, see No. 1, October 1971, and No. 67, 25 April 1975.)

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

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Another investigation was prompted when Malcolm Bell, a former leading member of the Attica special prosecution team, resigned in December 1974. His statement to Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, leaked to the bourgeois press the following April, pointed to "substantial evidence" that a gross cover-up of cop crimes had gone on. He particularly singled out Anthony Simonetti, assistant Attica prosecutor at the time, as responsible for the cover-up. Bell's statement led to the early 1975 investigation by Bernard Meyer, appointed by Governor Hugh Carey and Attorney General Lefkowitz. The report of this former State Supreme Court justice, running 130 pages, confirmed Bell's accusation of misconduct on the part of the prosecution but concluded that Bell's charges against Simonetti "proved not well founded"! Meyer then passed the buck to Scotti.

This mendacious whitewash is echoed in the indictments handed down: 62 inmates charged on 42 counts—a total of 1,289 alleged crimes which range from theft of a key to murder. In contrast, only one state trooper, Gregory Wildridge, has been indicted during this entire five-year period! After being charged in October 1975 with recklessly discharging a shotgun during the retaking of the prison, Wildridge was released on $1,000 bail and retained his job while awaiting trial.

Scotti claims that "The name 'Attica' should be a symbol, not only of riot and death, but also of the capacity of our system of criminal justice to redress its own wrongs." But Scotti's request that all but one indictment be dismissed "in the interests of justice" is no attempt to redress wrongs. It is a liberal sham designed to protect other cops threatened with indictments if the Attica proceedings are allowed to continue, and an attempt to sweep under the rug a five-year embarrassment.

The embarrassment stems in part from the poor track record the state has achieved in court with its flimsy frame-up cases against the inmates. After spending over $8 million in public funds only two convictions have been won, eight plea-bargainings have been coerced and all other indictments have been dismissed. More important, in addition to the fact that the cops have gone unpunished for the massacre, any thorough-going prosecution of crimes committed at Attica would have to include the man responsible for the bloody carnage in the first place—Vice President Nelson Rockefeller.

The memory of the workers movement is long, and sweeping Attica away will not be an easy task for the bourgeoisie! Dismiss *all* indictments against Attica inmates charged for activities during the 1971 rebellion! Release Attica rebels already sentenced! Jail the butchers of Attica! Attica cops out of AFSCME! ■

Spain's Fascist Right...

(continued from page 12)

tutions, "political unity" and the armed forces.

From the "Civilized Conservatives"...

Nervous that explosion of the Spanish powder keg would topple the shaky center-right government in Lisbon and touch off militant working-class action throughout south Europe, leading imperialist spokesmen have been advocating a "prudently phased program of reform" to the post-Franco regime. As half a million workers struck in the Basque country last week and a mammoth three-month-old strike wave rolled on, the *New York Times* (11 March) telegraphed an urgent warning (in an editorial entitled "Too Slow in Spain") that polarization was deepening, "precious time has already been lost," and "immobility" is a "greater danger" than reform.

Among those in Spain advocating such a program of self-reform of the authoritarian state is a congeries of Christian Democratic groupings occupying the center of the political spectrum. The Christian Democratic Left (IDC) of Joaquim Ruiz-Giménez is in opposition to the Arias government and part of the Platform of Democratic Convergence popular front. However, the IDC is concurrently trying to form a united Christian Democratic party with the Democratic Popular Federation (FPD) led by José Maria Gil Robles.

Adja

Members of the National Movement (Falange) sitting in the Cortes. Center, Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro.

Gil Robles, a fossilized version of Ruiz-Giménez, was head of the clericalist CEDA during the early 1930's and war minister in 1935-36. Although the FPD is formally in opposition, it refuses to work with the Communist Party and has left the way open for an arrangement with "civilized conservatives" of the present regime. To its right, is the Spanish Democratic Union (UDE), which includes two ministers of the present cabinet and receives financial support from the Bavarian Christian Social Union of Franz Josef Strauss.

Within the Spanish government itself, ostensibly pro-reform elements such as the interior minister, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, have been alluding to the fate of the "*inmovilista*" Caetano regime in neighboring Portugal, which was overthrown by discontented military officers in April 1974. But even the "liberalizing" wing of the Arias government is committed to maintaining Francoist rule—and cannot do otherwise. To dismantle the bonapartist apparatus would mean removing the very basis for its political existence. As the *New York Times* (4 March) described a meeting of Fraga's political cohorts, "When he entered a hotel reception room the other night, people shouted 'Fraga, Fraga, Fraga' as easily as they used to shout 'Franco, Franco, Franco'." The words change, but the content is the same.

...to the "Bunker"...

When Prime Minister Arias announced his government program at the end of January, its proclaimed goal was to proceed "without hurry and without pause" to construct a "Spanish democracy." This "Spanish democracy" is to stop far short of universal suffrage and parliamentary government, and in any case, except for a slight modification of the draconian "anti-terrorism" law, the present cabinet has failed to enact a single reform since coming to office in early December. Behind this "immobility" is the die-hard resistance of the "Bunker," an alliance of the top generals with hitler-end Falangists.

While the recent strikes have demonstrated the tremendous social power of the Spanish proletariat, and the Francoist regime has never had a substantial social base of organized mass support, the "Bunker" cannot simply be dismissed with a wave of the hand as a tiny number of aged Civil War veterans. After executing five Maoist and Basque nationalist militants last September it brought out tens of thousands in a show of force at the royal palace at Madrid, to shout "*Arriba España*" (Up With Spain) and hear their *Caudillo* vituperate one last time against the "leftist Masonic conspiracy," Communists and "Europe." After the death of "the Leader," it staged another mammoth demonstration—a blue-shirted Nuremberg Rally—at his burial site in the Valley of the Fallen.

While united against "liberalizers," the "Bunker" is internally fragmented into numerous remains of the "families of Francoism." In April 1937 Franco had imposed unity of sorts on the civilian supporters of the "crusade" with a forced fusion giving rise to the Traditionalist Spanish Falange (symbolized by the yoked arrows). But while assuming the role of *Jefe Nacional* (National Leader), throughout the dictator's rule, his method was to act as a bonapartist godfather playing off several groups (notably the army, the church and the Falange) against each other. The passage in late 1973 of the "law of associations," permitting the formation of political groupings within the framework of the National Movement, led to further splintering. (After the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, the Movement replaced the Falange as the preferred designation for the state political apparatus.) As a result, there are today an estimated 50 different rightist groups active in Spain.

Symbol of the Falange

The most moderate are several so-called Movement associations which are currently negotiating the formation of a National Front. They have lately been given enhanced influence in a mixed government-National Council (of the Movement) commission for constitutional reform. In the mixed commission the "Bunker" has stymied all plans for electoral changes, to the point that King Juan Carlos early this month called a special meeting of the Council of the Realm to warn the obstructionists that he would assume special powers if necessary to enact needed "profound reforms."

The principal strongmen of the "Bunker" include José Solis Ruiz, who was appointed minister for the Movement last summer; José Antonio Girón, long-time minister for the corporatist syndicates ("vertical unions" including labor, employers and the state) and head of the association of Falangist Civil War veterans; and Lieutenant General Carlos Iniesta, former director general of the paramilitary Guardia Civil and political idol of the secret police. In addition the armed police and directorate general of security, both headed by military officers, are redoubts of hard-line Francoists.

...And Beyond

The "Bunker" is by no means the most virulently anti-communist, anti-democratic force in Spain today. It shades into a variety of openly fascist groups that have been actively recruiting lumpen and petty-bourgeois criminal elements, along with the secret police, for the purpose of terrorizing journalists, students, political prisoners and other "anti-national" targets. Among the fascistic vermin infesting the rotting Francoist regime are the Syndicalist Action Groups (GAS), centered in Barcelona, whose specialty is arson and attacks against leftist bookstores; the Spanish National Socialist Party (PENS), whose symbol is the swastika and which specializes in attacks on cultural centers; and the Iberian Cross, which has carried out bank robberies and calls for the liberation of Gibraltar as well as the extermination of Jews and freemasons (*Cambio 16*, 9 February).

One of the most bloody of the fascist gangs is the clandestine Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey (Warriers of Christ the King), widely believed to have close ties to the Guardia Civil, and whose visible front man is Blas Piñar, publisher of *Fuerza Nueva*. The Guerrilleros arose on university campuses in the late 1960's and have specialized in individual beatings and mutilation, including murder, particularly against suspected Basque nationalists. One of their frequent tactics is to raid university campuses and classrooms using medieval instruments like the ball and chain or the mace. They have also revived the Falangist tradition of professional *pistoleros*. At the October 1 Francoist demonstration in Madrid several foreign newsmen were pistol-whipped by members of the Guerrilleros in plain sight of the police.

A recent bloody incident at the Computense University in the capital shows the close connections of these gun thugs with top officials of the Francoist regime. On February 18 a commando of the Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey attempted to enter the faculty of law in order to "defend" a rightist student who had been expelled by his classmates for brandishing a revolver. The democratic and leftist students, armed with clubs, repulsed the attackers and in the course of the confrontation several of the students, among them a nephew of the prime minister, were injured. The faculty senate then officially banned the attackers.

This called forth a storm of complaints from the corporatist Cortes ("parliament"), most of whose members were appointed by Franco. The father of one of the Guerrilleros declared that the universities had become a Marxist fortress, and a former navy minister demanded immediate action, adding, "If higher decisions are not taken, we shall act on our own" (*New York Times*, 4 March). Thereupon the government took the ease out of the hands of the university judicial bodies, appointing a special prosecutor in effect to protect the commandos.

Last fall, similar attacks were reported at the polytechnic university, and the universities of Madrid, Sevilla and Zaragoza. Other incidents have included a brutal beating of a liberal monarchist and left Christian Democrat during a press conference; the invasion of lawyers' offices for purposes of ransacking files and battering well-known leftists; the sending of powerful letter-bombs (one package contained more than a pound of plastic explosives) to liberal media; and the invasion of prisons to beat prisoners in their cells (*Le Monde*, 10 March 1976 and 8 November 1975).

Cambio 16

Blas Piñar

Informations Ouvrieres

José Solis Ruiz

For Workers Defense Guards

The continuing escalation of fascist intimidation must be brought to a halt. The formation of self-defense squads in the universities and the factories can rapidly crush the ultra-rightist commandos, as is seen from the relative absence of such attacks during periods of working-class mobilization such as in mass strikes. Likewise, the brutality of the armed police and Guardia Civil requires the powerful reply that can only be given by a workers militia.

Likewise the intransigent opposition to reforming the bonapartist structures of the Francoist dictatorship should serve to drive home the need for militant working-class opposition to bring down the entire corporatist edifice. But instead the reformist Spanish Communist Party (PCE) relies on a popular-front coalition to gain respectability and assuage the fears of the conservatives.

Its main instrument to date has been the Junta Democrática, whose most prominent bourgeois politician is Calvo Serrer, political adviser to the Count of

Barcelona, Don Juan de Borbón, who is the father of King Juan Carlos. An idea of just how treacherous the "support" of the Calvo Serrers can be, Don Juan last week flew to Madrid in order to renounce his claims on the succession a move designed to buttress the Francoist monarchy at a time when the regime was reeling under the impact of the huge Basque general strike.

On the other hand, the PCF is aiming at a unification of the Junta Democrática and the Platform of Democratic Convergence, led by the social-democratic PSOE. The PSOE, however, is allied with Ruiz Giménez, who, in turn, is trying to unify with Gil Robles. And what does Gil Robles represent? As war minister in 1935, he appointed General Francisco Franco chief of staff of the army; then, after the popular-front candidate won the 1936 presidential election, Gil Robles called on Franco to seize power...which the *Caudillo* did six months later!

The Communist Party is nonetheless willing to do business with this former benefactor of Franco, the man who prepared the way for the Civil War which cost tens of thousands of Spain's best proletarian fighters their lives. In a major article last fall, the American Communist Party's *Daily World* (29 October) recounted Gil Robles' history, remarking that he is "of course, a reactionary," it immediately added:

> "That, however, does not mean he will not play a significant role in the future in Spain....
> "As a possible future Premier, he might be compared politically to Portugal's Gen. Antonio de Spinola. But that would be a decided improvement over what exists today."

As the Stalinists' program of class collaboration prepares them to sink to ever-lower depths of betrayal, the lessons of the Spanish Civil War must be learned. The threat of fascist terror and military reaction is not a new one to the Iberian working class. As during the 1930's, it is above all the capitulation before the class enemy by the reformist and centrist misleaders that stands in the way of victory. Once again, it is the construction of a Bolshevik-Leninist, i.e., Trotskyist, revolutionary vanguard party that is the key to success. ■

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Victory Program...

(continued from page 1)

lifted. The excuse is voluntary restraint in order to prevent their reimposition! The main concern of the union bureaucracy in 1976 will be to moderate economic demands in order to help the Democrats get into office in November. This can be seen clearly in the UAW. Eager to back a winner this time around, the auto union tops have not yet settled on a candidate: Humphrey-partisan Woodcock was campaigning in Florida for "New South" conservative Carter as a spoiler to cut Wallace's strength; UAW leaders in the Northeast were switching from the burned-out Birch Bayh campaign over to the liberal front-runner, Morris Udall of Arizona, and UAW vice president Doug Fraser is reportedly plugging for veteran sabre-rattler Henry Jackson. All are agreed, however, on subservience to the election-year shell game.

"This is a responsible union," intoned Woodcock to the UAW production workers conference in January. "We are aware of our obligations."

AP

UAW vice president Fraser "discusses" with Chrysler workers after crushing wildcat strikes with bureaucratic goon squads in 1973.

At the skilled trades conference in March Fraser listed the dumping of Ford as a top UAW priority in 1976. Meanwhile, the same leaders have been downplaying key demands, such as the obvious need for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay for unemployment-beset auto workers. The UAW tops' version of this demand amounts to little more than a company absentee-control program: more days off for good attendance.

Despite his earlier "free trade" pretensions and his current position as head of the International Metal Workers Federation, Woodcock has not held back from advocating the most virulent economic protectionism to "save" U.S. jobs (and corporate profits) at the expense of foreign workers. Woodcock calls for quotas on imports, and expresses his "concern" for American jobs every time a U.S. company buys a part or two abroad. This ties in with the platform of more desperate sectors of the big bourgeoisie, represented by such protectionists as Jackson. If this wing achieves hegemony, the result will not be more "American jobs" but higher prices and a faster rush toward trade war and eventually a new world war for redivision of markets.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition in the UAW...

The program of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy is clear: instead of leading sit-down plant occupations to stop the massive layoffs of 1974-75; instead of mobilizing all of labor and the unemployed behind the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat inflation and unemployment; instead of defying wage controls and leading general strikes against city services cutbacks and layoffs, these do-nothing leaders temporize, accept whatever the capitalists can "afford," and tell the workers to vote for yet another Democrat!

The programs of the visible national opposition groups in the UAW are little better. Most of the emphasis is on some form or other of marginally shorter workweek. A committee of over 60 locals led by Frank Runnels, president of the Cadillac local in Detroit, promises a demonstration at the bargaining convention for "36 for 40" barely more than what Woodcock wants! The much smaller United National Caucus, a reformist grouping originating in the skilled trades and backed politically by the International Socialists, has all but disappeared into a "Coalition for a Good Contract" with Bob Weisman, another local leader with another gimmick. His hobby horse is "32 for 40" achieved through 17 extra days off with full pay each year over the next three years! So far the opposition seems just as interested as Woodcock in not upsetting the auto monopolists' apple cart.

Not to be outdone, the newly surfaced "Auto Workers United to Fight in 1976," a minuscule grouping with supporters in two locals and backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, has another ploy: avoid the flaws of various phony shorter workweek schemes by...avoiding the shorter workweek! Their slogan, "We need a living wage on a 40-hour week," holds out no answer at all for the well over 100,000 auto workers laid off in 1974-75 and not called back.

...And a Class-Struggle Program for All Workers!

What must be the working-class program in response to the sellout betrayals of the bureaucracy?

• *For united, industry-wide strike struggles!* The bureaucrats want to prevent strikes or keep them small in order to enable the employers to protect their profits. Instead of piecemeal "target company" actions, the UAW must shut down the entire auto industry in the U.S. and Canada. The strikes must be democratically led: for public negotiations, elected strike committees, no return to work until all locals settle and no ratification votes prior to inspection of written contract terms. For labor solidarity in all strikes! UAW support for Farm Workers means little without demanding Teamsters out of the fields, and calling for labor boycotts of struck products.

• *For a sliding scale of wages and hours!* The ravages of unemployment and inflation can only be met by this demand. The hardest-hit industrial unions, such as the UAW and Rubber Workers, should be in the forefront of this struggle, mobilizing other unions and the unemployed. Demands for a shorters workweek at no loss in pay and full escalator clauses in the contract

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Key 1976 Contract Battles Ahead

The main issues are broadly the same for over four million workers facing contract struggles in 1976. The "bargaining demands" raised by the union bureaucrats will at best be compromises, and usually bad ones for the workers. Faced with common problems and a worldwide capitalist depression, workers must respond by raising a far-reaching *transitional program* attacking the very bases of bourgeois society and leading to a planned economy under a workers government.

• *Trucking/warehouse*: The Teamsters master freight agreement covering 435,000 drivers nationwide expires at the end of March, followed by United Parcel Service and warehouse agreements covering more than 600,000 workers. Teamsters have lost real wages over the last contract because of the "cap" on their escalator clause, and unemployment runs as high as 15 percent in some locals. Only a Chicago drivers' strike and a prolonged wildcat brought wages up last time; the Fitzsimmons leadership continues its do-nothing, class-collaborationist policies, including raiding the Farm Workers.

• *Rubber*: Contracts with "Big Four" tire and rubber companies expire in mid-April, covering 67,750 workers in the United Rubber Workers. A sellout by the Bommarito leadership in 1973 at Goodyear ("target" company) led to a rebellion and strike at Goodrich when the same terms were imposed. The membership has faced unemployment on the same scale as auto workers since then, and lost nearly $1 an hour in real wages due to inflation.

• *Electrical workers*: Contracts covering 140,000 General Electric workers in several unions expire in June, and agreements for 65,000 Westinghouse workers are up a month later. Workers in the electrical industries have also suffered losses in real wages since 1973 due to "capped" escalator clauses, and have been the victims of severe production cutbacks and layoffs.

• *Auto*: Contracts covering 710,000 workers of the auto manufacturers (including American Motors, which for the first time in recent years has a common expiration date with the "Big Three") expire on September 14. Agreements for 100,000 agricultural and construction equipment workers fall due at the end of September and in October and November. Massive layoffs in auto have led directly to a permanent workforce reduction. This goes hand-in-hand with heavy overtime and speed-up for those working, despite Woodcock's phony "voluntary overtime" agreement in 1973.

Victory Program...

(continued from page 9)

must be part of a program for the seizure of state power by the working class, the precondition for putting an end to unemployment and inflation.

• *Unite the employed and unemployed!* No overtime during layoffs, no forced overtime! For full SUB pay, guaranteed by corporate assets and the government! For full recall and union rights for the duration of layoffs! The UAW must demand massive public works at union conditions and wages.

• *Fight speed-up! End no-strike clauses!* In auto, local right to strike without International approval, including the right of departments to stop work over grievances, is crucial. Demands for fixing line speed and job description in the contract, and for working line stewards with full union support, are vital as well, as is abolishing the probation period (which allows management to drive newly hired workers harder than union members, thus destroying job standards for all). None of these demands can be won without a fighting, class-struggle leadership ready to back up local demands with the full power of the national union and rejecting class collaborationism at all levels.

• *Fight cutbacks—For free essential services!* Stopping the rampaging erosion of essential services and demanding free health care, mass transportation, etc., are essential for all unions in stopping layoffs and uniting white with black and other minority workers and poor. For city-wide strikes against cutbacks and public employee layoffs!

• *Fight racism and national chauvinism!* The UAW must mobilize its forces to demand implementation of busing and its extension to the suburbs; and must take the lead in forming labor black defense guards to stop racist attacks. Smash Woodcock's protectionism—For international organizing and international labor solidarity! Boycott struck products and oppose imperialist adventures, such as the recent U.S. South African power play in Angola, with labor action!

• *For workers control of industry!* The employers claim they are facing bankruptcy unless they are allowed to squeeze every last drop of blood from the workers. Instead open their books for inspection by workers committees! Examine every aspect of the corporations' operations, and in the course of scrutinizing the monopolies the workers movement must prepare to run industry itself after kicking out the capitalist owners.

• *Expropriate industry and finance without compensation!* Shut-down plants must be put to use employing idle workers and producing for the needs of society, not bigger profits. Through state planning under a workers government the collectively owned economy can be rationally planned.

• *Oust the bureaucrats. For a workers party to fight for a workers government.* The present union leaderships are committed to capitalism and irrevocably opposed to a class-struggle program. The fight for this program, for an end to class-collaborationist politics, for a workers party based on the trade unions and for a workers government are inextricably linked. Caucuses based on this program rather than on gimmicks and temporary alliances at contract or election time are required throughout the labor movement to build a new, class-struggle leadership. ■

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The Phony Détente Debate

President Ford has expurgated the word "détente" from his vocabulary, recently announcing on television that he preferred the expression, "peace through strength." Henry Kissinger, after a major foreign policy address in Boston on March 11, was asked what word he would substitute for the now censored détente. The secretary of state replied "I've been dancing around myself to find one.... Easing of tensions, relaxation of tensions. We may well wind up with the old word again."

The leaders of the Soviet Union have reacted with apparent calm to the new turn. TASS published a commentary from the Soviet magazine *New Times* which explains the Ford/Kissinger statements as part of traditional U.S. "pre-election fever." The Russian commentary went on to say that "rejecting the word is not the same as rejecting the political course....as they say you can't drop a word from a song" (*New York Times*, 11 March).

The "détente debate" song-and-dance routine *is* basically an election year tune played by an administration under attack from bourgeois politicos who sense a rising tide of anti-Soviet sentiment. After the U.S. defeat in Indochina and the Soviet/Cuban victory against CIA and South Africa-led forces in Angola, Republican presidential contender Ronald Reagan wants to "stand up and eyeball the Russians." In the Democratic Party a host of "cold war" liberals promise to do some "eyeballing" of their own.

Should Reagan and Jackson lose a few more primaries, Kissinger may be right about the resuscitation of détente. For the meantime, however, the chief strategist of U.S. imperialism is trying to sound as tough as he can against the Russians, accusing them of adopting a new hard line. Lashing out at Congressional liberals for voting down Angolan aid ("It is the first time that the United States has failed to respond to Soviet military moves outside the immediate Soviet orbit. And it is the first time that Congress has halted national action in the middle of a crisis."), he warns Brezhnev and Castro to be circumspect in Africa.

Kissinger is backed up in his accusation of an "agressive posture" on the part of the Russian leaders by professional Kremlin-watcher Victor Zorza, who perceives a debate among Soviet "doves" and "activists." Angola, he concludes, was a victory of the "activists," and forecasts their next move as pushing for "a more aggressive policy for Western Communist parties in Europe" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 1 February). To be sure, Zorza admits that the evidence for such a debate consists of "hints so vague that many outside observers refused to believe its existence."

In fact, the indications from Moscow are of the same old sellout to imperialism. Angola was an easy opportunity, given post-Victnam revulsion in the American population to another U.S. military intervention and the balking of Congress. By any standards it involves far less risk than the Soviet intervention in the Near East, for instance. As for a "more aggressive" policy for West European CP's, nowhere have Russian leaders opposed popular fronts such as the French Union of the Left or the Italian CP's plans for a "Historic Compromise."

Lately, Kissinger and his ambassadors have been bending the ears of European social democrats, warning them that on no account should the Communist parties be allowed to "share power." While at least the Italian CP does not seem very eager to "share power," the Russians are even less interested in such a prospect. Thus, for example, less than two weeks before the crucial second round of the 1974 presidential elections in France, the Russian ambassador paid a formal visit to conservative candidate Giscard d'Estaing, in a move that was universally interpreted as a slap at the Union of the Left and preference for a Gaullist government. Certainly, the Kremlin's silence on the new "Kissinger doctrine" is deafening, as is its failure to criticize in any way the Italian CP's willingness to keep Italy in NATO.

While there has been no left turn in the Kremlin, the ability of U.S. imperialism to strike at will *has* been weakened. Already in 1971, the Spartacist League noted "the definitive collapse of the 'American century'" and the "forced abdication by the U.S. of the role of world policeman and the reversion of American imperialism to merely the strongest of several competing units" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part III). This is the significance of Angola.

In actuality, the greatest allies of Kissinger are the bureaucrats of the Kremlin and the reformist leaders of the Western CP's who assiduously push illusions of peaceful coexistence, both on the national plane (popular fronts, "peaceful road to socialism," etc.) and internationally in talk of "détente." The imperialists are unremittingly hostile to the working class and to the degenerated workers state of the USSR, and are still prepared to throw the world into a nuclear holocaust to preserve their class rule. Not "peaceful coexistence" of Brezhnev and Ford, but proletarian revolution is the revolutionary program of the international working class. ■

Mandel...

(continued from page 3)

about "the diametrically linked aspects of Lenin's struggle at that time—*against* all those who were for political and ideological conciliation and *for* a faction struggle, while simultaneously against all those who were for splitting the Party and *for* unity of the Party" (*Red Weekly*, 26 February 1976). The clear purpose here is to falsify Lenin's entire struggle against the Mensheviks and his battle to split the Second International, regrouping the authentic revolutionary forces on the basis of a clear programme and in opposition to the pro-imperialists who had solidarised with their own bourgeoisies.

The international Spartacist tendency is united by its struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International through the construction of a politically cohesive, democratic-centralist international tendency whose rich democratic internal life is directed toward the development and disciplined implementation of the authentic Trotskyist programme of international proletarian revolution. ■

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Farm Board...

(continued from page 12)

concerned that authorization of funds for the ALRB was contingent on the incorporation of eight amendments into the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. Aiming first of all at the key "access rule" which has infuriated them for months, they seek to force UFW organizers to provide legal proof in each instance that they have "no reasonable alternative means of communicating."

Other "modest proposals" would allow growers, like the unions, to petition for elections, thus manipulating their result through timing; separate elections for permanent and non-permanent employees, thus "balkanizing" the workforce into separate bargaining units; extension of the maximum time for elections following petition to 21 days instead of seven, thereby excluding many transient workers, who leave following a harvest, from voting; giving courts greater rights to prohibit "mass picketing and violence"; prohibition of the union's right to deny union membership to any worker who offers to pay dues; and an end to employer liability for back wages for failing to bargain in good faith.

Thus the law that was to be the salvation of the UFW and the precedent for the orientation of future struggles would ignominiously bite the dust. As it now stands enforcement of the ALRA is limited to "slapping the wrist" of violators, as even Allen Grant, head of the growers' California Farm Bureau Federation, admits. Should the growers' withholding-ALRB-funds blackmail fail to secure the amendments, the growers have even bigger weapons in their arsenal, according to Republican assemblyman Ken Maddy. He indicated last month that his backers were willing to hold up not only the $3.8 million ALRB appropriation, but also Governor Brown's entire $12.6 billion state budget, unless he agrees to their changes.

Chavez' Strategy for an Eagle Without Claws

In the face of this attack Cesar Chavez has many strong words. Squawking that the ungentlemanly growers "went completely back on their word," he threatens a surprise of his own: a bigger and better boycott! Targetting Sun-Maid and Sunsweet, whom Chavez credits with much responsibility for the blocking of the $3.8 million, the UFW leader promises to extend the boycott to Europe and the Common Market by appeals to European social-democratic governments. "We'll beat them with the boycott and pin them to the wall. Then they'll come back to Sacramento crying for the money," Chavez warns (*Los Angeles Times*, 12 February).

Furthermore, unlike those farm workers who "no longer feel that they can obtain justice through the electoral process," who the UFW leader suggests are increasing in number in a *Los Angeles Times* (17 November) commentary on the pro-grower bias of the ALRB, Chavez has not abandoned his faith in the bourgeois political process. Not only will the UFW campaign against lawmakers who oppose the ALRB appropriation in the June and November elections, but an initiative proposal similar to the ALRA will be put on the fall ballot, once the 312,000 petition signatures are obtained. This will keep the legislature from "messing around" with the board without going back to the voters, according to Chavez.

This pitiful misdirection of UFW energies amounts to criminal masochism. That the boycott tactic is a dead end, except as part of a broad, united and effectively militant mobilization of the labor movement, has been demonstrated time and time again. The Chavez leadership's intransigent pacifist defeatism forcing farm workers to grovel and plead for the practically worthless sympathies of liberal capitalist politicians and Catholic bishops cynically manipulates the lives and livelihoods of courageous and dedicated farm workers, who want to win *victory*! The farm workers need a leadership that will challenge and defeat the growers, the Teamster strikebreakers and the government with the organized power of the working class.

U.S. border police dragnets looking for "illegal aliens." Robert Ziegler

Farm worker strikes, backed up by mass defense of the picket lines; appeals to longshoremen, the Teamster rank and file and other workers to hot-cargo scab goods; mobilization of California labor for a strike action in support of the UFW; and organization of farm workers on both sides of the border are the tactics necessary to drive the Teamsters out of the fields and build a militant UFW. Such a program can not be carried out by the sellout bureaucracy headed by Chavez. What is needed is a class-struggle leadership which can break from the Democratic and Republican parties and fight for a labor party based on the trade unions and for a workers government. ■

Sharpeville...

(continued from page 7)

the PAC had tried to co-ordinate its campaigns inside South Africa. PAC offices in Dar es Salaam and support from the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity are maintained by servile loyalty to Julius Nyerere. PAC leader P.K. Leballo, for example, was the main witness in the 1970 treason trial of seven government opponents associated with former Tanzanian leader Oscar Kambona, whom Leballo denounced as "anti-China" (Gibson, *op. cit.*).

Anti-Apartheid Movement

Passbook burning demonstration during the 1950's.

Sixteen years after the Sharpeville massacre, the ANC and PAC are isolated, largely exiled groups whose attempts to embark on the guerrilla road never posed a serious threat to white-supremacist rule. The solid wall of repression since 1960 was only breached by the mass strike wave of black and Indian workers that rolled across the country from 1973 to 1975, eclipsing the pacifist protests of the 1950's and the (largely verbal) guerrillaism of the 1960's. This strike movement, surging past traditional barriers between blacks, Indians and "Coloureds," deeply worried the Vorster regime and held out the promise of a powerful proletarian uprising against apartheid.

Even the political trials and police raids of the past 16 months – primarily directed at students and intellectuals – reveal the government's overriding fear of the latent power of the non-white proletariat. While generally attempting to pacify restive black workers (at Carletonville resorting to a Sharpeville-style slaughter of 11 foreign mine workers), the government hopes to crush the new generation of anti-apartheid activists in the universities and to prevent its forging ties with the elemental working-class upsurge. But to achieve victory over the white-supremacist exploiters in South Africa requires the leadership of a revolutionary proletarian vanguard party armed with the program of permanent revolution.

Even in the midst of the recent strike wave, the hardened reformists of the Communist Party manifest their desire to sidetrack the workers movement onto the path of impotent pressure politics. Stalinist "Third World" expert William Pomeroy greeted with equal enthusiasm the miners' strikes and new stirrings of life in the moribund liberal parliamentary opposition:

> "The Progressive Party and the United Party liberals tend to put forward the idea of a multi-racial 'power sharing' between the country's four million whites and 19 million Blacks, with, however, the whites still having the upper hand
>
> "Such a trend is a long way from any real change, and a long way from winning over the majority of whites themselves, but as in the Portuguese colonies, trends can become radical shifts when the people can no longer be held down."
>
> *Daily World*, 26 June 1974

While the appearance of rifts among the exploiters can have a powerful impetus in accelerating the class struggle, what the reformist CP has in mind is quite different: to once more tie the workers to their oppressors by supporting the "progressive" capitalists (Progressive Reform Party leader Oppenheimer, for example, is the biggest mining magnate in the country). The sharpest political struggle against the Stalinist gravediggers of the revolution is necessary. A Trotskyist party, rooted in the black proletariat, must be built to lead the oppressed and exploited working masses of southern Africa to power. ■

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From left, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Harry Oppenheimer and Nelson Mandela.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Spain: The Fascist Right

Since the death of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco in November, there has not only been a sharp rise of labor unrest and democratic protests but also a stiffening intransigence from entrenched Francoists and an escalation of fascist intimidation. The two-pronged offensive of ultra-rightists fearful for their continued existence was shown most recently in the kidnapping of a leading Madrid journalist and a hard-line speech by the top representative of the armed forces late last month.

The abduction was of José Antonio Martinez Soler, editor of the economic journal *Doblón*. While generally representing the views of Spanish capitalists anxious to get into the Common Market, the 28 February issue of *Doblón* published several articles sympathetic to the more than 80,000 workers then under military discipline due to their illegal strikes. Shortly after the issue appeared five masked men carrying machine guns seized Martinez Soler, taking him to a deserted spot in the sierra of Guadarrama. There he was brutally beaten, forced to sign a statement repudiating the magazine's editorial policies and threatened with death if he and his family failed to leave the country within three days (*Tele Expres*, 5 March). This reappearance of the *paseo* ("going for a walk") recalls the bloody methods of the fascist Falange during the Spanish Civil War, and more recently the death squads of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA).

A few days earlier, Spanish defense minister Fernando Santiago y Diaz de Mendivil gave a speech before top military leaders and Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro echoing ultra-rightist allegations of "creeping communism." General Santiago threatened that the army was prepared to intervene in defense of Spanish values, singling out in particular the Catholic religion, the educational insti-

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Der Spiegel

Spanish Falangists demonstrate in Madrid last September.

UFW Calls New Boycott as...

Growers Scuttle Farm Labor Board

LOS ANGELES—The California Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), product of a widely hailed compromise between growers, Teamsters and the United Farm Workers union (UFW), closed its doors in bankruptcy February 6, having survived only five months in operation. When the $2.5 million so far appropriated for the administration of representation elections ran out, a coalition of Republican and rural Democratic state legislators successfully blocked $3.8 million in emergency funds.

From its inception the ALRB has been drowning in thousands of grower-provoked "unfair labor practices" grievances and legal disputes around interpretation and application of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), which was to do away with the "law of the jungle" in the decades-long farm labor war. ALRA has simply brought, as *Los Angeles Times* labor writer Harry Bernstein aptly put it, "a jungle of laws that will make small fortunes for lawyers."

Since ALRA went into effect last August 29 the struggle has not de-escalated, though Chavez boasts that only 13 workers have gone on strike. Contrary to the claims of UFW leaders, standing on the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state has never been a winning proposition. Each level of government took a swipe at the UFW after the ALRB began its work, from local cops and courts – which blatantly aided the growers and Teamsters in assaulting and arresting UFW organizers to the state legislature, to the federal judiciary.

Last month a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that permitted states the right to their own immigration laws breathed new life back into California's Arnett Act, denounced by Manuel Fierro of the National Congress of Hispanic American Citizens as "one of the most racist and disciminatory laws I've ever heard of .... much, much worse" than the Rodino Bill (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 February). The Arnett Act makes it a crime to hire "illegal aliens" for jobs that could be filled by U.S. citizens.

The Chavez leadership opposes the Supreme Court decision and the actions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) only with the greatest hypocrisy. Though Chavez complained when INS officials checked the legal status of workers who signed UFW election petitions and hovered around the polling places to deport undocumented UFW supporters, he supported both the Rodino Bill and the Arnett Act when it was passed in 1971. Only recently, under pressure from the UFW ranks and Chicano organizations, has the UFW stopped its active aid to "la migra" in its attempts to deport undocumented workers.

Teamster/Grower Alliance: Alive and Well in California

The Teamster/grower alliance killed the ALRB with a snap of its fingers, because the UFW was winning too many elections. Despite its terror campaign against the UFW (which had been stripped by Teamster contract thefts down to 7,000 workers last year), the Farm Workers have won about 60 percent of the more than 400 elections held under ALRB authority. (According to the *Los Angeles Times*, out of 410 elections held by February 7 the UFW had won 195 to the Teamsters' 120. Other unions had won 19 elections, 25 had favored "no union" and 51 elections were still in question.)

AP

Cesar Chavez, right, picketing ALRB offices in Sacramento last September 6 in protest against pro-grower decisions of the board's legal counsel.

This was more than the growers expected. They were counting on those Teamster sweetheart contracts. They charged that the ALRB had wasted its funds and was biased in composition in favor of the UFW. Their legislative representatives served notice to all

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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AP

Arab youths protesting Israeli occupation of the West Bank burned crates in the streets of Jerusalem.

AP

"Lebanese Arab Army" tank in position near Beirut.

Blow-up in the Near East

West Bank Rebellion Against Zionist Terror— Renewed Communal Strife in Lebanon

MARCH 21—Ten days ago Brigadier General Abdel Aziz al-Ahdab, the commander of the Beirut military garrison, walked into a television station in the Lebanese capital and at pistol-point forced the staff to broadcast his "Communiqué No. 1." General Ahdab called on the president, Suleiman Franjieh, and the prime minister, Rashid Karami, to resign and declared himself temporary military governor of Lebanon.

The "television coup" was the result of mounting discontent with the results of the January 22 Syrian-imposed "ceasefire," which was supposed to have put an end to ten months of sectarian civil war that caused 15,000-20,000 deaths. However, the "ceasefire" did nothing to ameliorate the underlying causes of the civil war: the fragile and reactionary "confessional system" which allocates government jobs and military posts according to religious affiliation. Under this system the Muslim groups are to one degree or another discriminated against while the Maronite Christian sect is relatively privileged.

Prior to the January truce, the president (who could appoint all ministers, including the prime minister, and dissolve the parliament) was always a Maronite; the prime minister was always a Sunni Muslim, and so forth. Under the terms of the "all-embracing political settlement" there is a token shift of power toward the Muslim elite within the framework of the same confessional system. While the presidency still must go to a Maronite, parliament can now elect its own prime minister. However, the parliament is not based on universal suffrage but on a system of communal representation, the prime minister still must be a Sunni Muslim and he continues to appoint his own ministers.

Likewise, the "ceasefire" did nothing to resolve the plight of the 300,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Stateless, without political rights, concentrated in wretched refugee camps and subjected to regular attacks by the right-wing Maronite militias and the Maronite-controlled Lebanese army, the Palestinians are considered by the wealthy Christian elite as a threat to their privileges. The refugees have their own armed forces, the Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA), which, however, is forced to devote most of its resources to defending itself and the camps from the Lebanese army and fascistic Maronite groups. Consequently, it spends almost none of its time fighting to "liberate Palestine."

"Leftist" Syria Backs Ultra-Rightists in Lebanon

President Franjieh has refused to implement even the token Syrian-backed reforms unless the Cairo Agreement of 1969 is implemented. This pact, engineered by Nasser, grew out of the Lebanese army's repeated clashes with the PLA and the pro-Syrian Ba'athist Palestinian commando group, al-Saiqa. The refugee camps were granted "self-government" as long as their commandos gave up their heavy arms and agreed to cooperate with the Lebanese army. Although there has been military cooperation between the Palestinian commandos and the Lebanese army even during the recent sectarian civil war (e.g., the PLA guarded the U.S. embassy!), neither the Lebanese army nor the Maronite fascistic groups have been strong enough to disarm the Palestinian forces. And the latter, in turn, have not been so foolhardy as to surrender their heavy weapons.

AP

Lebanese General Abdel Aziz al-Ahdab announces "coup" last week as official army disintegrated.

No doubt, initially the intervention of the verbally bellicose Syrian Ba'athists, who loudly hail the "Arab Revolution" as an all-powerful icon capable of exorcising class and national conflicts, was viewed with considerable trepidation by the Maronites, who although they speak Arabic often feel more akin to their French patrons than to their surrounding Arab neighbors. However, despite the Ba'athist rhetoric, Syrian intervention has become the last line of

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SIXTEEN YEARS OF STALINIST RULE

IN CUBA

A Bureaucratic, Anti-Working-Class Regime

Guerrillas in Power

PAGE 6

Editorial Notes

Healy "Assimilates" Angola

For almost a decade Gerry Healy's so-called "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC) has combined ritual denunciations of Pabloist revisionism with opportunist tailing after various non-proletarian forces, from Nasser's "Arab Revolution" to Mao's Red Guards. The latest recipient of the Healyites' cynical hosannas has been the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The MPLA, we are told, is "a mass movement of the Angolan working class and peasantry which is inseparably linked to the new stage of revolutionary struggles that has opened up in every country." Its victory, gushed the newspaper of the IC's American supporters, would "take forward the world socialist revolution" (*Bulletin*, 28 November 1975).

For those of his followers who might have been confused by the IC's alternately "critical" and "unconditional" (but always rhapsodic) support of the MPLA, Gerry Healy recently put his distorted parody of dialectics to work cooking up a bizarre explanation ("SWP: Apologist and Defender of Imperialism," *Bulletin*, 5 March). The IC uses as a foil the Socialist Workers Party's neutrality in the civil war between the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA and the CIA/South Africa/Portuguese colonialist/FNLA/UNITA bloc, in order to put forward an anti-Leninist position of political (as opposed to military) support for the petty-bourgeois nationalist People's Movement.

This incredibly muddled IC "Statement" strings together lengthy quotations from a hodgepodge of sources to advance two self-contradictory arguments for politically backing the MPLA: that bourgeois nation-building is historically progressive and (at least implicitly) that an MPLA regime in Angola will result in the creation of a deformed workers state.

While making some ritual genuflections in the direction of "independence of the working class," the polemic's main thrust is to build political confidence in the MPLA which, we are told, is the "only authentic bourgeois nationalist movement in Angola," has "called for a fight to the finish" against the U.S. and South Africa, struggles against tribalism and "reactionary separatism" and is backed by "the majority of the independent African nations." Moreover, its struggle "is an historically progressive struggle involving the Angolan nation and not just the bourgeoisie against U.S. imperialism."

To build this case, the IC must deny that the other groups had ever fought the Portuguese and must ignore the MPLA's record of collaboration with the Portuguese military, its narrow and partially tribally circumscribed base of support among the Angolan peoples and its demonstrated willingness to smash the nascent organizations of the working class.

The MPLA is described as if it were an emergent bourgeois class building a nation in the epoch of capitalist expansion. In fact, the national boundaries the MPLA-led People's Republic of Angola (and the IC) defends are but the arbitrary divisions imposed on the African continent by plundering imperialist powers. The Healyites—who demonstrated their abject insensitivity to national oppression when they "critically supported" the Nigerian government's genocidal slaughter of the Ibo (Biafran) people in 1967—now pass over in silence the division of the Bakongo people between northern Angola and Zaïre in order to present the MPLA as about to resolve the national question.

The IC's enthusiasm for bourgeois nation-building is a back-handed acceptance of the Menshevist Stalinist "theory of stages": "first" the bourgeoisie kicks out imperialism and establishes capitalist democracy, "later" the proletariat conquers state power and institutes socialism. In one article, the American Healyites explicitly lay out the stagist conception behind their effusive outpourings for the People's Movement: "We support unconditionally the MPLA's fight for national liberation and independence and recognize that it is only through this necessary struggle that the conditions can be created for a new stage of class struggle in all the African countries" (*Bulletin*, 30 January).

One of Trotsky's crucial extensions of Leninism was the theory of permanent revolution, which explained that in the epoch of imperialist decay the unresolved bourgeois-democratic tasks of the underdeveloped countries could not be undertaken by a weak capitalist class, which is inevitably subservient to imperialism. Trotsky insisted that only the proletariat, in the process of consolidating the victorious socialist revolution, could seriously address the unsolved bourgeois-democratic tasks (including the elimination of national oppression) in the context of proletarian property relations. Thus the Healyites, in jumping on the MPLA bandwagon, once again leave their pretended Trotskyism behind.

The IC "Statement" simultaneously dishes out another unsavory mess from Healy's greasy spoon: the proposition that an MPLA victory equals the destruction of capitalism and the constitution of a deformed workers state. This argument is advanced through some inapplicable historical analogies and a string of quotations whose purpose in this article would otherwise be perfectly inexplicable.

The IC "completely opposes the SWP's opportunism and follows Trotsky's position of defending any extension of the nationalized property relations of the Soviet Union to other territories, while condemning, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the suppression of dissident opinion in the CP and the working class." These admirable sentiments are followed by no less than *twenty paragraphs* from Trotsky's lucid polemic, *In Defense of Marxism*, explaining that the Russian bureaucracy would be compelled to destroy capitalist property relations in eastern Poland before incorporating the territory into the USSR.

What is the application of Trotsky's analysis of Poland at the time of the Second World War to the situation in Angola today? Like Henry Kissinger, Healy seems to believe that Soviet weaponry equals the uprooting of capitalist property relations. This same "method" was the main theoretical vehicle whereby a revisionist current in the Fourth International, led by one Michel Pablo, in the 1950's turned the majority of the Trotskyist world movement toward centrist accommodation to Stalinism and other petty-bourgeois forces. Pablo propounded a "new world reality" in which the power bloc led by the USSR would against its will become the ally of all progressive movements, which would thereby find themselves swept along by the onrushing "world revolution" and compelled to establish deformed workers states.

The only possible conclusion from the IC's rhetoric about "defending any extension of the nationalized property relations of the Soviet Union to other territories" is that Healy & Co. believe that what is taking place is the transformation of Angola into a deformed workers state (presumably by a process of "structural assimilation"). One hilarious little wrinkle is that the Healyites presumably still hold to their idiot position that Cuba—whose troops in Angola are presumably doing the "extending of nationalized property relations"—is a capitalist state.

The implication that Angola is becoming a deformed workers state is a characteristic Healyite gyration. Even before its headlong degeneration into outright political handitry, the Healy tendency showed itself unable to oppose the Pabloists' political accommodation to Stalinism by anything other than an alternation between know-nothing anti-Pabloism (Cuba) and archtypically Pabloist softness toward militant Stalinist guerrillaism (Vietnam).

The current Angola polemic, whose main purpose seems to be to provide copy to fill the dreary pages of the *Bulletin*, also somehow manages to incorporate the IC's latest hobby horse—a slanderous campaign against the SWP's Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices of the GPU" in the 1940 Trotsky assassination:

> "The SWP's veiled support for the CIA-financed organizations and their overt hostility to the MPLA is inseparably tied up with the gross betrayal of Trotskyism which is expressed in the refusal of SWP leaders Novack and Hansen to answer any of the charges made against them by the International Committee of the Fourth International on the question of security and the Fourth International. Their consistent refusal to do anything to rid the movement of the stigma of GPU intrigue and provocation today renders them just as vulnerable to the pressure of the CIA."

The IC makes unsupportable charges, echoing the Stalinists, that SWP leaders were implicated in the GPU's murder of Trotsky, and then brazenly bemoans "the stigma" which Healy himself is working wildly to create! In the delirium tremens of the disintegrating IC, the reformist leadership of the SWP has become a kind of collective Herbert Philbrick, "leading three lives": as ostensible socialists, GPU agents and now witting CIA pawns. The SWP's degeneration is "explained" by the absurd comparison to a double agent who, having allegedly been an "accomplice" for the KGB, thereby becomes "easy pickings" for the CIA.

Substituting cop-baiting for political struggle, the IC is an invaluable tool for the SWP leadership in seeking to reassure its ranks that consistent reformism provides a far more secure political niche than the wild-eyed incoherence of Healy's "anti-Pabloists." The international Spartacist tendency has uniquely put forward the policy of warning the working class against placing any political confidence in the strikebreaking MPLA, while giving military support to the latter against imperialist-led attack. As the last South African troops withdraw and the *bourgeois* People's Republic of Angola consolidates its position, the defense of the Angolan workers against their new capitalist rulers becomes more urgent than ever. Yet the IC continues to praise the "revolutionary" MPLA.

As the IC digs itself deeper into the grave of irrelevance, the growth and programmatic cohesiveness of the international Spartacist tendency uniquely demonstrate that principled struggle against Pabloist revisionism is the means for the reforging of the Fourth International.

AP

South African policeman holds a pistol to head of demonstrator outside Supreme Court building in Johannesburg where blacks are being tried for violation of Terrorism Act.

Africans Protest Racist Frame-Up Trials in Johannesburg

Last week angry demonstrations exploded outside the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg, South Africa, where seven black Africans are being tried under the police-state Terrorism Act. The London Times (20 March) reported that "The police, who were pelted with stones, bricks and bottles, had to draw batons and pistols before the crowd of 2,000 was forced to disperse." The protests started when cops outside the court building tried to arrest a man for distributing pamphlets to bystanders. The same day a "pamphlet bomb" exploded outside the office of the Rand Daily Mail scattering hundreds of leaflets from the banned African National Congress. These protests are a sharp blow against the vicious apartheid repression. Stop the witchhunt!

Capitalist Press Hails Labour "Statesman"

Wilson Resigns in Britain

Harold Wilson — Der Spiegel

The abrupt resignation of British prime minister Harold Wilson has left the bourgeoisie wringing its hands in dismay while the Labour Party (BLP) tops scramble to find a successor who can carry forward Wilson's policies of mediating the class struggle on behalf of the capitalists. In the midst of Britain's continuing severe economic crisis, marked by one of the highest inflation rates (15 percent) in Europe and a recent dramatic drop in the value of the pound (now worth less than $2), the bourgeoisie is understandably nervous about parting with a "statesman" who has continually enforced the BLP's abject prostration before capital in the course of 13 years as Labour Party chief.

Wilson's resignation statement on March 16 raised more questions than it answered. According to Wilson, he made the commitment to resign two years ago, remarking that "a change of leaders will do us good." He attributed his decision to the fact "that I began early and have borne responsibility of this office for so long...that 60 is the right age for me to promulgate a change" (*Financial Times*, 17 March). Speculation abounds about Wilson's "real" reason for bailing out; one trade-unionist MP (Member of Parliament) was quoted as saying, "He has to have a good explanation for doing this to us, and I have not heard it yet" (*Times* [London], 17 March).

Wilson denied his resignation had anything to do with the recent defeat in Commons of his proposed public expenditure cuts amounting to some $10 billion. The setback was produced by a revolt of the Labour Party's left wing, the so-called Tribunites, who generally follow the leadership of Tony Benn, Secretary of State for Energy.

In a vote of confidence following the defeat of the cutbacks proposal, all of Labour's MPs backed Wilson. But the in-fighting got quite vicious as Wilson and Denis Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer and candidate for Wilson's post, lashed out at the Lefts accusing them of trying to "blackmail" the government and being in an "unholy alliance" with the Tories.

The Lefts, in turn, denounced Wilson Healey as "political thugs" and accused them of breaking "party guidelines and the code of conduct which govern relations between party members." When the plan to cut back social services was first made public last month, the Left MPs attacked it strongly, calling it a "document of shame"; one was quoted as saying the plan "represented the Labour Party's final betrayal of social justice" (*New York Times*, 20 February).

Bourgeoisie Lauds Wilson

The eulogistic outpourings for Wilson in the bourgeois press and from the Tory opposition in Parliament contrasted sharply with the tone expressed at the March 12 meeting of Commons in which Tory leader Margaret Thatcher had called Wilson a "sorry figure" heading a "dying government." After Wilson's resignation, Thatcher had nothing but good wishes for the departing Labour chieftain, adding that the proper step would be to call new elections—something the entire BLP opposes. Not to be outmatched by its British counterparts, the *New York Times* (17 March) editorialized that Wilson's Cabinet "team" was far "superior" to the Conservative government it replaced two years ago. Whoever replaces him, the paper added, "is likely to discover that [Wilson's] were considerable achievements after all."

Why Wilson chose to resign now can only be surmised. The *Financial Times* of March 17 predicted that the BLP "has reached the end of the road as a Party and that Mr. Wilson has got out just in

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Demonstration Against Apartheid Repression

MARCH 20 – Approximately 65 demonstrators rallied outside South Africa Airways offices in New York City today in solidarity with nine members of the South African Students Organization (SASO) on trial for their lives in the courts of the racist Vorster regime. Charged under the draconian Terrorism Act, they are accused of fomenting rebellion against the state and encouraging opposition to white supremacy.

Participants in the demonstration included the Pan African Students Organization of the Americas (PASOA), Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the International Workers Party (IWP), the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and a contingent from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC), an oppositional group in the National Maritime Union.

Among the signs and banners present, PASOA called for "Fight Apartheid, Free the SASO 9," while YAWF, characteristically keeping its demands at the lowest common denominator, called for "Down with Rhodesia, Up with Zimbabwe"; its favorite chant was the liberal plea "Coca Cola IBM, Out of Africa." In contrast, Spartacist signs demanded "Free All Class-War Prisoners in South Africa," "Smash Apartheid. For Workers Revolution," "Smash White Supremacy in Rhodesia Through Workers Revolution" and "Free ZANU Militants in Zambia." The PDC called for "Free the SASO 9, SWAPO 6, NUSAS 4 and All Victims of Apartheid Repression." The M-SC called for hot-cargoing military goods to South Africa, a demand also supported by the SL/SYL.

The nine imprisoned SASO members have been held in jail ever since their arrest in September 1974 following pro-FRELIMO demonstrations. In February, their trial was postponed for a month to allow consideration of a defense application for dismissal of charges. After eight days of court argumentation, which began and ended with the defiant prisoners raising their clenched fists, defense lawyer David Soggott had moved that the students be freed for lack of any evidence of a conspiracy aimed at violent revolution or of anti-white propaganda. The judge's decision will be announced on March 23 at the Supreme Court in Pretoria.

New York City, March 20. — WV Photo

Meanwhile, the Johannesburg *Star* (13 March) reported that the nine-year jail sentence received by Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach last November was not reduced by the appellate court in Bloemfontein, even though a reduction was requested by both defense and prosecution. Breytenbach, arrested in August on a variety of trumped-up charges, broke down under duress from his jailers and recanted in court, pathetically apologizing to Vorster and praising his Special Branch (secret police) interrogators. But in spite of this and the prosecutor's desire to let him off with a light sentence, both the trial and appeals courts insisted on a harsh jail term.

This kind of almost pathological thirst for blood is not unusual in the racist South African judicial system. The March issue of *Africa* reports that even though former Communist Party leader Abraham Fischer died of cancer in May 1975 in the prison where he was serving a life term for "sabotage" since 1966, "his ashes were retained by the prison authorities" since Fischer was "still technically a prisoner"!

It is the urgent obligation of all labor, black and socialist organizations to protest the current wave of vicious frame-up trials in South Africa. The SASO Nine and all other victims of apartheid repression must be freed now! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Black Democrats No Answer—Build a Labor Party!

Metcalfe Elected Against Daley Machine in Chicago

MARCH 21—Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago for 21 years, celebrated more than the feast day of Ireland's patron saint on March 17. Dressed in green, shillelagh in hand, the bejowled big-city boss led off the local St. Patrick's Day parade in the company of a coterie of loyal hacks gloating over the results of the previous day's Democratic Party primary.

At Daley's side was a smiling Michael Howlett, Illinois Secretary of State and Democratic gubernatorial candidate. With the machine's support, Howlett had trounced incumbent governor Daniel Walker, prominently featured on Daley's hate list since he headed a commission that accurately labeled the brutal cop attacks on demonstrators outside the 1968 Democratic convention as a "police riot." This was the first time in almost three decades that an incumbent Democratic governor lost his party's primary.

Daley left the non-binding presidential primary "beauty contest" to peanut farmer Jimmy Carter, who polled 48 percent running against George Wallace, Sargent Shriver and Fred Harris. But, in the vote that counted, the corruption-ridden Chicago organization stayed on top. The race for convention delegate slots yielded 85 seats out of a state-wide total of 169 to a slate endorsed by Daley and committed to Senator Adlai Stevenson III. This "favorite son" stand-in puts the mayor in command of a significant voting bloc with which to wield his traditional role of convention "king-maker," a position temporarily lost when McGovern forces booted Daley's boys out of the 1972 convention. National front-runner Carter picked up 53 delegates and the nearest competitor won six seats.

Machine Candidate vs. Ex-Machine Candidate

Machine candidates made a clean sweep of all but two state and local primaries. The exceptions were the Congressional race in the first district and the fifth ward Democratic committeeman contest. The first district primary attracted national attention as a test of Daley's strength in the black wards which have traditionally delivered unflinching support to the racist local machine. The district encompasses 37.3 percent of Chicago's black population.

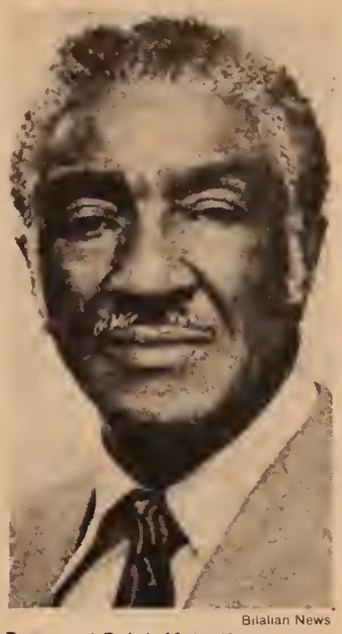
The black incumbent, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, a long-time Daley stooge recently broken from the regular Democratic organization, defeated Erwin France, the mayor's candidate. A former director of the Chicago Model Cities Program, France campaigned as a black administrator whose expertise can "make the system work." His attacks on Metcalfe centered on charges of white liberal influence in the incumbent's campaign committee.

Although political issues were secondary to race-baiting in the first district primary, it is clear that France lines up with the forces of reaction on the question of school integration. He is committed, along with Daley, to maintenance of the grossly racist status quo in a city where 94 percent of the schools are segregated. E. Duke McNeil, a black contender in last year's mayoral primary and a strong opponent of busing, endorsed France's candidacy.

Metcalfe's sordid political history betrays his posturing as a fighter for racial equality and black rights. Linked for 16 years to the Daley organization as alderman and Democratic committeeman from the South Side's third ward, he voiced nary a peep of opposition. Metcalfe was one of the "Silent Six" black aldermen who stood by as Daley's city council systematically defeated legislation against racial discrimination in housing and education.

In the 1960 presidential primary, Metcalfe was instrumental in delivering Chicago's black vote to John F. Kennedy, giving him the 120,000 vote edge he needed to carry Illinois, thus winning the presidency. In return for services rendered, the Daley machine sent Metcalfe to Congress in 1970 and has kept him there ever since.

In 1972, Metcalfe ventured outside the Boss's camp protesting the vicious beating of two black dentists. He also supported the ouster of Daley's delegation from the 1972 convention, backing the alternate slate put up by Jesse Jackson, head of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) and independent Democrat William Singer. Metcalfe's rift with the mayor was not decisive,



Bilalian News

Democrat Ralph Metcalfe

however, and in 1974 Daley once again endorsed him for Congress. The final split occurred in 1975 when Metcalfe backed Singer in the mayoral primary.

Metcalfe's victory in the March 16 primary marks the first time that a Daley turncoat has beaten the machine and indicates that the Boss's stranglehold on the black wards may be weakening. But Metcalfe as incumbent had an inherently strong position, bolstered by powerful bourgeois political allies. The Chicago dailies and the two black newspapers, the *Defender* and *Metro News*, all endorsed him. Although many local black politicians remained loyal to Daley and France, Metcalfe got the active backing of most members of the Congressional Black Caucus and key local black organizations like PUSH. He was even supported by the Third Ward Regular Democratic Organization.

"Black Muslims" Lean to Metcalfe

The Afro-American Patrolman's League (AAPL) recently joined with Rev. George Clements, pastor of Holy Angels Catholic Church, in announcing the formation of a Black Freedom Party (BFP), whose first goal was to secure Metcalfe's re-election. The AAPL has been at the center of much of Daley's

AP

Mayor Daley and Rev. Jesse Jackson

recent troubles in the black neighborhoods. On February 2 U.S. District Court judge Prentice Marshall ruled on the basis of an AAPL suit that the Chicago Police Department was guilty of job discrimination against women and racial minorities. As a result, $94 million in federal revenue-sharing funds has been withheld from the city, and Daley has declared war on the AAPL.

The Nation of Islam (popularly known as the "Black Muslims") did not formally endorse either candidate but tilted toward Metcalfe with an extremely favorable article on the formation of the BFP and its support for the congressman:

> "political observers here note that the March 16 Primary contest will determine whether or not the Bilalian [black] community has matured enough to pick its own officials. 'The issue is not Metcalfe versus the lackey: the issue is Daley versus the Black community,' the BFP points out."
>
> *Bilalian News*, 12 March

Since the death of their leader Elijah Muhammed in February 1975, the Black Muslims have undergone a number of striking changes—reclaiming Malcolm X (who broke from the sect in a bitter feud in 1964) as a Muslim martyr, opening their ranks to whites and breaking from their traditional policy of political abstention. On the assumption that their followers exercised their new dispensation to vote, the local press speculated that the Muslims may have influenced Metcalfe's re-election.

The endorsement of organized labor, usually in Daley's hip pocket, went to Metcalfe this time around. The Chicago Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Black Labor Leaders waged a successful struggle in the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) to support the incumbent. The Communist Party-backed *Labor Today* even went so far as to tout him as an independent candidate of labor.

Like the reformist Communist Party, some commentators in the bourgeois press interpret Metcalfe's victory in the first district as a sign of growing black political independence. In reality, "independent" Democrats and bourgeois splinter pressure groups like the BFP offer nothing to black people and the working class. Unemployment in Chicago, concentrated among blacks on the South Side, reached 10.2 percent in September, the highest rate since the Great Depression of the 1930's. Neither the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill, a phony New Deal-style full employment law supported by Metcalfe, nor the measly Model Cities Program, ballyhooed by France, can provide jobs for all. Unemployment will continue to plague working people as long as they are enslaved by the anarchy of the capitalist business cycle.

For all Metcalfe's noise about police brutality, his solution reduces to support for gun control (disarming black and working people) and for black fingers on the triggers of police pistols. The ghettoized black population of the first district already knows from experience that the race of a cop does not change his role as defender of capitalist property and bourgeois law and order. Black militants, who bitterly remember the treacherous role of black FBI agent William O'Neal in setting up the cop assassination of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, can testify to the true nature of these black hired guns of the ruling class.

Break With the Bosses' Parties—Build a Workers Party!

In November, Metcalfe will face Republican A.A. "Sammy" Rayner and Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the Congressional election. Against Metcalfe, Pulley's candidacy is virtually redundant in light of the SWP's tepid reformist program. Both Metcalfe and Pulley couched their mealy-mouthed appeals to end U.S. involvement in Angola in social-patriotic terms. Both candidates rely on racist cops and/or the imperialist army to implement busing and defend blacks against racist attacks. While both pillory the Daley machine, they do so with a rancid "more butter, less guns" rhetoric. Like Metcalfe, the SWP peddles the illusion that more black cops (under phony "community control") will put an end to police brutality.

The reformist SWP, like Metcalfe and other black bourgeois politicos, is romancing the Nation of Islam now that the religious cult is attempting to translate its organizational strength into a traditional ethnic bloc vote, "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" by swinging back and forth between the two bosses' parties or between different wings within one party. As long ago as 1963, the SWP signaled its abandonment of a revolutionary approach to the question of black liberation by enthusing over a new nationalist "vanguard" that would lead the black struggle and some day link up with a (presumably all-

white!) workers party. The revisionist authors of the SWP's convention document "Freedom Now" were particularly eager to embrace the Nation of Islam:

> "Our attitude toward separatists, including the Muslims, is a friendly one. We recognize that the mere existence of the Muslims has had healthy effects, pushing rival Negro tendencies to the left and thereby imparting an impetus to even purely integrationist battles. We note with interest that, far from being a hardened sect, the Muslims have shown capacity during the last year to change in a direction that better serves the interests of all Negroes."

The Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, an oppositional minority which was soon thereafter expelled and subsequently became the Spartacist League, counterposed a document, "For Black Trotskyism," to the majority's position. It argued for an energetic intervention into the civil rights movement in order to win black militants to the Trotskyist program. While not discounting the possibility of winning some Muslim supporters to the revolutionary road, the Revolutionary Tendency's document made this general assessment of the organization:

> "The Black Muslims are, with many contradictions, primarily a religious organization. The Muslim movement has a petty-bourgeois program: black business, black economy; separation on this basis, for this goal, is the answer to the oppression. Their internal organization is bureaucratically structured, with heavy financial drainage on the rank-and-file membership to the enrichment of 'The Messenger'."

Thirteen years later, with their sights set firmly on protecting their multi-million-dollar "black capitalist" empire, the "Nation" is taking a turn to respectable pressure group politics. Predictably the SWP responds with salivating opportunism:

> "Taken together, the changes so far seem significant. They show an awareness by the Nation's leaders that the Black community has serious needs not being met, and a desire to adapt their organization to play a bigger role. . . .
> "But will they also have the courage to abandon his main strategy? That strategy is to abstain from the struggles of the Black community, to stand on the sidelines and restrict the nation to propaganda. . . . "And most importantly, will they organize independent political action, or help create a new nonsectarian movement dedicated to such an objective."
>
> —*Militant*, 27 February

"Independent political action" in the mouths of the SWP social democrats represents nothing more than formal organizational separation from the two bourgeois parties. The programmatic political content of such "independence" is an irrelevant concern to Brother Pulley and his cohorts. Their election campaigns fall squarely within the reformist tradition of the "protest vote" and "third party" pressure politics. They hope to siphon votes away from Metcalfe not by presenting a revolutionary working-class perspective, but merely by showing that they are slightly more independent of hated racist Boss Daley than is the incumbent candidate. Real political independence from bourgeois politics requires a struggle to mobilize the labor movement around a program for the destruction of capitalism, for a workers party to seize state power and impose working-class rule to liberate all the oppressed. ■

Free All Class-War Prisoners in Chile!

150 Picket Pro-Junta Singers

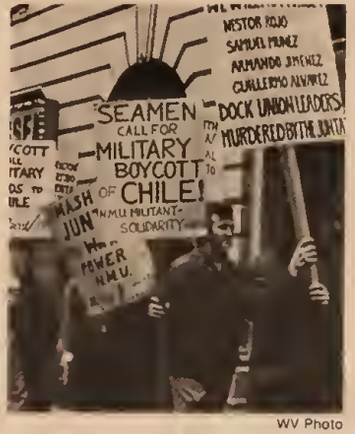
MARCH 21—About 150 angry demonstrators, held back by two lines of cops, chanted "Pinochet Asesino!" at supporters of the Chilean junta who came to attend a concert at Town Hall in New York today. Fearful of passing through the crowd of shouting, fist-waving demonstrators jammed behind police barricades on either side of the entrance way, several people turned away and did not attend the concert of Los Huasos Quincheros, a pro-junta Chilean folk-singing group.

Los Huasos Quincheros is notorious for its ultra-rightist connections. After the September 1973 military coup, which led to the assassination of thousands of leftists and unionists, this group appeared on Chilean national radio and television, pledging support to the blood-drenched junta. Since that time they have performed at many junta-sponsored events both inside and outside Chile. Attempting to portray Los Huasos as the representative of "authentic" Chilean folk music, junta supporters scheduled today's event only four days after a Lincoln Center concert held by Inti-Illimani, a group of Chilean leftist singers who supported the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende.

That the concert was itself a political demonstration was shown by the *momios* ("mummies," Chilean term for reactionaries) who jeered, catcalled and made obscene gestures to the crowd as police escorted them into the hall. Although the demonstration was small (the audience inside was far smaller) it was one of the more militant held in New York in several months. Called by the Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC) the demonstration brought out contingents from the Spartacist League (SL) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, seamen from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) of the National Maritime Union, defense groups led by the Communist Party (CP) and several supporters of the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee (RMOC).

The SL contingent was sizeable, and with its spirited chanting and numerous signs contributed much to the militancy of the demonstration. SL signs called for "Free All Prisoners of the Chilean Junta," "Free Corvalán," "Down with the Junta," "No Political Support to Popular Fronts" and "For a Trotskyist Party in Chile." The militant seamen of the M-SC carried signs demanding "Boycott All Military Goods to Chile," and "We Will Not Forget Nestor Rojo, Samuel Nuñez, Armando Jiménez, Guillermo Alvarez—Dock Union Leaders Murdered by the Junta!"

WV Photo



WV Photo

Seamen of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU at March 21 demonstration.

This militant presence was evidently a nervewracking experience for the Communist Party which, as usual on such occasions, was hiding behind the Chile Solidarity Committee. Early in the day as the picket line was forming, much of the crowd began to join the SL chant, "¡Obreros, Sí (Workers, Yes)—Junta, No!" At first caught off guard, CSC marshals became increasingly enraged and began to mobilize their ranks to drown out the Trotskyist chants. At one point a CSC marshal attempted to physically silence the Spartacist bullhorn, but drew back when SL supporters indicated they would defend their right to chant.

As the reactionaries began arriving at the concert hall, the picket line broke up and demonstrators rushed to the door. Trying to clear a path, the police forced the crowd in half, blocking the SL contingent to one side and the CSC on the other. For almost an hour the two groups faced each other from opposite sides of police barricades with the Stalinist-led CSC raising the calls which in 1973 led the Chilean working class to bloody defeat. To the SL slogan "¡Obreros, Sí—Junta, No!" the CSC countered "¡Chile, Sí—Junta, No!" To the SL chant, "Popular Fronts Mean Workers Blood—Down with the Junta!" the CSC replied "Down with the Junta—Support the Resistance!"

For CP supporters surely the most agonizing moments came when their own leadership repeatedly used bullhorns to drown out the SL chant, "Free Corvalán, Free the MIR!" Reluctant to link the defense of its comrade—Corvalán is the imprisoned leader of the Chilean Communist Party—to that of "far-left" MIRistas being tortured in Pinochet's jails, the CSC deliberately avoided the subject of junta prisoners. It was not until much later in the day that the CSC leaders, under pressure, briefly chanted "Free Corvalán, Free [MIR leader] Van Schouwen." Repeating this once or twice for the record, the shortest chant of the day, CSC leaders then abruptly stopped the refrain. Demonstrating their perennial opportunism, YAWF and the RMOC (both of which are guerrilla war, Castro and MIR enthusiasts) also persistently refused to chant "Free the MIR!"

Only days after the coup at the funeral of Chilean poet and prominent CPer Pablo Neruda, several thousand Chilean workers had the courage to stand before Pinochet's police and sing the "Internationale." Today, in the spirit of international proletarian solidarity and militant class hatred of the junta's butchers, the Spartacist League again took up the workers' anthem. While the CSC leaders—their teeth clenched in rage—refused to sing, many of their supporters simply could not go this far and one by one began to raise their fists and join in. By the final chorus, with most of its ranks already singing, the CSC capitulated, turned on its bullhorns and joined in. Then the SL contingent faced them with clenched fists in the air, chanting "Down with the Junta, Workers to Power" as the demonstrators dispersed. ■

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Guerrillas in Power

SIXTEEN YEARS OF STALINIST RULE IN CUBA

As part of a broader effort to "institutionalize" its rule, the recent congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) approved a new "socialist" constitution for the country to replace the bourgeois "Fundamental Law" of 1940 (see "Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress," *WV* No. 100, 12 March 1976). Prime Minister Fidel Castro also made use of the occasion to present the "revised standard version" of the history of the Cuban revolution.

The extensive overview was doubly significant in the context of the new constitution, since one of Castro's key original demands –from the attack on the Moncada on 26 July 1953 until taking power from the dictator Batista on 1 January 1959 –was precisely for a return to the 1940 constitution. This raises the crucial questions of the class character of the guerrilla movement, the nature of the revolution it carried out, and the causes and significance of the shift from a "democratic" bourgeois program to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

These issues are of tremendous significance for communists as they concern the most fundamental questions of revolutionary strategy in the backward capitalist countries. Can the petty bourgeoisie—traditionally considered by Marxists as a vacillating group, incapable of giving independent class leadership—carry out a socialist revolution, as the revisionist "United Secretariat" claims? Or has Cuba remained throughout a capitalist state, as the Maoists and Gerry Healy's fake-Trotskyist "International Committee" contend? On the other hand, if, as uniquely put forward by the international Spartacist tendency, the Castro regime has since late 1960 been a deformed workers state, how was it formed, and what implications does this have for the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution?

A Closet Communist?

In his opening speech to the PCC congress, "*Comandante*" Castro repeatedly praised the policies of the Stalinist leaders of the Soviet Union. Having long ago become locked into the Soviet orbit, Castro now seeks to project his current policies back onto the militant youth who stormed the army barracks in Santiago in 1953 and the nucleus of the Rebel Army that initiated guerrilla struggle in the Sierra Maestra mountains three years later.

Castro includes among the "solid pillars" on which the leaders of the 26th of July Movement based themselves "the principles of Marxism-Leninism." He goes on, "Even though this was not the way of thinking of all those who had embarked upon the road of revolutionary armed struggle in our country, it was that of its main leaders" (*Granma*, 28 December 1975). Castro also claimed that among the young combatants there was "a deep respect and admiration for the old Communists" of the pro-Moscow People's Socialist Party (PSP), who "had held aloft with unyielding firmness the noble banners of Marxism-Leninism."

The reality was considerably different. Castro's speech was silent on the program of the anti-Batista movement, but in an oblique aside for the benefit of those who know something of the struggle during the 1950's, he added: "...not only the most resolute action was necessary, but also astuteness and flexibility on the part of revolutionaries... The proclamation of socialism during the period of insurrectional struggle would not have been understood by the people, and imperialism would have directly intervened in our country with its troops."

A similar theme can be found in many right-wing attacks on Castro, which charge that he "betrayed the revolution" against Batista and hoodwinked the people. Certain left-wing apologists for the Havana regime also put forward the myth of Castro the "closet Marxist-Leninist" who "pulled a fast one" on the imperialists. "The leaders of the Revolution had to know the people and talk to them in terms they were ready to understand," wrote Edward Boorstein in *The Economic Transformation of Cuba* (1968). Others, such as the ex-Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL), who attempt to criticize Castro from the left claim they were initially captivated by "Che [Guevara]'s slick way of moving Cuba to socialism behind everybody's backs" (Jake Rosen, "Is Cuba Socialist?" *PL*, November 1969). Professing that they "no longer believe[d] in nifty gimmicks," PL concluded that Cuba was still capitalist. The truth is more complex—more dialectical—than such simple-minded talk of Castro and Guevara as con artists.

Prensa Latina

A Radical Jacobin Democrat

All these "explanations" come down to a conspiracy theory of history and ignore the real social character of Castro's movement. To begin with, Castro himself did not even pretend to be part of the workers movement during the struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship. Instead, he was a radical Jacobin petty-bourgeois democrat, following in the footsteps of "the Apostle" of Cuban independence, José Martí. His political background was as a liberal student leader and constitutionalist lawyer. He was for a time head of the student government at the University of Havana, and in 1948 voted for Eduardo Chibás, candidate of the Ortodoxo Party, who was running for president of the country on an anti-corruption program. In 1952, Castro was a candidate for the Cuban Congress on the Ortodoxo slate, but a coup d'état by former military strongman Fulgencio Batista forestalled the elections.

After the March 10 coup, the young lawyer's first action against the dictator was not to undertake agitation among the workers and peasants, but instead to appeal to an emergency court in the capital to arrest Batista for violating the Code of Social Defense! Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy's simplistic apology for Castro (*Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*, 1960) commented: "When his petition for the imprisonment of Batsita was rejected by the court, Fidel decided there was only one way in which the usurper could be overthrown—revolution." His goals were listed as "honest government" and a "truly sovereign Cuba."

Guardian

Right: Workers militia in Cuba during early 1960's. Below: Headquarters of Radio Rebelde in the Sierra Maestra.

The methods which the young lawyer then resorted to were well within the framework of traditional Latin American bourgeois politics. Various pseudo-Marxists—from Castro himself to the followers of fake-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel—pretend today that the Cuban guerrilla "strategy" was somehow to the left of traditional Stalinist reformism because it engaged in "armed struggle." They "forget" that in the unstable conditions of Latin America, just about every political tendency has at one time or another "picked up the gun." Castro's first attempt at revolutionary action, for instance, was nothing but an old-style *pronunciamiento*.

The plan for the assault on the Moncada was to surprise the 1,000 soldiers quartered there, seize their arms, then take over the radio station and broadcast the last speech of Eduardo Chibás (who had committed suicide in 1951), followed by a call to arms inviting the Cuban people to rise up against the dictator. Similar actions have been carried out scores of times in Mexico, Bolivia, Peru or Argentina. However, in this case it failed, partly due to bad planning, and most of the 200 attackers were killed during the attack or brutally murdered by Batista's torturers in the mopping-up operation which followed.

Program of the 26th of July Movement

At his trial the following September, Castro (who had been caught biding in the hills around the eastern provincial capital) was able to turn the tables on the government with a dramatic speech indicting the regime for its oppression of "the people." In this speech, later edited into a pamphlet entitled "History Will Absolve Me," Castro laid out five "revolutionary laws" that would have been immediately proclaimed after the capture of the Moncada barracks.

These projected decrees show quite clearly the social content of the revolution which the July 26 rebels were planning. The first was to return to the constitution of 1940; second was to grant land titles to tenants and squatters (with the state indemnifying former owners on the basis of rental values they would have received over the next ten years); the third provided for profit sharing, the fourth that cane growers would get 55 percent of sugar production (instead of the lion's share going to the mills), and the last was to confiscate "ill-gotten gains of all who had committed frauds during previous regimes."

As the cold-warrior journalist-academic Theodore Draper wrote: "There is virtually nothing in the social and economic program of History Will Absolve Me that cannot be traced at least as far back as... the 1935 program of Dr. Grau San Martins's Auténtico party, let alone the later propaganda of Chibás" (*Castroism: Theory and Practice*, 1965).

Castro's anti-Batista struggle following the catastrophic landing of the yacht *Granma* in Oriente province in December 1956 is usually thought of exclusively in terms of a tiny guerrilla band gradually winning support from the *jibaros* (peasants). But the leader of the tiny 26th of July Movement was simultaneously negotiating with a number of prominent bourgeois politicians. Thus the "Manifesto of the Sierra Maestra," dated July 1957 and the most widely circulated of the rebel documents, was signed by Castro, Raúl Chibás (brother of Eduardo) and Felipe Pazos, ex-president of the National Bank of Cuba.

The Castro-Chibás-Pazos manifesto called for "democratic, impartial elec-

tions" organized by a "provisional, neutral government", "dissociat[ion] [of] the army from politics, freedom of the press; "sound financial policy" and "industrialization"; and an agrarian reform based on granting ownership to squatters and tenants (with prior indemnification of owners). The ten-point program was to be carried out by a Civilian Revolutionary Front, made up of representatives of all opposition groups.

The final programmatic statement from the Sierra Maestra, issued in October 1958 as the Batista regime was crumbling, was "Law No. 3" on agrarian reform. Based on the principle of land to the tiller, it did not mention cooperatives or state farms.

When Fidel and Raúl Castro swept out of the Sierra Maestra to link up with Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos in the plains of Camagüey province and then march on to Havana, the Rebel Army was far from being a mass organization, counting only 1,100 soldiers, most of them peasants.

The provisional government, installed with Castro's approval, was hardly dominated by 26th of July ministers. The president was Manuel Urrutia, a former judge; the prime minister was José Miró Cardona, former head of the Havana Bar Association; the foreign minister was Roberto Agramonte, the Ortodoxo presidential candidate in 1952; and Felipe Pazos was again head of the National Bank. In the new armed forces, the head of the Revolutionary Air Force was Pedro Diaz Lanz. By the end of the year, all of these men had defected to the U.S., joining the ex-*batistianos* in Miami. Miró was later to be the puppet head of a "Revolutionary Council" set up by the CIA to serve as the front for its Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961.

The policies adopted by the new regime during its early months were certainly a radical departure from the laissez-faire debauchery and wholesale corruption of the Batista "government," which was something akin to having Al Capone in the White House. However, the actions of the revolutionary government did not exceed the limits of the capitalist regime.

Among the first steps were the slashing of electric rates by half in rural areas, up to 50 percent cuts in rents for the poor, and the implementation of the agrarian reform law of the Sierra Maestra together with seizure of the estates of Batista henchmen. In the United States, the bourgeois press, led off by *Time* magazine, whipped up a reactionary publicity campaign against the war crimes trials of the blood-stained butchers of the Batista regime (of whose bestialities the imperialist media had reported nothing). In all, only 550 of the most notorious criminals were executed, with the broad approval of virtually all classes of the Cuban population.

But while this first post-Batista government was headed by authentic liberal bourgeois politicians, real power was in the hands of the Rebel Army, which is why the openly counterrevolutionary leaders left without waging any kind of fight. The guerrilla struggles in the hills had been militarily marginal, but they succeeded in crystallizing the massive popular hatred for the Batista regime. By the time the leaders of the 26th of July Movement entered the capital, the official army and police apparatus—the core of the state power—had collapsed. The Castroites proceeded to sweep it away, and organize a new repressive apparatus recruited and organized along quite different lines.

The guerrilla army was a petty-bourgeois formation, politically heterogeneous, with its leadership recruited from among ex-students and professionals and the ranks from the peasants of the sierra. While Castro and the rest of the leadership had signed various programs, manifestos, etc., with opposition liberals, their previous direct connections with the bourgeoisie had been broken. Most importantly, the Rebel Army was not faced with a combative and class-conscious proletariat, which would have polarized the petty-bourgeois militants, drawing some to the workers' side and sending others straight into the arms of Urrutia, Miró & Co. Consequently, what existed in Havana following the overthrow of Batista was an inherently transitory and fundamentally unstable phenomenon a *petty-bourgeois government* which was not committed to the defense of either bourgeois private property or the collectivist property forms of proletarian class rule (see "Cuba and Marxist Theory," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8).

The Consolidation of a Deformed Workers State

While such a regime was temporarily autonomous from the bourgeois order—that is, a capitalist *state*, namely armed bodies of men dedicated to defending a particular property form, did not exist in the Marxist sense—Castro could not escape from the class struggle. After 1 January 1959 a new bourgeois state power could have been erected in Cuba, as occurred following the departure of the French colonial rulers in Algeria in 1962. In the Algerian case, this process was aided by the conclusion of the neo-colonial Evian Accords, explicitly protecting the property of French colons, and the fact that power was handed over to a regular army which played little role in the guerrilla fighting.

However, in Cuba U.S. imperialism was far from accommodating and soon began a sharp economic struggle against the new rulers in Havana which rapidly grew into military actions. This imperialist pressure, in turn, pushed the core of the Cuban leadership to the left, while leading other segments of the 26th of July Movement to join the bourgeois liberals and *batistianos* in exile.

The first sharp clash with the domestic bourgeoisie came over the proclamation of a moderate agrarian reform law in May. The new law expropriated all land over 999 acres, to be paid in bonds of the revolutionary government which could be redeemed in 20 years. The reaction was predictable: landowners declared this was "worse that Communism" and the U.S. State Department sent a pious note deploring that American investors had not been consulted beforehand.

The next move by Castro which stirred the ire of the capitalists was the removal of Felipe Pazos from the National Bank where he was replaced by Guevara. In February 1960, Russian deputy prime minister Mikoyan visited Cuba and signed an agreement to purchase 1 million tons of Cuban sugar yearly. This relieved Cuba of its hitherto almost exclusive reliance on the U.S. for foreign trade, and when on 29 June 1960 U.S.-owned oil refineries refused to accept crude petroleum imported from the USSR, they were nationalized. On July 3, the American Congress approved a law cutting off Cuba's sugar quota, and two days later Castro seized U.S.-held property (primarily sugar mills) on the island.

Meanwhile the polarization within the diverse Castroite movement had proceeded apace. Already in July 1959, President Urrutia had provoked a government crisis by denouncing the PSP and Communism; almost simultaneously, air force head Diaz Lanz called on defense minister Raúl Castro to purge Communists from the armed forces. Diaz soon fled to the U.S., and Urrutia resigned and was replaced by Osvaldo Dorticós. In October, the military commander of Camagüey province, Hubert Matos, tried to launch a regional rebellion together with two dozen of his officers, but was quickly overpowered and arrested.

Not only in the new armed forces was the differentiation taking place. The Havana organization of the 26th of July Movement and its newspaper *Revolución* throughout early 1959 were a source of aggressive anti-Communism.

The crisis between the right and left wing came to a head in the battle over the trade unions, where David Salvador had been installed as head of the Cuban Labor Federation (CTC) to replace Batista's gangster crony Eusebio Mujal. Salvador immediately dissolved the working unity between the PSP and the 26th of July in the labor movement which had been established in late 1958, and assigned all seats on the CTC executive committee to non-Communists. In the November 1959 CTC congress there was a showdown, and after a personal intervention by Fidel Castro the back of the anti-PSP wing (which reportedly included a number of ex-*mujahistas*) was broken. Salvador resigned a few months later, and control of the unions passed to longtime Stalinist Lazaro Peña (see J.P. Morray, *The Second Revolution in Cuba*, 1962).

The culminating step in the nationalizations came in the fall of 1960, with a series of rapid-fire seizures (tobacco factories, American banks, and then, on October 13, all banks and 382 business enterprises). By mid-October all agricultural processing plants; all chemical, metallurgical, paper, textile and drug factories; all railroads, ports, printing presses, construction companies and department stores were nationalized. Together this made the state the owner of 90 percent of the industrial capacity of Cuba.

Prensa Latina

Soviet tanks in parade celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Moncada uprising, 26 July 1973.

Prensa Latina

Che Guevara at news conference in Havana, October 1960.

The Permanent Revolution

With the takeover of capitalist property in Cuba, for the first time in the Western Hemisphere—and only "90 miles from Florida"—the world witnessed the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. This naturally made the Cuban revolution an object of hatred for the imperialists. It also made Castro and Cuba into objects of adoration by would-be revolutionaries of all sorts and a large spectrum of petty-bourgeois radical opinion. The New Left, with its hard anti-Leninism, grabbed instinctively for a revolution "by the people" but without a Leninist party or the participation of the working class.

For ostensible Trotskyists, however, the Cuban revolution posed important programmatic questions. The theory of permanent revolution held that in the backward capitalist regions the bourgeoisie was too weak and bound by its ties to the imperialists and feudalists to achieve an agrarian revolution, democracy and national emancipation—objects of the classical bourgeois revolutions. Trotsky's analysis of the Russian revolution of 1905 led him to his insistence that the proletariat must establish its own class rule, with the support of the peasantry, in order to accomplish even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution; and it would from the beginning be forced to undertake socialist measures as well, making the revolution permanent in character.

The Cuban revolution demonstrated that even with a leadership that began its insurgency with no perspective of transcending petty-bourgeois radicalism, real agrarian reform and national emancipation from the yoke of Yankee imperialism proved to be impossible without destroying the bourgeoisie as a class. It vindicated the Marxist understanding that the petty bourgeoisie—composed of highly volatile and contradictory elements lacking the social force to independently vie for power—is unable to establish any new, characteristic mode of property relations, but is forced to fall back upon the property forms of one of the two fundamentally counterposed classes in capitalist society, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

Thus the Castro leadership, under exceptional circumstances due to the collapse of the Batista regime in the absence of a powerful working class able

continued on page 10

Why Rubin Carter?

As the frame-up and cover-up of the Carter-Artis case unfold in public view, it might be asked about the main character in this drama: Why Rubin Carter? Why has the state of New Jersey put so much effort into this vendetta against him?

In *The Sixteenth Round. From Number 1 Contender to #45472* (1974), Carter tells the story of his life from a rough-and-tumble son of a Baptist deacon to middleweight boxer celebrity to inmate and jailhouse lawyer. His victimization is the story of FBI harassment and cop terror. Why Carter? Because he believes black people have the right to self-defense.

His autobiography tells of the 1964 Harlem Riot when New York City cops swarmed into the Manhattan ghetto and went wild in an orgy of indiscriminate brutalization of the black population. Carter

Mark Sennett

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter

witnessed the bloody scene and made an "off the record" statement to a reporter (for the *Saturday Evening Post*) who then distorted his remarks to make the well-known boxer appear as advocating cop-killing. Carter comments:

> "This fiendish display of brutality compelled me to...voice my outrage against the trouncing those little children and grownups as well—received.... Anyone else in the world would have fought back a little cockroach, an ant, or even a bedbug....
>
> "...during the riot, when scores of children were being trampled, stomped, and mutilated by a legion of club-wielding police—while other cops held their guns to the children's heads—the black community should have arisen right then and fought to their death in the streets, if it was necessary. Because self-protection is the absolute right of every living being on the face of the earth."

The cops went after Rubin Carter because he was a prominent figure advocating black self-defense at a time of rising militancy in oppressed ghettos across the country. More than that, Carter was and remains a black man who "doesn't know his place." That is why he has been victimized by the racist "law and order" of American capitalism. Those who, like the Partisan Defense Committee, fight for justice for all the exploited and oppressed demand that the cop-court vendetta against Rubin Carter and John Artis be stopped, and all charges dropped!

Carter, Artis Out on Bail

Drop Charges Now!

Ruhin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis were released on $35,000 bail March 20 after nearly a decade in prison. In granting a new trial, the New Jersey Supreme Court acknowledged what Carter has been saying for years that the two prisoners did not receive a "fair trial." The state's highest court ruled that the original proceedings, in which the defendants were represented by the public defender's office, were "substantially prejudiced" because evidence that would have been favorable to the defense was withheld by the Passaic County prosecutor's office.

Under considerable public pressure generated by mass demonstrations and newspaper revelations, the capitalist judicial system could no longer turn a blind eye to the obvious frame-up methods used to convict Carter and Artis for a triple murder in Paterson in the summer of 1966. The fight against this railroaded conviction, which Carter waged virtually alone for years, took a dramatic turn 18 months ago. The state's two "eyewitnesses" against Carter-Artis recanted their testimony and admitted to a reporter that they had lied on the stand after being bribed by Passaic County detectives with promises of lighter sentences on unrelated charges and a "reward" of $10,500.

After disclosure of the bribery, the defense sought to obtain a retrial from Judge Samuel Larner, who tried the original Carter-Artis case. Despite the obvious facts, Larner ruled that "no evidence had been suppressed," claiming that the recantations by the state's witnesses "lacked the ring of truth." Certainly his actions, and those of the cops and the prosecutor's office, do not lack the ring of a judicial conspiracy. Although Larner's attempt to continue the cover-up has now been overturned by a higher court, which said his refusal to grant a new trial was "erroneous" and "too restrictive," in the meantime he was promoted to the appeals court.

The latest round for the Carter-Artis defense was not simply based on the recantations, but also on a tape recording made by Passaic County detectives of the interrogation of Alfred Bello, one of the state's two key "witnesses." The prosecution accidentally let the existence of this evidence out of the bag in 1974 when trying to discredit Bello's testimony. The tape confirms that Lt. De Simone had promised to assist him with parole problems, saying: "Hear me now. I assure you I will go to the top people in the state of New Jersey. I promise you this" (*New York Times*, 18 March). Knowledge of the tape was withheld from the defense at the 1967 trial.

It is not unusual for prosecutors to bribe testimony of witnesses with promises of leniency (and threats of harsh punishment if the offer is refused). This is standard practice, particularly in the victimization of blacks and other minority defendants who fall into the grips of racist American "justice." What is unusual in this case is that the New Jersey authorities got caught. Nonetheless, like everyone else involved in the frame-up of Carter and Artis, Lt. De Simone has since advanced his career, to acting chief of detectives.

Neal Boenzi/The New York Times

Muhammad Ali (waving) at Trenton rally in support of Carter and Artis last November.

After years rotting in jail, Carter's valiant efforts to vindicate himself and win freedom finally drew public attention and broad support. On October 17, some 1,600 protesters rallied outside the state house in Trenton demanding clemency. The New Jersey Supreme Court judges knew they were under the spotlight when they unanimously decided to grant a new trial. This represents a victory for Carter and Artis and those who have fought for their release. But these frame-up victims should never have been imprisoned in the first place, and should not have to face another trial now. All charges should be immediately dropped! The state has no case at all, and its "witnesses" admit they lied after being bribed by the prosecution.

Nevertheless, according to Selwyn Raab, the reporter whose investigation has been instrumental in bringing the facts of the case before the public, the present Passaic County prosecutor refuses to drop the charges because he "feels that the reputation and honor of the Prosecutor's office are at stake because of attacks and protests by supporters" of Carter and Artis (*New York Times*, 19 March). The same article reports that,

> "Aides to Governor Byrne have said privately they were disturbed by what one official described as a 'shrill campaign' to compel the Governor to intervene. These aides said Mr. Byrne might have decided against some form of clemency to avoid criticism that he succumbed to intense pressure."

With the frame-up system nakedly exposed, the state is trying to pretend that its reconsideration is due to the "fairness" of the courts. But had there been no demonstrations and protests, there is no doubt that Carter and Artis would still be languishing behind bars today!

In a recent press conference in the reception room of Clinton State Prison, Rubin Carter explained what kind of "fair trial" he wanted

> "I would accept my freedom any way I can get it.... If I had my druthers, I'd rather have a fair trial that's free from the manufactured evidence which put us here originally.
>
> "I want everybody to know and understand that Rubin Carter and John Artis could not, would not and did not commit that crime."

The Carter-Artis defense effort has forced even the New Jersey court system to admit that it did not provide a "fair trial." But the capitalist state does not provide fair trials for black people, the poor, the exploited and all those it deems to be its enemies. A fair trial would put Judge Larner and the racist cops in the box, but such justice awaits the victory of the proletarian revolution.

A new trial on these trumped-up charges is simply further official harassment and vindictiveness. As Carter recently observed succinctly: "There is no almost out of jail.... So you're either in jail or you are not. And I am in jail" (*New York Times*, 18 March). Now Carter and Artis are not in jail, but neither are they free from the frame-up. The only fair trial for these two victims of bourgeois class "justice" is their immediate freedom! ■

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Near East...

(continued from page 1)

defense for Maronite privilege and the reactionary "confessional" system.

Syria, like Lebanon, is a complicated matrix of religious sects and ethnic minorities, and the Ba'athist colonels fear that the sectarian disintegration of the Lebanese entity could spill over the border. While a majority of Syrians are Muslim—and most of the Muslims are Sunnis—a minority extremist sect, the Alawis, is strongly ensconced in the state apparatus. Among their 500,000 adherents are many Ba'athist leaders, including Syrian president Hafez al-Assad. In addition, approximately 8 percent of the present-day Syrian population is Christian, and there are roughly 150,000 Druzes, 160,000 Armenians, 50,000 Kurds, 20,000 Assyrians and 5,000 Jews. Hence, even though Lebanese president Franjieh has sabotaged the Syrian-backed "ceasefire," the Ba'athist officers in Damascus defend him in order to prop up the authoritarian status quo in Syria.

Lebanese Army Falls Apart

The "confessional" system is particularly resented in the 18,000-man Lebanese army, whose officer corps is 65 percent Christian but whose ranks are overwhelmingly Muslim. Following the January 22 truce, the army rapidly disintegrated as thousands of Muslims deserted to join the "Lebanese Arab Army" led by a Lt. Ahmed al-Khatib. Today the deserter "army" is larger than the official forces, and the disintegration of the army was certainly one of the main motivations behind General Ahdab's "coup."

The former Beirut commander who proclaimed himself chief of state is the highest-ranking Muslim in the Lebanese army. He earned his stars by playing a key role in the suppression of the popular uprising against the discriminatory confessional system in 1958. During that civil war, Camille Chamoun, then president of Lebanon, called in the U.S. Marines, while Ahdab was responsible for organizing the vicious elite Squad 16 special police force. Thus Ahdab is seen as a stalwart defender of the confessional system who can make a fake appeal to the grievances of Muslim soldiers.

General Ahdab has the support of so-called "leftist" Muslim leaders like the "Progressive Socialist" Druze patriarch Kamal Jumblat, who threatened, "If Franjieh does not go then Lebanon will be plunged into complete revolution"

Liaison/Gamma

Pierre Gemayel, head of the Phalange.

(*Times* [London], 15 March). He also has the support of the Maronite League and 70 members of Lebanon's 99-member parliament have backed Ahdab's call for the resignation of Franjieh and Karami. The president, however, has refused to resign and instead dug in at his palatial mansion at Baabda outside Beirut, where he is heavily guarded by 1,000 members of his 7,000-strong private army recruited from his fiefdom of Zghorta.

In addition to the "Zghorta Liberation Army," among Lebanese Franjieh is supported only by the ultra-rightist Maronite Phalangists of Pierre Gemayel and the followers of the durable Camille Chamoun, currently interior minister, and the pro-Syrian Ba'athists. Thus when Lt. Khatib moved two armored columns toward Franjieh's mansion last week, they were stopped by none other than al-Saiqa and PLA units led by Syrian officers. Thereupon, the head of the Lebanese chapter of the Syrian Ba'athist party declared that Ahdab's "coup" was inspired by those "who want to use the Muslim army to partition the country."

As the correspondent of the *New York Times* (18 March) wrote from Beirut, "The right-wing parties have now found Syria their only guarantor." So under the banner of the "Arab Revolution" the Syrian Ba'athists defend the isolated wretched reactionary Franjieh, barricaded in his palatial estate where he is tenaciously clinging to the pretense of power. Lebanese Muslim "leftists" like Jumblat, in turn, throw in their lot with a deserter army whose sole ambition is to overthrow Franjieh so there can be more Muslim generals like Ahdab. The *Wall Street Journal* (17 March) recently published an estimate that there are now two police forces, 22 militia groups, 9 Palestinian organizations and 42 political parties in Lebanon today! Only a Trotskyist party committed to a program of proletarian internationalism can rise above the sectarian and ethnic divisions of the Levant and unite the toiling masses against their oppressors, which include the Jumblats as well as the Franjiehs, Chamouns and their Ba'athist defenders.

Rebellion in the West Bank

National oppression can take on strange and distorted forms, and the issues which incite mass resistance often seem marginal to the larger social issues.

Thus Palestinians in the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war are subjected to countless acts of vicious repression and endless acts of petty harassment by the Zionist state. Their houses are blown up, their lands are expropriated and annexed, often to make way for "illegal" settlements of ultra-reactionary Zionist zealots. Israel as well as the occupied territories is governed by British colonial laws, including the hated Emergency Regulations of 1945. Martial law, detention without trial, curfews and mass searches are the norm for life on the West Bank. No real political life is allowed, mass political organizations of any sort are banned for Arabs, sympathy for Palestinian nationalism or communism is ruthlessly crushed and censorship of anti-Zionist literature is absolute.

Palestinian labor in the occupied territories is exploited as a reserve industrial army by Israeli capitalism. It is consigned to the dirtiest, most undesirable jobs for as little as a quarter of the legal minimum wage. Barred from joining Histadrut, West Bank and Gaza Palestinians have no access to even a token grievance procedure; they have no job protection, no social security, no access to health and welfare facilities and other social services. Last week, three Arab workers from occupied Gaza were burned to death in a small Tel Aviv factory locked from the outside (*Economist*, 20 March).

But the event which sparked the current wave of demonstrations on the West Bank concerned something that at first sight seems rather minor and distant compared to these innumerable acts of vicious repression. On January 28, a magistrate court ruled that Jews could pray on the Temple Mount (Haram es Sherif) near the Old City of Jerusalem. The Temple Mount is traditionally held to be the place where Abraham, exercising the rights of patriarchal absolutism of which the religion of Moses is so fond, offered up his son Isaac to Jehovah. The Temple of Solomon was built here in 1000 BC and the Second Temple was destroyed on this site by the Romans in 70 AD, paving the way for the final diaspora.

For Muslims, on the other hand, Haram es Sherif is the third holy place after Mecca and Medina. It is here, they claim, that the prophet began his ascent to heaven, and it is here that Muslims built the mosque of Aqsa. Previously, even under Israeli occupation Haram es Sherif has been closed to visitors during times of Muslim prayer and all non-Muslim prayer has been banned.

Chauvel/Sygma

Egyptian president Anwar Sadat

The supposed desire of some fanatic Zionists to "pray" on Temple Mount has nothing to do with religious Judaism. For Orthodox Judaism holds that the temple cannot be rebuilt, and therefore prayer cannot take place on this site, until "the Messiah arrives." In fact, on their way to Haram es Sherif the chauvinist, ultra-rightist Zionist "worshippers" led by Betar youth movement of the Herut party, the descendant of the ultra-rightist Irgun (perpetrator of the 1948 Deir Yassin massacre) - were confronted by counter-demonstrations of Orthodox rabbis.

Israel must get out of the occupied territories, including the predominantly Arab Old City of Jerusalem and its environs! Expropriated land must be returned and Palestinians compensated for the damages caused by the occupation!

Arab Strike in the Galilee

While the religious issue precipitated an explosion of demonstrations on the West Bank, it was quickly transcended as the protests swept to predominantly Arab Christian towns such as Ramallah and Bethlehem. School children in Nablus, some as young as nine years old, took to the streets and fought baton-wielding Israeli police with rocks and paving stones. Four mayors of Arab cities resigned in protest against the police and army brutality. Then came the threat of a general strike by Arabs in the Galilee.

In its attempt to create a homogeneous Jewish state, Zionism attempted to drive out the entire indigenous Arab population through land expropriation, mass terror and intimidation. This effort was relatively—but not completely—successful. Today 15 percent of the population of pre-1967 Israel (excluding the West Bank and Gaza) are Arabs. They are concentrated in the depressed villages of Galilee, the only region of Israel with an Arab majority. There land unsuitable for modern, mechanized farming is "worked extensively by local Arab farmers who squeeze between boulders with one-mule wooden ploughs" (*Jerusalem Post Weekly*, 16 March).

In order to conduct army maneuvers, thousands of acres of land in the neighborhood of the Arab villages of Arraba and Sakhnin have now been officially closed to the farmers who own plots in the area. Also, for reasons of "security" as well as simple racist Zionist nationalism, there have been periodic campaigns to "Judaise" the Galilee. The "problem," as former prime minister Golda Meir frequently complained demagogically, is that the Arab birth rate is 5 percent per year while that of Jews is only 2 percent. Furthermore, there is an out-migration of Jews from the relatively poorer Galilee to more prosperous parts of the country.

Since Israel spends roughly 40 percent of the gross national product in maintaining its military machine, it is not about to invest large sums in developing the predominantly Arab Galilee. The only way that it can effect a population transfer is by expropriating Arab land and turning it over for Jewish resettlement on extremely favorable terms. It is discriminatory treatment like this that has served to radicalize Arab villages in the district, culminating in the election of Communist Party (Rakah) member Twafik Zayyad as mayor of Nazareth last year. Arab village mayors, often led by Zayyad and influenced by Rakah propaganda, have launched demonstrations against land expropriation and are calling for a general strike in the district on March 30.

War Build-Up

While the Zionist Land Authority worries about "Judaising" Galilee and the Betar campaigns to "Judaise" the Mosque of Aqsa, the arms build-up for the next war in the Near East is escalating and acquiring a nuclear dimension. Recently in Tel Aviv, former Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan beat the drums for a "nuclear option" in order to threaten Arab countries with large-scale destruction. On March 11, the CIA leaked at a "private" briefing that Israel is estimated to already possess "10 to 20" nuclear weapons. Obviously, this leak served to sweeten the vicarious Zionist lobby in Congress into going along with President Ford's plans to sell Egypt six C-130 military transport planes.

The airplane sale, in turn, was part of a quid pro quo for Egyptian president Sadat's dumping of the so-called "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" that he had signed with the USSR in 1971 and which was supposed to last for 15 years. The treaty was mainly symbolic, at least from the Egyptian side, as was demonstrated the following year when Sadat expelled some 20,000 military advisors. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union has built 148 industrial projects for Egypt, including most of her major industries except oil, and Sadat will need continued Russian aid to complete many of these projects. With nothing to show but $6 billion in unpaid IOU's and another humiliation at the hands of the U.S., the bankruptcy of Stalinist foreign policy is once more demonstrated in the Near East.

The spoils of the October War and the Arab oil boycott are the ability of Egypt's bourgeois rulers to now break from the Soviet orbit, to go begging for oil profits from the sheikdoms and emirates and to use this largess to become a prime customer of the imperialist "merchants of death," primarily the U.S. Those fake leftists who supported Egypt in the 1973 Arab-Israel war reaped their reward when Sadat and Nixon paraded arm-in-arm down the streets of Cairo the following year. They will again be repaid when Egyptian workers with American weapons kill Israeli workers with American weapons, in a dispute over who will hold a few kilometers more or less of Sinai sand. They could once more be rewarded when the next confrontation escalates and Israel exercises its "nuclear option," or if the U.S. and the Soviet Union are drawn into the fighting with the potential for a global nuclear holocaust.

Only the class war of the Egyptian, Israeli, Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian workers against all their exploiters can open the road to national liberation for the Palestinians and lasting peace. Forward to a Socialist Federation of the Near East! ■

Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

to struggle for state power in its own right, was pushed by the pressure of U.S. imperialism's frenzied hostility into creating a *deformed* workers state which in power increasingly duplicated the mode of rule of the degenerated USSR as the Castroists consolidated a bureaucratic state apparatus. The evolution of the Cuban leadership from petty-bourgeois radicals to the administrators of a deformed workers state (and the incorporation of the Cuban Communists) confirmed Trotsky's characterization of the Russian Stalinists as a *petty-bourgeois caste* resting upon the property forms established by the October Revolution. Moreover, the Cuban revolution provides a negative confirmation that only the class-conscious proletariat, led by a Marxist vanguard party, can establish a democratically governed, revolutionary workers state, and thus lay the basis for the international extension of the revolution and open the road to socialism.

Unlike the Russian Revolution—which required a political *counterrevolution* under Stalin to become a bureaucratically deformed workers state—the Cuban revolution was deformed from its inception. The Cuban working class, having played essentially no part in the revolutionary process, never held political power, and the Cuban state was governed by the whims of the Castroist clique rather than being administered by democratically elected workers councils (soviets).

The revisionist current which had emerged from within the Trotskyist movement in the late 1950's saw in Cuba the perfect justification for its abandonment of the construction of Trotskyist vanguard parties. By ignoring the crucial index of workers democracy and thus sliding over the qualititative difference between a deformed workers state such as Stalinist Russia or Castroist Cuba and the healthy Russian workers state of Lenin and Trotsky, the European supporters of the "International Secretariat" (I.S.) embraced the Cuban revolution as proof that revolutionary transformations could take place without the leadership of a proletarian vanguard. Cuba became the model of the "revolutionary process" under "new conditions"—and the schema to which the revisionists have clung despite the failure of countless guerrilla struggles in Latin American to duplicate the "Cuban road."

For the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, Cuba was a watershed in the degeneration of that party as a repository of revolutionary Trotskyism. During the 1950's it had fought Pablo's notion of "deep entrism" in the mass reformist parties. But with its revolutionary fibre weakened under the impact of McCarthyism, the SWP leaders were desperately searching for a popular cause which could enable them to break out of isolation.

SWP leader Joseph Hansen crowed enthusiastically:

> "What provisions are there in Marxism for a revolution, obviously *socialist in tendency* but powered by the peasantry and led by revolutionists who have never professed socialist aims... It's not in the books! It Marxism has no provisions for such phenomena, perhaps it is time provisions were made. It would seem a fair enough exchange for a revolution as good as this one."
>
> "The Theory of the Cuban Revolution," 1962 [our emphasis]

Having declared the revolution "socialist in tendency" and equated it with Russia under Lenin, Hansen could not simply ignore the crucial question of workers democracy. "It is true that this workers state lacks, as yet, the forms of proletarian democracy," he wrote. But he immediately added, "This does not mean that democracy is lacking in Cuba."

The SWP tops took the convergence on the Cuba question as the opportunity to propose a reunification with the I.S. In a 1963 document, "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," the SWP wrote of "the appearance of a workers state in Cuba—the exact form of which is yet to be settled"; the "evolution toward revolutionary Marxism [of] the July 26 Movement" and concluded:

> "Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial and semi-colonial power..., It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."

In response to this open revisionism, Healy and his International Committee followers simply thrust their head in the sand like an ostrich and declared that Cuba, even after the 1960 nationalizations, is "a bonapartist regime resting on capitalist state foundations," one not qualitatively different from Batista's regime. But within the SWP the Revolutionary Tendency (RT—forerunner of the Spartacist League/U.S.) was able to analyze the post-1960 Cuban regime as a *deformed workers state* and point out the significance of that characterization for Marxist theory.

In a resolution that was submitted as a counter document to the "For Early Reunification..." document of the SWP leadership, the RT made clear that "Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and the deformed workers' state which has issued therefrom." But it added: "Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers' democracy..." ("Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International," June 1963).

Directly rejecting the SWP's embracing of guerrillaism and Castroism in place of the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian revolution, the RT resolution summarized:

> "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the *proletarian* leadership in the revolution is profound negation of Marxism-Leninism . . ." ■

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Subway Strike...

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the most powerful municipal union in New York City; a tie-up of the transit system would have a devastating effect unequalled in any other American city. Furthermore, the union has historically advocated abolishing the fare on the city's buses and subways. If it seriously fought for this demand it could enlist the support of millions of city residents enraged at the latest fare increase effected last September.

However, the TWU leadership's opposition to fare hikes exists only on paper. Over the many years it has claimed to hold this position, it has never once initiated strike action against a Transit Authority-initiated fare increase. This is in spite of the fact that the Authority was set up in 1951 precisely in order to take responsibility for fare hikes out of the hands of the city politicians and place it on the shoulders of the union. Since the transit system was thereafter financed wholly out of passenger revenues and could not be subsidized by general city revenues, any new operating expenses (e.g., higher wages for transit workers) were translated into increased fares! This has enabled NYC bosses to play off the union against the city's subway and bus riders.

Guinan and Local 100 head Ellis Van Riper have other demands—all on paper, of course. They are calling for improvement of the cost-of-living (c-o-l) formula, incorporation of c-o-l raises of 22 cents per hour under the last contract into base wages, a substantial wage increase and full employer funding of the pension plan. In evaluating Guinan's contract demands, transit workers should keep in mind that before his ignominious sellout in September, Albert Shanker was "demanding" a 25 percent wage increase.

Guinan, in fact, gave the show away when he acknowledged that "union members were reasonable people who recognize the fiscal problems faced by the city, but the quality of sacrifice has to be made by everyone" (*Newark Star Ledger*, 19 March). This same recognition of the "right" of MAC and the Emergency Financial Control Board to enforce "equitable" sacrifices was used by Shanker, Gotbaum and DeLury to justify layoffs, frozen wages and rifling of union pension funds.

Transit workers are well aware of the treachery of Guinan & Co. In 1972 hundreds of them picketed the union hall to protest a settlement which provided management rights for speed-up and job cuts, did nothing to halt racial discrimination on the job and in hiring, and sold out on issues of overtime, unlimited c-o-l, increased hiring, better and safer equipment, etc. The Transit Workers Action Caucus (TWAC), a group of would-be union militants supported by the Communist Party, doesn't see it that way, however.

TWAC has carefully avoided making a single criticism of the Guinan leadership. It says it supports the negotiating demands of Local 100, to which it adds its own (formal) demands for a 25 percent wage increase, 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, increased vacations, etc. TWAC points to billions of dollars owed the city in unpaid taxes by landlords and big business and advocates that "We must pressure our legislature to pass legislation to tax big business, to cover the costs of this contract and to keep from raising the transit fare."

Of course, TWAC doesn't mention that it is the very state legislature it wants to pressure, along with Governor Carey, which is supporting and administering the present cutbacks in NYC. TWAC, just like the TWU leadership it refuses to criticize, talks a lot about what the *government* "ought to do" but has no intention of leading transit workers in the massive strike struggle which is necessary to actually defeat the bankers and political bosses.

The operation of the NYC transit system well illustrates the connection between the current fiscal crisis and the crackdown on city labor. The subway lines were originally privately owned. The BMT lines, for example, were owned by Rockefeller interests while the IRT was controlled by the Morgan family. In 1939 the city took over the bankrupt and dilapidated transit lines, paying the former owners a whopping $320 million.

In order to pay off this sum and to put the system in operating order, the city was forced to take out loans from the banks—controlled by the very same Rockefeller and Morgan interests that formerly ran the subways! As a result, the banks have made billions in interest; in 1971 alone they received $170 million. Meanwhile, financial interests and big business have enjoyed bountiful tax breaks at public expense. In 1971, NYC property was assessed at $36 billion, with landlords paying only $2 billion in taxes, and with another $18 billion worth of property completely tax exempt. Thus, while the city's working population continues to foot the bill for this outrageous robbery by the banks and bondholders, the Guinans and Gotbaums chatter about the willingness of the *unions* to bail out the city from the fiscal crisis!

A militant transit workers strike, including the demands of canceling the city debt to bankers and bondholders and expropriating the banks, could trigger a massive struggle of the municipal unions and the city's poor for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide more jobs; to smash the city wage freeze; for free city transportation and increased social service programs; and for the restoration of open admissions (with a living stipend to be paid to all students).

The pro-capitalist Guinan leadership is incapable of leading such a battle. At most it will call a half-hearted strike for limited ends before agreeing to a sellout, thus frittering away the enormous potential strength of the transit workers. A successful battle against the city bosses this spring requires a class-struggle leadership committed not to bailing out the bankers and bondholders, but to abolishing the parasitic capitalist system. ■

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Wilson...

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time before the tensions implicit in the economic situation pull it apart." The *Daily Telegraph* of the same day congratulated Wilson, the "great party leader," for his "healing" abilities:

> "So long as he was in No. 10, extremism in any form had a powerful enemy. If things go badly for Britain in the next few years, we may miss Harold Wilson."

Indeed the bourgeoisie has good reason to "miss Harold Wilson"—but not the working class. The legacy he leaves behind is of the most shameless class collaboration. When Wilson took office in 1964 he announced his support for the Vietnam war and imposed controls on immigration. In 1966 he attacked the seamen's strike and instituted so-called "voluntary" wage controls. Having hesitated to outlaw wildcat strikes and failed to squash a militant working-class upsurge during the late 1960's, the BLP was swept from power in 1970. Upon its return in 1974, following the miners' strike, the Wilson government led Britain into the Common Market and established wage controls under the guise of a "social contract" between the unions and the government. The "Old Magician" had achieved what the Conservatives had been dreaming of all their lives.

The union bigwigs are just as saddened by Wilson's political passing as their industrial bosses. Trades Union Congress (TUC) general secretary Len Murray paid "Tribute to the way he had led the present Government and the nation through the difficulties of the past two years and to the particular part he has played in shaping and strengthening the basis of fruitful and positive cooperation between the TUC and the Government." Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers Union, joined the chorus by describing Wilson as "a very able leader of the Labour Party and a good friend of the trade union movement" (*Times* [London], 17 March). Joe Gormley, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, stated he was "sorry to see [Wilson] go" and echoed the call of most trade-union tops to "close ranks" (*Financial Times*, 17 March).

Most trade-union leaders seem to be betting on James Callaghan, presently the Foreign Secretary, to replace Wilson. The bourgeois press estimates that the BLP's "succession crisis" conference will show Foot, Callaghan and Roy Jenkins as the front runners, with Benn being knocked off, probably in the first round of balloting; the media predict Callaghan will emerge the final victor.

Grand Alliance Fragments

While Wilson claims the BLP is still a "broad church," the "great unifier" has had little success in keeping the left and right wings away from each other's throats. Wilson's dream of making Labour "the national governing party of Britain" has disintegrated under the strain of class and national antagonisms. The cracks already evident in Ireland have spread to Scotland, where a wing of the party led by MP Jim Sillars has split off to found the Scottish Labour Party, thereby reducing the government's slim majority in Commons.

How much longer Wilson could have held it all together is anyone's guess. The British ruling class was willing to keep him at the helm so long as he carried out its policies while holding the workers in line and pacifying the Lefts.

But Wilson's grand alliance was certainly nearing its end. Perhaps he saw it coming and prudently removed himself from the center of the anticipated sharp clashes to become a "humble back-bencher." He leaves without having to face a losing faction fight within the BLP or an electoral defeat. As one Tory voter put it, "he's ratted out on us." The term of office of Wilson's successor will surely be short and crisis-ridden. Should the party be swept from power in general elections in a year or two, Wilson could then re-emerge as the candidate of reconciliation.

Ostensible Trotskyists Tail Ostensible Lefts

With the union bureaucracy placing its bets on Callaghan, the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group (IMG), British "section" of the "United" Secretariat, has thrown its support behind Tony Benn. Best known for being ousted by Wilson as minister of industry after proposing a number of nationalizations and leading the Labour Lefts' campaign against the Common Market, Benn's real program consists of support for protectionist import controls, demanding more power to the parliamentary Labour Party and "workers participation" in industry. The IMG justifies its decision to back Benn against other candidates in the BLP (as opposed to merely against the Tories and other capitalist parties) by hiding behind the workers' illusions—"workers disgusted by Wilson's policies will look to him":

> "If the only alternative to Healey, Callaghan and Jenkins is Benn, then he should be voted for—not because anyone can have any confidence in someone who is part of the Wilson Cabinet and who has already voted for the £6 limit and the public expenditure cuts, but because his victory would strengthen the confidence of militants and place him on the spot, forcing him to come out in his true colours."
>
> *Red Weekly*, 18 March

Once again the IMG has placed itself in the "vanguard" of the tailist fake-left; it remains to be seen how the other ostensibly revolutionary groups in Britain will jump. It is unclear from the IMG's statement whether, following the first round and the elimination of the least successful candidates, the IMG will dare to pursue its capitulationist position to its logical end and support Foot (whose name is not mentioned at all) as the only "lesser evil" with a chance to get close to the trappings of power.

Authentic Marxists, by way of contrast, can in principle give highly critical support to the BLP candidates (in the spirit of Lenin's analogy to the way in which "a rope supports a hanging man") in elections where they are running against the candidates of the bosses' parties. The purpose of such a tactic would be to aid the building of the revolutionary party by drawing a class line to separate the workers from the bourgeoisie. But in order to justify any support to particular candidates *within* organizations of the workers movement (e.g., a reformist workers party or a trade union), Marxists must demand that the candidacy be pledged to carry out at least important elements of a class-struggle program.

Of course, Benn has made it perfectly clear that his "leftism" is a matter for polite drawing-room debate and absolutely subordinate to the pro-capitalist horse-trading which constitutes the reality of the Labour leadership's policies: "My belief is that the party will rally round the new leader whoever he is... because when a man is elected leader he is endorsed by the whole party" (*Times* [London], 19 March). Benn is thus committed to supporting any "leader" who will carry forward the anti-working-class policies of the Wilson government!

Under the pressure of great social upheavals, sections of the social democracy have sometimes moved leftward to the point that they have temporarily become essentially centrist formations (e.g., the German SAP, some of the forces around Largo Caballero in the Spanish Socialist Party). Under such conditions, the revolutionary Marxists would of course orient toward the vacillating centrists as against the hardened reformists, with the perspective of principled regroupments with the healthy working-class elements. In Britain, such a development would have to take the form of a fundamental programmatic break with mainstream Labourism on a key issue of the class struggle. Such a break would mean a factional struggle posing the possibility of a deep split in the BLP. The IMG, however, is more than willing to settle for the small change of spurious left-posturing Labour Party reformism.

The BLP bureaucracy may have considerable difficulty keeping the rampant discontent in the ranks within manageable bounds in the face of the economic crisis whose privations fall squarely upon the shoulders of the working people with the eager complicity of the reformist Labour Party leadership. A strategic goal of the revolutionary Marxists must remain the destruction of the BLP as an obstacle to the revolutionary struggle, through splitting the BLP along a clear *class* axis between its pro-capitalist bureaucracy and its proletarian base. But the possibility of a refurbished "left wing" of the heavily discredited Labour Party is a danger which must be resolutely combatted through exposing the Labour Lefts as equally the servile prop of British capitalism. This is the only road to the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party in Britain. ■

UAW Convention

(continued from page 12)

nominated, many of Woodcock's comments were designed to lay the basis for UAW support to Jimmy Carter, whom Woodcock disingenuously described as neither racist nor anti-labor. Support to the Democrats is a key element of the UAW tops' bargaining strategy: Woodcock & Co. are determined to avoid a prolonged strike that would embarrass their capitalist politician allies just prior to the November elections.

The Pathetic "Opposition"

The frequent statements of support for a shorter workweek and COLA on pensions were the product of a recently concluded alliance between Frank Runnels (Cadillac Local 22 president and chairman of the Shorten the Workweek Committee) and Hugh Oginsky (head of the 30 and Out Committee). The two jointly called a demonstration of about 1,000 union members (mostly retirees) on the second day of the convention. However, both made clear that their activities were not "anti-leadership," but simply to show UAW tops that they have "support" for negotiating on these issues. While several delegates grew irate with Woodcock's hard line against reopening the pension agreement (one local president suggested he step down and another called him a liar), Oginsky tamely suggested he "might go along" with Woodcock's vague promise to secure pensioners more money "outside the mechanism of the agreement."

Runnels, who is obviously grooming himself for higher union office, has been pushing a four-day, 36-hour workweek scheme while professing his willingness to compromise even on this. He artfully avoided even the appearance of a floor fight by arranging to be the last speaker at the convention. While Runnels called the omnibus resolution's section on shorter worktime wishy-washy, his mouthpiece, *The Cadillac Steward*, supported a resolution that ducked the issue of how short the workweek should be in exchange for reaffirming the "principle." (This "principle" has been repeatedly endorsed by the UAW, but has never been made the focus of a strike mobilization.)

A real struggle for the UAW's historic slogan of "30 for 40" is inextricably bound up with the fight against the Woodcock leadership, which attempts to foist off potential absentee control time-bank plans and more holidays as "shorter worktime." Yet Runnels repeatedly declared that he "had never uttered a word of criticism" and was "not mad at you, Leonard, and not mad at your administration." The widespread applause for Runnels—which followed by only a few minutes a standing ovation for Woodcock demonstrated the delegates' consensus: you can be for good things, but not against the leadership.

Similarly, the Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC), largely a lash-up between the reformist United National Caucus and Local 122 president Bob Weissman which is politically supported by the International Socialists, forgot its own call for a shorter workweek. Trailing behind Runnels' lead, the CGC did not even attempt to get on the floor Weissman's own resolution for a "32-for-40" scheme phased in over three years (motivated by the desire to avoid "prohibitive cost" to the corporations).

Instead the CGC attempted to rally the necessary 415 votes to report out a vague Runnels-like resolution that backed the "principle" of shortening the workweek. When Woodcock high-handedly ruled this out of order Weissman groveled even more. He stressed his essential agreement with the omnibus resolution and pleaded with Woodcock and his handpicked Resolutions Committee to just include the sentence from Woodcock's own speech which said, "The central theme of 1976 bargaining has to be job security." Walter Reuther might have smiled, agreed and coopted this capitulatory "opposition," but the more rigid Woodcock merely pointed to an essentially identical section of his resolution and called on another speaker. The CGC was crushed, despite its beseeching on bended knee.

For a Nationwide Class-Struggle Opposition in the UAW!

The opportunism of the CGC was exposed in a special leaflet distributed at its post-convention meeting by the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), members of UAW Local 6. The CGC avoided the LSC's criticism during its meeting by imposing a gag rule that only supporters of its goals and program could speak, a procedure that even Woodcock does not impose on UAW conventions!

The CGC's bureaucratism was only eclipsed by the silly antics of two small groups, the Autoworkers United to Fight in '76 (a band supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party which *opposes* the demand for a shorter workweek) and the Revolutionary Action Caucus (RAC), which is politically supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League. Each held its own pathetic demonstration of about 20 persons outside the convention site (and most of the participants in the RAC rally were not even auto workers). Perhaps to avoid embarrassment, both demonstrations began *after* the delegates had entered the hall!

The serious approach of the Labor Struggle Caucus stands in marked contrast to the blustering of these posturers. The LSC distributed a leaflet to the bargaining convention which counterposed to Woodcock's treachery a class-struggle program: an industry-wide strike, 30 hours work with 40 hours pay with full COLA, expropriation of the auto industry. The LSC also called for the right to strike over all grievances without International approval, union control of hiring and upgrading to combat discrimination, workers control over production and the formation of a workers party based on the unions. Rejecting groveling to Woodcock as well as empty bombast, the LSC pointed out that the prerequisite for achieving such a program is the construction of a nationwide opposition in the UAW whose authority is built and tested over the course of the class struggle. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defy Control Board Union Busters!

Subway Strike Can Spark NYC Labor

MARCH 20—Negotiations with Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 have stalled with the refusal of the New York City Transit Authority to budge from its stand that it has no money for pay increases and that the city's financial plight necessitates cutbacks in the working conditions, wages and benefits of over 25,000 subway and bus system workers.

With the contract due to expire March 31, Matthew Guinan, International president of the TWU, has asked that a representative from the state's Emergency Financial Control Board take part in the negotiations. Under regulations set up to monitor the city's fiscal crisis, the Control Board must approve any settlement negotiated by the Transit Authority and the union. The entry of the Board into negotiations would make it easier for Guinan to pass off a sellout by claiming that at least it would not later be revoked by the state.

The transit system is technically separate from the rest of the city budget, since it is supposedly financed entirely by passenger fares. However, it is perfectly obvious that behind the Transit Authority stand the same bankers and capitalist politicians who have masterminded the massive assault on NYC labor since last summer. The Emergency Financial Control Board and the financiers' Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC), which have intervened to take direct control over much of the administration of New York City's affairs, have successfully managed to lay off thousands of city workers, institute a freeze on wages and even ram through a program of cuts for city workers.

One municipal labor union after another has capitulated to these attacks. When the original layoffs of 19,000 employees were announced last July, sanitationmen responded with a wildcat strike. This was undermined when the union leadership headed by John DeLury refused to support the actions. Victor Gotbaum, head of District 37 of AFSCME, not only refused to mobilize his own ranks against the layoffs, but later played the key role in accepting graduated pay cuts for all city unions. In September it was the turn of Albert Shanker, head of the teachers union, who signed a humiliating contract which called for no pay increases. It also instituted increases in class size, cutting back on preparation periods for teachers and acquiescing to layoffs of 10,000 school employees, which had accumulated since the previous June. In October Shanker added insult to injury by coughing up over $150 million of the teachers' pension funds to help the city avert default on its debts.

The labor hacks also assented to the other part of the capitalist austerity program—a vicious assault on essential social services which has meant a 40 percent increase in transit fares, crippling of the City University open admissions program (which particularly benefited the black and Spanish population), the imminent closing of several city campuses and cutbacks in welfare and medical care programs.

WV Photo

Transport Workers demonstrate last July in New York against fare increase and layoffs of city workers.

Transit workers are facing now-familiar demands by the city for surrender of past contract gains. The Transit Authority, while asserting that any monetary increases are out of the question, wants the right to appoint part-time employees (at reduced wage and benefit rates), eliminate the paid lunch break, lower the pay scale for new employees, and require employees to make contributions into the pension fund. The Authority also wants the right to assign unlimited overtime and to beef up productivity agreements whose purpose is speed-up and job elimination.

Local 100 of the TWU is potentially

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At UAW Bargaining Convention

Fake Oppositionists Grovel Before Woodcock

DETROIT, March 21 The United Auto Workers (UAW) Special Collective Bargaining Convention sputtered to a close today with the approval of a 69-page omnibus resolution. The absence of half to two thirds of the nearly 3,000 delegates for the final "unanimous" vote was consistent with the generally torpid character of the three-day charade. Local news commentators at the convention marveled at the absence of the traditional UAW table-thumping verbiage. The "Collective Bargaining Program" adopted is notable only for the fact that it doesn't commit UAW negotiators to anything specific in negotiations that begin this summer with the auto "Big Four" and major agricultural implement companies.

Most of the convention's floor time was consumed by the tortuous reading from the podium of every single word of the 69-page resolution, a process which pushed all discussion of economic issues off to the last three-hour session. This method was testimony not to supposed illiteracy of the UAW delegates but to the intention of the UAW brass to suppress any potential dissent.

Standing beneath two massive banners reading "Progress Through Collective Bargaining" and "A People's Victory in 1976," UAW president Woodcock outlined in his opening speech the class collaboration which is at the heart of the labor bureaucracy's "strategy." Reviewing the depression-level layoffs that began to hit the auto industry in late 1973 and bankrupted the GM and Chrysler SUB funds, Woodcock pleaded for "flexibility" and "not getting locked into one position" to skirt the growing sentiment in the UAW ranks for a shorter workweek. On cost-of-living (COLA) protection for retirees, a popular issue with many delegates. Woodcock argued like a corporate lawyer that the six-year agreement negotiated in 1973 could not be reopened and that to do so would hurt the union's "integrity." Concerning wages, speed-up, SUB funding, racial and sexual discrimination—and virtually everything else—the convention resolution contained only the most vacuous generalities.

UAW Special Collective Bargaining Convention. WV Photo

Nearly half of Woodcock's presentation focused on New Deal-style legislative matters (national health insurance, federalizing unemployment compensation, the Hawkins-Humphrey fake "full employment" bill) and the necessity of electing a "viable" Democrat in the presidential election. While indicating at a later press conference that he would strongly support Hubert Humphrey if the veteran liberal warhorse were

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 103 2 April 1976

Peronism Paved the Way

UPI

Helicopter carries Isabel Perón from the roof of the Casa Rosada after generals took power in Buenos Aires last week.

Army tanks and armoured personnel carriers guard the presidential palace on the day of the coup. Gente

Military Coup in Argentina

Down with the Junta! For Workers Revolution!

MARCH 30—When the strategically situated tanks started to move on the Casa Rosada and troops took up their assigned stations in downtown Buenos Aires, it was all over in a matter of a few minutes for the government of Isabel Perón. Not a shot was fired and the only one taken by surprise seemed to be the Argentine president herself. The helicopter that was to take her home around midnight last Tuesday instead deposited her in the military section of the municipal airport. There she was arrested at gunpoint, then swiftly spirited off to an isolated Andean lake resort in Neuquén province.

The March 23 coup d'état was certainly one of the most precisely executed and publicly prepared "conspiracies" in history. "More German than Argentine" was the reported verdict of one approving rancher. But the true significance of the fact that army commander Lt. General Jorge Videla could hatch his plans so openly—not even leaving the timing a secret—lay not in national characteristics but in the total isolation and impotence of the Peronist government.

The bloodless coup revealed the political paralysis of the strongest organized labor movement on the South American continent, left prostrate before the *gorilas* (reactionary militarists) by the treacherous bourgeois populist, Peronist leadership of the unions. Fake revolutionists from the Brezhnevite Communist Party and the Castroist PRT/ERP to ostensible Trotskyists have for years capitulated before the bourgeois populists, so that the Argentine working class saw no revolutionary alternative. When their Peronist misleaders fled, they were without direction. There was no reported resistance.

That the reactionary putsch came as an anti-climax does not make it any less dangerous. The new regime is taking pains to appear as reconcilers. Videla's speech to the nation talks of a "healing process"; the news agencies publish photographs of soldiers feeding the pigeons in the Plaza de Mayo. But behind the "moderate" image of the junta, including Videla, navy chief Vice Admiral Emilio Massera and Air Force commander Lt. General Orlando Agosti, lurk numerous "hard-liners" screaming for blood.

Despite the cynical talk of reconciliation, it is clear that the generals have taken power in order to smash the workers movement. Videla's program for the Argentine workers is the same as Pinochet's remedy for Chile. To the extent that rigidly enforced "moderation" is unable to break the back of organized labor—which will now be made to pick up the tab for bankrupt Argentine capitalism—the *gorilas* are prepared to drench the workers quarters in rivers of blood.

Imperialists Gloat

Now that only two South American countries (Venezuela and Colombia) remain with elected civilian governments, the *New York Times* (28 March) haughtily editorializes about "Latin America, the Growing Graveyard for Democracies." But like most of the imperialist press, the *Times* has all but demanded just such a coup throughout the last year. It only regrets that it took so long in coming. The U.S. government—and its closest allies in the Latin countries, Spain, Brazil and Chile—is no less enthusiastic. Its diplomatic recognition of the new government came almost before the seizure of power was under way.

So far the junta's moves show careful attention to the sensibilities of world bourgeois opinion. Taking into account the vicissitudes of a U.S. election year and the generalized revulsion caused by the Chilean bloodbath, the new rulers in Buenos Aires characterize their projected policies as "pragmatic liberalism." Renouncing Peronism's occasional flights of "Third World" rhetoric, the level-headed officers call for a reconciliation with the international financiers. On that score, the junta can undoubtedly expect a certain generosity.

Under the regime's announced plans for a drastic austerity plan (for the workers), imperialist refinancing of the more than $1 billion in debts due this May now becomes likely, along with further loans, investment and aid from the imperialist coffers. The new economics minister, José Martinez de Hoz, is a major industrialist and managing director of the Acindar steel concern. His plans for "economic recovery" will no doubt be inspired by the experience of the 1975 Acindar steel strike in Villa Constitución, where the army and police arrested more than 200 union militants and occupied the city for weeks.

Restoring "Essential Values"

The junta undertook its "national reorganization" early Wednesday, vowing that its "fundamental objective will be to restore the essential values which guide the state." Military officers are replacing civilian administrators in all major institutions, as the governmental apparatus is flushed out from top to bottom. A string of tough communiqués dissolved congress, provincial legislatures and city councils; removed judicial authorities, and suspended all political activity. In addition, six leftist parties were outlawed, including the ostensibly

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Novosti Press

Soviet Agriculture: A Stalinist Disaster 6

For An S.F. General Strike Against Anti-Labor Offensive!

LATE BULLETIN

As we go to press the San Francisco Labor Policy Committee has announced that S.F. municipal employees are on strike beginning at midnight, March 30. A key issue is the city board of supervisors' threats of a no-strike law. Also announced today was an outrageous reduction of the city's original $6.5 million wage offer to $2.3 million. Craft unions are now being asked to accept substantial pay cuts. All S.F. labor must join the fight against this provocation!

SAN FRANCISCO, March 26—The San Francisco County Board of Supervisors renewed its long-standing offensive against city labor this week as 18,500 workers in several departments awaited an April 1 deadline on a new wage package. Leaders of key municipal unions have issued strike warnings. However, these labor fakers have a long history of groveling capitulation to "friend-of-labor" politicians in city government who are leading the charge. Despite obvious militancy and solidarity in the ranks, the union tops are refusing to prepare for the necessary city-wide general strike to stop these attacks.

At issue is the wage package for "miscellaneous" city workers represented by numerous unions, most important being the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the various building trades craft unions. Included in the list are the city clerks, hospital workers and others, plus the craft unions (machinists, plumbers, electricians, carpenters, etc.).

Newly-elected San Francisco mayor George Moscone and the city supervisors have clearly been preparing to carry out their anti-labor election appeals to the "taxpayer" vote. The passage of the infamous Proposition B in the last election allows the Board to move directly against the craft unions, whose wages previously had to be pegged to those in private industry. In January, the supervisors began preparing a new city charter amendment for the June ballot which would make striking an offense punishable by firing for all city workers (the previous rule had covered only police and firemen). "There's no place in our city for yet another crippling public strike," warned Moscone (*San Francisco Examiner*, 21 February).

The negotiations have been conducted as a deliberate provocation to test labor resistance. The Board did not even begin the talks until March 1, only one month away from the deadline. In the meantime they hired a $3,000-a-month "negotiator," Patrick Mahler, and passed a special ordinance barring all negotiations which did not include him. Stanley Jensen of the Machinists' Union described one meeting with Mahler in which the latter told the union it would have to forego double-time rates for overtime work and make other reductions. Mahler's conclusion: "No negotiations are possible. This is it" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 19 March).

Thus the Board of Supervisors, the governing agents of the San Francisco employing class, had thrown out a direct challenge to the workers movement. In ruling-class circles, the only question was: "Will they fight? Or will they take it lying down?" The weak-kneed response of the trade union bureaucrats was to attempt to preserve labor "peace" through capitulation. Jensen later reported that the leaders of the S.F. Central Labor Council (CLC) had gone so far as to offer to submit to final binding arbitration in order to avoid a "mass strike." No doubt sensing weakness, the Board turned down even this sellout proposal to turn the workers' fate over to "neutral" mediation.

Forced by the intransigence of the city government bosses into making a show of militancy, the top labor leaders—including Jack Crowley of the CLC, Harry Bridges of the ILWU, Stanley Smith from the Building Trades, Joe Mazzola of the Plumbers Union and Tim Twomey of the SEIU—issued a joint warning of a city-wide strike, and held a pep rally on March 22. Terrified by the prospect of a real, class-struggle mobilization of San Francisco labor's ranks, the bureaucrats contented themselves with the usual gestures. Instead of preparing for a city-wide general strike, nine building trades unions filed "unfair labor practices" charges against the city.

At last week's rally for city workers, the labor traitors denounced the "politicians," ignoring their own gross culpability in having helped elect Moscone, despite the latter's openly anti-labor campaign. Mazzola harked back to Joseph Alioto, the previous mayor, as a model, "forgetting" Alioto's crushing of the 1974 city workers strike with the help of state police. Mazzola's conclusion was that he really didn't want a strike, although he had earlier complained, "I don't know how to negotiate a downgrade agreement." He will learn fast—through capitulation to the bosses' politicians in order to avoid waging a successful strike!

The only sign of verbal militancy at the rally came from Larry Martin, whose union, the Muni transit workers' local of the TWU, is not directly involved in the negotiations but has a very militant membership. Transit workers have voted to back the city workers and were hoping for reciprocal support when the Muni contract expires in July. Martin's speech received a standing ovation, but when it was suggested to end the meeting by singing "Solidarity Forever," the nervous bureaucrats quickly ended the rally before the singing could start.

Only a militant struggle can prevent a rout of the workers at the hands of city government. Already it is beginning: as soon as the Board of Supervisors announced a partial settlement with the major unions except the craft unions, Crowley sighed with relief that a strike was now "much less likely" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 March). The SEIU leadership quickly rammed through a tentative ratification vote on March 25.

The agreement includes a gross exacerbation of pay differentials, providing lowest-paid categories—including many women clerical workers—with only a 3 percent increase, while the highest brackets get an 11 percent jump. The deal reduces premium rates for overtime, knocking double- or triple-time rates down to flat rates or time-and-a-half in some categories—a gross betrayal in a period of high unemployment, when more workers, not less, should be hired at shorter hours with no loss in pay. In addition, department heads have been granted the authority to send employees home when no "appropriate work" is available (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 March).

The ploy by the city rulers to isolate and destroy the powerful craft unions, beginning with the invidious Proposition B, has for the time being succeeded: the union leaders are now simply hoping to avoid a pay cut. In a further attempt to weaken their main target, the municipal tops are trying to slice out the critical Operating Engineers—who allowed sewage to drain into the Bay during the 1974 strike—with a piece-off of 15 percent.

Taxes will be raised, services slashed and fares increased—and all of it will be blamed on the "greed" of the municipal unions—regardless. City workers must not pay by worsening their living standards for the economic ills of the capitalist system! Only through militant class struggle can city employees both defend themselves against the union-busting, wage-slashing Board of Supervisors, and come to the aid of other working and poor people in the city who depend on the buses, trolleys, hospitals, etc. But the trade-union leaders stand in the way of a city workers general strike, city-wide labor solidarity and a class-struggle program. The buzzards in the halls of labor know only one purpose: how to find accommodation with the bosses. The workers' interests require a different program!

Oust the bureaucrats! Build a class-struggle union leadership!

For a city-wide general strike! No wage cuts! For the right to strike of all city workers!

Not cutbacks, but jobs for all! For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay! Essential social services must be provided free for all working people!

Break from the capitalist parties! No more capitulation to the Aliotos and Moscones! Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Warmongering on the Campaign Trail

Kissinger Threatens Blockade of Cuba in Defense of Apartheid

"I solemnly warn Fidel Castro," intoned Gerald Ford, promising to "take appropriate measures" to prevent "another Angola." Since February 28, when imperialism's commander-in-chief pronounced Castro an "international outlaw," the sound of sabre-rattling in Washington has grown deafening. Kissinger declared that "it is time that the world be reminded that America remains capable of... decisive action." In Dallas this week he reiterated his threat to militarily confront Cuba (and necessarily the Soviet Union) over the possibility of a Cuban intervention into the guerrilla war against Ian Smith's white supremicist regime in Rhodesia.

Presidential candidate Fred Harris sent a telegram to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 25 saying that "trusted sources have indicated to me that the Ford Administration is planning a blockade of Cuba, related to Cuba's possible involvement in Africa" (*New York Times*, 26 March). So the Cuban "missile crisis" is again on the political and military drawing boards as the Pentagon and Ford "review" contingency plans. According to military sources interviewed by the *New York Times* (24 March), "A naval blockade... appears to be the most obvious military option available to the United States" but that perhaps "a

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth League Forum

The Struggle Against Fascist Terror

—For Labor/Black Defense
—Stop Nazi Terror in Marquette Park
—The Lessons of History

Speaker:
PAUL HUNTER

Thursday, April 8, 12 Noon
University of Illinois
Circle Center
Room to be announced

CHICAGO

Spartacus Youth League Forum

Mao's Foreign Policy—Long March of Betrayals

Speaker:
LEN MEYERS

Wednesday, April 7, 7:30 p.m.
Roosevelt University
Herman Crown Center
Blumkovler Room

demonstration of the accuracy and lethality [sic] of new American weapons might reinforce Mr. Kissinger's warnings."

Much of the warmongering talk coming out of Washington is of course campaign warfare against Ronald Reagan, who has appealed to right-wing Cuban exile groups by declaring that the Ford administration is "soft" on Cuba. But stinging from the defeat in Angola, Ford and Kissinger have taken to demonstrations that they too are willing to blow up the world if necessary to defend the considerable interests of imperialism in southern Africa. Such threats cannot in any case be taken lightly.

The threats against Cuba are calculated to provide arguments for a possible military intervention on the side of apartheid and white minority rule in southern Africa. No doubt understanding that the Smith regime in Rhodesia is doomed, the U.S. is officially on record as favoring "majority rule" in Rhodesia and South Africa. But in fact the core of U.S. policy since the 1969 Kissinger-authored Operation "Tar Baby" (which poured U.S./NATO economic and military aid into a regime the U.S. had hypocritically condemned in the UN since 1963) has been to back—sometimes openly, mostly secretly—the status quo in southern Africa, that is, white racism. So, while saying the U.S. will "do nothing" to prop up minority rule, the U.S. prepares instead to fight the "Communist menace"—with the same operational results. Imperialism is consistently anti-Communist and racist.

The same "logic" which demanded the destruction of Vietnamese villages in order to "save" them was employed by Kissinger last week as he announced that the U.S. "cannot permit the Soviet Union or its surrogates to become the world's policeman" (*New York Times*, 23 March). This from imperialism's top cop—the terror bomber of Southeast Asia, the godfather of CIA assassination squads, the bankroller of right-wing military movements all over the world.

No one knows better than the Cubans who really is "the world's policeman": U.S. imperialism, which organized an armed invasion of Cuba, which has backed to the hilt every rabid Cuban exile group and counterrevolutionary scheme, which tried for years to assassinate Castro, which risked a nuclear war in a naval blockade, which has for years maintained an economic embargo against Cuba. Now these vicious warmongers threaten Cuba in the name of "freedom." Socialists must stand prepared to unconditionally defend the gains of the Cuban revolution, as the sabre-rattlers' election bravado exposes imperialism's murderous cutting edge. Hands Off Cuba! Down with White Supremacist Rule in Southern Africa! ■

Free Desmond Trotter!

Desmond Trotter's last chance for action by the imperial judiciary of the British Commonwealth to save him from the hangman's noose came to a bitter end March 18. The British Privy Council refused to hear an appeal for the young "black power" militant, despite international protest against the outrageous guilty verdict and death sentence handed down by "Her Majesty's Court" on the Caribbean island of Dominica. Trotter, who has been in solitary confinement for nearly two years, can now only hope that the boss of Dominica, Premier Patrick John, is unable to ignore the outcry on his behalf and will be forced to grant a reprieve.

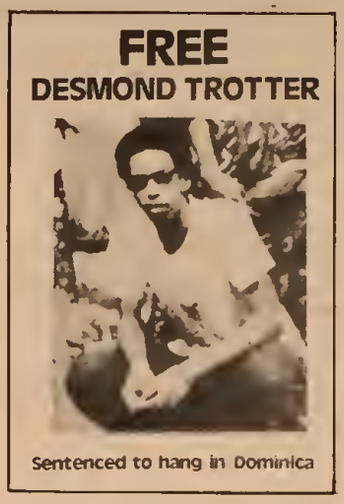
In a telephone interview with the London-based defense committee for Trotter, *WV* learned that the prisoner has only a 21-day grace period for his sentence to be commuted by a six-man "Mercy Committee." If John has his way, Trotter will hang. On Monday, March 29, John called for a "patriotism" demonstration in the capital. Reports indicate that this show of force was ineffective and poorly attended.

Most important, it was reported that after the rally, Patrick John replaced the head of the Mercy Committee with himself! The former head was against the hanging of Trotter. The international workers movement must forcefully protest against this threatened judicial murder of an innocent young man, whose "crime" is to dare to speak out against the vicious little dictatorship in the West Indies! Save Desmond Trotter!

Who Is Desmond Trotter?

The youthful prisoner was formerly the editor of *Twavay*, newspaper of the Movement for a New Dominica (MND), and a political figure on the impoverished island of 72,000 people, now an "associate state" of Britain. He led the Manicou movement which in 1970 exposed governmental corruption in Dominica, a political embarrassment for John. Trotter was the main speaker at African Liberation Day rallies during 1971-73 and was generally regarded as a "black power leader." His defense committee writes that "He called for liberation of the suffering Dominican masses and began organizing youth to work collectively on the land as a concrete example of working for change while linking with hard working peasants." Trotter's self-styled "socialism" is an eclectic mixture of "Third World" rhetoric and mystical references to the will of "the Almighty."

Trotter was arrested in May 1974 and charged with the murder of an elderly white American tourist shot during the annual two-day carnival celebrations. The sole accuser was a 16-year-old barmaid from the neighboring island of Antigua, who said that on the day of the killing Trotter told her that he "had shot a white man." During a line-up before the trial the barmaid pointed vaguely in Trotter's direction, all the time keeping her face and eyes hidden. Back home on Antigua, she sought out a lawyer and confessed that she had been intimidated by the Dominica police into signing the identification statement. During the trial, the judge kept this crucial piece of evidence from the jury and denied the defense the right to cross-examine the "witness" on her contradictory statements. Additionally, Trotter's lawyer was killed prior to the trial and the accused murderer died in jail under equally suspicious circumstances.



Sentenced to hang in Dominica

The Trotter case took place against a background of surging social turbulence and lynch-law repression. A political strike by civil servants, dockers and hospital workers in June 1973 produced a "state of emergency." Uprisings by field laborers temporarily "collectivized" key plantations. The two urban port towns of Roseau and Portsmouth swelled with jobless youth, many of whom call themselves "Dreads" and wear their hair in "locks" like Jamaica's Rastafarian religious violence cultists. The Dominican Dreads, however, have not followed the violence cultism of the Rastafarians. Instead, they advocate land reform and a romantic pastoral life-style.

With unemployment at 50 percent and inflation out of control, Premier John proclaimed the "solution" to Dominica's grinding poverty: tourism. In the name of "public safety" for the white tourists, the despot decreed a series of so-called "anti-Dread laws" which ban strikes and "subversive" literature and grant citizens the "legal right to shoot dead on sight suspected radicals" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 12 April 1975). John's small-time tyrannical plantation regime, masked as a "Labour Party," has been on the rampage against those he calls "pseudo-intellectuals" and "agents of international Communism." He has brought down his boot (the party's electoral symbol) particularly hard upon the Dreads. A large number of these unorganized youth claim general agreement with the black power/nationalist rhetoric of the MND.

The MND, of which Trotter was a leading member, is but a pale and unfocused reflection of the black power movement that swept the Caribbean islands during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Since 1972 the MND has sought to breathe new life into that failed mixture of nationalism, "Third Worldism" and peasant romanticism. These illusions are no hope for the oppressed plantation laborers, and still less for urban workers. Only a socialist revolution led by the proletariat can establish a socialist federation of the West Indies, by throwing out the sugar planters, banana kings, village tyrants and petty despots like Dominica's Patrick John.

No Détente in Dominica

Some had hoped for a "détente" inspired by the Labour Party government, but there seems to be no "new era" in Dominica. Any concession on the part of John will be the result of public outcry for Trotter's freedom, and will reflect a weakened position of the government. It does not guarantee that Trotter's life will be saved! International protest must be raised to save him. Already, the Amalgamated Workers Union and the longshore union in Dominica have publicly supported freedom for Desmond Trotter, according to a member of his U.S. defense committee. The *Chronicle*, the island's only newspaper, ran a front-page banner headline, "Save Trotter's Life," and the London *Sunday Times* reports that 50 Parliament members have signed a petition on Trotter's behalf. The Partisan Defense Committee urges that letters and telegrams demanding freedom for Desmond Trotter be immediately directed to: Premier Patrick John, Government Headquarters, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. Copies and messages of support should be sent to: Committee in Defense of Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in Dominica, P.O. Box 231, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. Desmond Trotter Defense Committees may be contacted as follows: London—37 Tollington Park, London N4, phone 01-272-0594; New York—853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, NY 10003, phone (212) 254-6062 or (212) 666-8451. Attend support actions (see ad this issue), send telegrams, send contributions for defense efforts! Only mass protest will save Desmond Trotter! ■

PDC TELEGRAM

22 March 1976
Government and Premier of Dominica
Government Headquarters,
Roseau, Dominica, W.I.

DEMAND FREEDOM FOR DESMOND TROTTER. STOP THE WITCHHUNT AGAINST THIS CLEARLY INNOCENT YOUNG MAN. DESMOND TROTTER MUST NOT HANG—FREE HIM!

Partisan Defense Committee

Stop the Hanging of Caribbean Political Activist
SAVE DESMOND TROTTER

RALLY: Sunday, April 4 at 4 p.m.

BROOKLYN
Bellrose Ballroom / 1391 Bedford Avenue / corner of St. Marks Avenue
(8th Avenue train to Franklyn Avenue or No. 2 to Eastern Parkway)

SPEAKERS
C.L.R. JAMES, Author of *Black Jecobins*
BERNARD WILTSHIRE, Lecturer: Caribbean History
CRISPIN GREGOIRE, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee; Founder: L'Echele Youth Group
MIKE KELLY, United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)
ALFIE ROBERTS, Chairman: Caribbean Writers Congress, Montreal
REPRESENTATIVE of Puerto Rican Socialist Party

SPONSORED BY: USLA, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee, Caribbean Student League; Organisation for Total Independence of Dominica, Student Coalition Against Racism; Partisan Defense Committee, Socialist Workers Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (partial listing)

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Argentina...

(continued from page 1)

Trotskyist PST and Política Obrera (guerrillaist groups such as the PRT/ERP were already banned).

Other decrees closed the universities, ordered the death penalty for attacks on military installations, and death or indefinite imprisonment for sabotage and attacks on police or military personnel. The borders were closed and any strikes or other activity impeding production banned. The military took over all state-owned enterprises and slapped censorship on the press. Although the junta has not issued figures, an estimated 2,000 Peronists and labor leaders, Communists and suspected "subversives" have been arrested (*Economist*, 27 March).

Prisoners were seen being loaded onto two military transport ships anchored in Buenos Aires harbor. This repression can be expected to deepen and encompass a broad range of labor and left militants of all parties. Particularly endangered are tens of thousands of political refugees from neighboring countries who now have nowhere to go and no borders to slip across. The international workers movement has an urgent obligation to protest the sweeping repression and demand freedom for all class-war prisoners in Argentina.

Immediately after the declaration of the coup a military administrator took over the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and all unions were put into receivership and their bank accounts seized. The headquarters of Argentina's most powerful union, the UOM (metal workers) is now occupied by soldiers in battle gear. In effect, the labor movement was beheaded in one fell swoop. CGT chief Casildo Herreras was out of the country at the time, however, and UOM leader Lorenzo Miguel, Isabel Peróns's staunchest supporter in the union, reportedly escaped to Uruguay, as did many other bureaucrats.

Workers Demobilized

The cowardly trade-union leadership, which only three days before had bragged that any putsch attempt would be prevented by a general strike, collapsed like a house of cards. Trapped between their seething ranks—who refused to accept a wage freeze in the face of the 424 percent annual inflation rate which was literally devastating their incomes—and the Peronist government that enforced their bureaucratic power, the union tops' only contribution was to demobilize the working class. Although factories had been shut down by strikes in Córdoba and Buenos Aires province in recent weeks, the struggles remained locally isolated.

In mid-March, strikes and demonstrations in the key industrial centers were squashed by Peronist labor fakers hurling accusations that any anti-government protest would encourage a military coup. Thus, when more than 30,000 metal workers in the industrial belt around the capital struck on March 10 against Mrs. Perón's insulting 20 percent wage increase, the leaders called off the powerful protest after only two days. Such a general wave of working-class militancy could have been translated into a political force capable of crushing the military plotters. But to do so would have meant the workers organizations themselves taking power, thus breaking with the Peronist regime and posing the most fundamental challenge to the capitalist state.

This the union tops were not prepared to undertake, so instead they preached passivity in the vain hope that his would satisfy the bloodthirsty generals. When the auto industry had been crippled for a week, José Rodriguez, secretary general of the auto workers, told union delegates:

> "The labor movement must not be responsible for bringing down this Government, even if it is a bad one.... If a military government comes in and tells us there will be no wage increases for three years, this is worse than the Government's offer of wage adjustments to match price increases."
>
> —*New York Times*, 14 March

So in the name of preventing a coup, the Peronist union bureaucracy unrolled the red carpet for the military's unopposed stroll to power. As in 1955, when General Juan Perón advised his followers not to mobilize against the threat of a military takeover, once again, by preaching reliance on the benevolence of "pro-labor" populist politicians, Peronism tied the workers' hands and thus paved the way for the coup.

Gente

Left to right: Admiral Emilio Massera, General Jorge Videla and Brig. General Orlando Agosti swear allegiance to god, fatherland, national constitution and the "Process of National Reorganization."

Failure of Peronism Without Perón

During the 1940's, the Argentine bourgeoisie sought to use the charismatic young Perón to head off a threatening labor upsurge by channeling it into state-controlled unions supervised by the ministry of labor. As the unionization of previously unorganized workers proceeded, however, even the Peronist-controlled unions became difficult to control. His foreign exchange reserves used up and faced with a boycott by domestic capitalists, Perón the bonapartist cracked down on the unions, smashing several important strikes during the early 1950's. By 1955, the working class was sufficiently demoralized for the generals to oust the strongman in a misnamed "liberating revolution." For the next 18 years, Argentina's union movement was subjected to periodic severe repression, government intervention and semi-legality. Real wages fell by more than 40 percent.

But through the 1960's a new generation of workers grew up which was prepared to fight the military dictators and their civilian puppets. While the Peronist leadership sought to maneuver with different factions of the military, repeated militant strikes broke out among Tucumán sugar workers. Then a three-day general strike and popular insurrection exploded in the interior industrial center of Córdoba in May 1969. Ever since the powerful *cordobazo* a pre-revolutionary situation has existed in Argentina.

After several waves of guerrilla activity and, much more importantly, repeated mass strikes assuming semi-insurrectionary proportions on a local level, the armed forces leadership decided to appeal once again to "el viejo" (the old man), in the hopes that he could once again derail the labor movement. Perón returned from exile in Spain firmly committed to root out the "Marxist disease" in the unions and purge leftists from the heterogeneous Justicialista movement. He succeeded in ousting a number of liberal state governors and enforcing a wage freeze, but died before the job was complete. His wife and vice president Isabel proved unequal to the task of Bonaparte, and the Peronist movement began to fall apart at the seams.

The regime of the former cabaret dancer, whose ticket to power was her marriage, stayed in power almost from the beginning solely through a virtual state of siege. The only way she could keep unity within the Justicialist Liberation Front (FREJULI) was through the use of widespread terror carried out by the so-called Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), a cover for the death squads made up of Peronist gunmen and "off-duty" secret police. The AAA night-and-fog operations were run by her personal secretary, José Lopez Rega, who was also minister of social welfare and one of the leaders of a small fascistic wing of the Peronist movement.

"Let Peronism Hang Itself!"

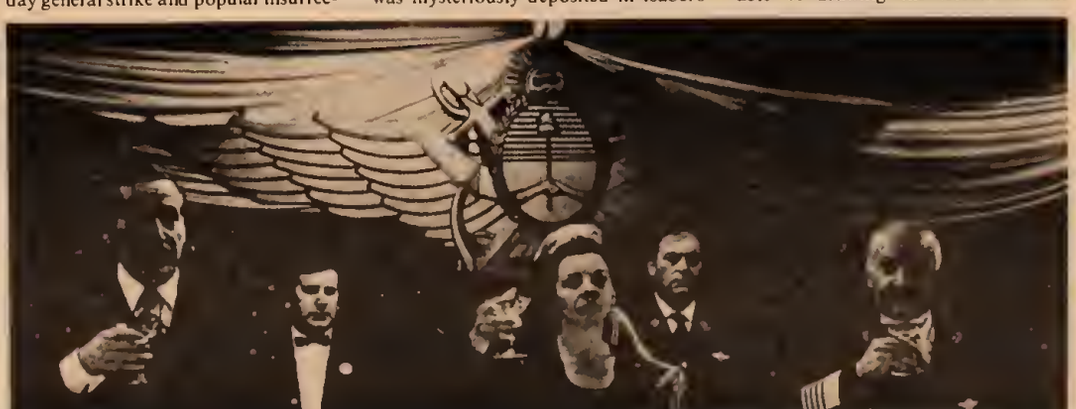
However, Lopez Rega's Rasputin-like appetites for total power came into conflict with the rest of the Justicialist leadership. His corruption was legendary, and the stench extended to his patron as well. (The discovery of a $600,000 check for state funds which was mysteriously deposited in Isabel's private account instead of in a Peronist social charity foundation is certainly only the tip of the iceberg.) Lopez Rega was forced to flee into exile in Spain once again last summer after ultimatums from both the army and union leaders.

In recent months, despite the absence of their leader the AAA commandos have intensified their murderous work so that many politicians and union activists were willing to countenance even a military coup in the belief that systematic repression was preferable to the unpredictable violence wreaked by the Peronist pistoleros. For the Peronist tops, the main incentive in sticking with the totally discredited president was the realization, as she put it, that "if my head rolls, they will then cut the heads off those who come behind" (*New York Times*, 20 March). In this case, "they" could have been either the military or the union ranks.

With widespread looting of the government coffers, running the treasury printing presses at top speed and deliberate sabotage by the leading capitalists, the Peronist regime managed to drive the economy into the ground. The military leaders issued periodic threats and calls for a return to order, but the generals willingly let "Isabelita's" follies stagger on. Their obvious purpose was to demolish the myth of Peronism as the "great benefactor" of the working class. "Let Peronism hang itself," was their implicit motto. The ignominious removal of the president in the dead of night, and the threat to try her for corruption, are part of this same operation. And Peronism did discredit itself, to the point that today it lies in a shambles, fragmented possibly beyond repair.

The Bankruptcy of Guerrillaism

But while many erstwhile Peronist youth and militant unionists are certainly disillusioned with the leaders who brought them to this disaster, they lack a revolutionary Marxist vanguard capable of drawing the lessons of the



Informations Ouvrieres

Isabel Perón and the Argentine general staff in 1975.

Peronist experience. In recent years, the most publicized of those aspiring to this mantle were various guerrillaist groups ranging from the left-Peronist Montoneros to ostensibly Trotskyist groups. Yet the last months before the coup also demonstrated the utter impotence of the guerrillaists in the face of serious action by the military.

The most dramatic early demonstration of the inability of Castroite *foco* theories and guerrillaist actions to mobilize the working masses was the police coup in Córdoba in February 1974. Even though this was the center of urban guerrillaism in Argentina, and both the ERP and Montonero squads could freely operate in the factory districts, they presented no opposition whatsoever to a power grab by the provincial police commander who ousted the left-Peronist local administration and drove socialist union leaders underground. Yet a united general strike by the tens of thousands of auto workers on the day of the coup could have easily swept away the socially isolated police torturers.

Even the most spectacular guerrilla action to date, the attack on the Quilmes arsenal 10 miles south of Buenos Aires, last December 24 revealed the bankruptcy of guerrillaism. The operation reportedly involved a massive attack by more than 100 commandos seeking weapons and explosives. Although the details of the operation are not clear because of obvious propaganda distortions by the armed forces, some combination of military mistakes or inadequate firepower forced the guerrilla fighters to retreat. Yet even though the Quilmes arsenal is located in a poor district which could be expected to be sympathetic to the anti-government forces, there was no popular response. The troops were able to rake the district with murderous fire, killing at least 100 and perhaps many more who went unreported in the press.

In a Christmas day message, General Videla hailed the "resounding triumph for the forces of order" represented by the guerrillas' defeat at Quilmes. He also denounced "passive complicity" of many Argentines with "subversive delinquents" and the "evidence of close connections" of the Montoneros and ERP with left-wing factories. An article in the *New York Times* (24 March) also reported: "The influence of the guerrillas on the factory floors has grown partly because left-wing labor leaders have been largely wiped out or driven underground while the more conservative Peronist trade unionists have been torn between their allegiance to President Isabel Martinez de Perón's economic austerity measures and the demands of their rank and file."

For a Trotskyist Party in Argentina!

The article chronicles the murders of left-Peronist labor leader Atilio López and "socialist" unionist Agostin Tosco, and the driving underground of auto union leader René Salamanca in Córdoba during the last year. These leaders of the left wing of the labor movement in the center of Argentine working-class militancy were at one time in a position to challenge the reactionary CGT tops such as Lorenzo Miguel and Casildo Herreras. However, despite occasional verbal militancy they were never prepared to offer a *political* challenge to the Peronist union bureaucracy. Never did Tosco and Salamanca put forward a transitional program of demands leading beyond simple trade unionism to pose the question of working-class state power. Concretely, despite numerous provocations and direct armed attacks inspired by the CGT misleaders, Tosco-Salamanca never organized a class-struggle opposition in the unions or united workers militias to defend the leftist unions' offices. They were part of the union bureaucracy, and those ostensible socialists who tailed after them were playing the game of Isabel Perón.

Throughout the second Peronist regime—from May 1973 to March 1976—the pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCA) tailed after the capitalist demagogue it once denounced as a "Peronazi." In the September 1975 elections the PCA uncritically called for votes for General Perón. Although the Castroite PRT/ERP was formally in opposition to the regime, it repeatedly sought to distinguish between Peronist officials and the armed forces, calling for a popular front against the *gorilas*. Castro himself enthusiastically lauded every phony "anti-imperialist" utterance of Perón.

In contrast to these class-collaborationist Stalinist forces, the burning need of the Argentine workers was—and continues to be—the formation of a Trotskyist party capable of breaking the working class from its populist misleaders and leading it on the road of class independence. Unfortunately, however, the legacy of two decades of Pabloist revisionism has taken its toll, with the largest ostensibly Trotskyist organization in Argentina, the PST, adopting a policy of de facto "critical support" for the Peronist regime. (This was a duplication of the policies of its main "theoretician," Nahuel Moreno, toward Peronism during the late 1950's.) Pledging its support to "institutionalization" (bourgeois law and order) and the "continuity" of Isabel Perón's government, the social-democratic PST lumped the guerrillas into the same category as the anti-communist terrorists of the AAA.

A Trotskyist party in Argentina would have warned the working class of the mortal danger represented by Peronist bonapartism. A *bourgeois* political current, this strain of nationalist populism was not based on the labor movement, as the PRT suggested in theory and the PST pretended in practice. Unlike pro-capitalist social-democratic and Stalinist labor reformists, the Peronists were quite capable of *smashing* the labor movement without destroying their own existence. And they were well along in the process of physically liquidating all independent union leaders when the military stepped in to complete their terrorist purges.

While defending the leftist guerrillas against state repression, the task of an authentic Trotskyist vanguard is not to undertake isolated military adventures but rather to demonstrate to the workers the need to break with all wings of the bourgeoisie, including the most left as embodied in sections of the Peronist movement. Through implacable struggle against the anti-labor measures of the Justicialista government, such a Marxist leadership could begin to group around it the most resolute sections of the working class and draw the lessons of the present tragic defeat.

A Trotskyist party would emphasize that no answer to the military junta will be found in the formation of popular-frontist alliances with "progressive" capitalists (such as Allende's Popular Unity, which led to the bloody Chilean coup), or in tailing after the Peronist misleaders. In close alliance with revolutionary Marxists in neighboring countries (Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay), and resolutely defending the labor movement and all left organizations and militants against *gorila* repression, its task must be to construct the independent revolutionary workers party, as part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, to prepare for workers revolution to smash the junta. ■

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Trotskyists Excluded for Criticizing Peronism

WV Photo

NYC Demo Against Argentine Junta

MARCH 27—About 60 people picketed today in front of the Argentine Airways office in New York to protest the right-wing military takeover in Argentina. The demonstration was called by MASA (Anti-Imperialist Movement for Socialism in Argentina), a heterogeneous leftist group. MASA supporters confined their chanting to bourgeois-democratic slogans like "We want free elections—right now!" and "We want civil liberties—right now!"

Also present was the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), which called for freedom for all left prisoners in Argentina. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) demanded "Free All Class-War Prisoners in Argentina!" along with other slogans pointing the way forward for the working class: "For Workers Revolution to Smash the Junta" and "Break with Peronism, Guerrillaism, Stalinism—For a Trotskyist Party in Argentina!"

One Spartacist sign condemned Perón's advice to his followers 20 years ago, "Del trabajo a casa y de casa al trabajo" ("From Work to Home and From Home to Work"). This cowardly watchword was Perón's craven advice to the workers who were prepared to take up arms against the generals who overthrew him in September 1955. Fearful that an armed proletarian uprising would spell the doom of bourgeois rule, the so-called "Great Benefactor" ignominiously stepped down, leaving the Peronist-led unions to suffer 18 years of vicious military repression. The SL sign pointed out that then, as now, "Peronism Paved the Way for the Coup."

The SL's revolutionary criticism of their "*jefe máximo*" (supreme chief) so antagonized left-wing Peronists in the demonstration that MASA leaders insisted these signs be taken down. When the SL/SYL marchers refused to stifle their politics, they were excluded from the line. They then crossed the street, joined by supporters of the PDC, and attempted to hold a brief demonstration but were quickly stopped by the cops. Significantly diminished in size, the MASA demonstration did not last much longer.

Straggling behind the Peronists were a few supporters of the International Workers Party, International Socialists, U.S. Committee for Justice in Latin America (USLA), Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People, Communist Cadre, Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee (RMOC) and others. Most of these groups claimed to disagree with MASA's act of political censorship, but without exception they remained on the picket line and did not protest.

Several embarrassed MASA members afterward approached the SL/SYL contingent and attempted to justify their organization's sectarian exclusion. No such political scruples troubled the pseudo-Trotskyist RMOC, however, whose leader, Hedda Garza, not only did not protest the exclusion but viciously attacked the SLers for raising criticisms of Peronism "at this time." Tailing left-talking Peronists even as they attack revolutionary Trotskyists, the Mandelite RMOC once again demonstrates that its pursuit of the "new mass vanguard" only takes it deeper into the morass of class collaboration. At a time when Peronist treachery has once again left the working class prostrate and leaderless in the face of a military coup, the RMOC joins hands with the Socialist Workers Party-dominated USLA in solidarizing with more than two decades of Pabloist capitulation to Perón and his heirs, the populist roadblocks to socialist revolution in Argentina. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Soviet Agriculture: A Stalinist Disaster

by Joseph Seymour

The head of yet another Soviet Minister of Agriculture rolls. After a 30 percent drop in the grain harvest in 1975, it was predictable that Dmitry Polyansky would be sacked. It is standard Stalinist practice that after a disaster those directly in charge are punished while the top leaders are held blameless. But Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin know that the worst harvest in a decade is not due to mismanagement by Polyansky. To be responsible for agriculture in the Russian degenerated workers state is an unenviable position. The bureaucracy's inability to ensure the steady growth of food production is endemic to the post-1929 Soviet political economy.

Frequent and major declines in agricultural production are the most serious factor retarding improvement in living standards and disorganizing national economic planning. With much bureaucratic self-congratulation, the 1970-75 Five Year Plan had announced a reversal of the traditional pattern of heavy industry growing faster than consumer goods. This target had to be abandoned after the bad harvest of 1972.

Given this year's far worse harvest, the 1976-80 Five Year Plan reverts back to heavy industry vanguardism, with consumer goods projected to increase at a very modest 31 percent, compared to 44 percent in the original 1970-75 plan (*Economist*, 20 December 1975). It will take until 1980 to restore the livestock which had to be overslaughtered this year due to lack of fodder.

The sorry state of agriculture is not only the most important contributor to the material deprivation of the USSR's population, but it is also the most immediate current source of external weakness. U.S. imperialism regards Soviet dependency on American grain exports, usually on an emergency basis, as its best weapon for political blackmail. One of the themes of presidential hopeful Henry Jackson, mouthpiece of the hard "cold warriors," is using American "food power" against the "Reds."

After 50 years of economic planning, the Russian bureaucracy still cannot guarantee even modest steady growth of agriculture. The wound inflicted on the Soviet economy by Stalin's forced collectivization of agriculture continues to bleed. The present agricultural crisis can be understood only in the context of the entire history of the relations between the peasantry with the regime emerging from the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, as well as with that which was the product of its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin.

Mechanization on a collective farm. Novosti Press

Peasant Smallholding and Soviet Economic Development

Peasant discontent with the forced requisitioning system of "War Communism" forced the Bolshevik government in 1921 to introduce the New Economic Policy (NEP) instituting free trade in farm produce. The egalitarian break-up of the great estates had created 25 million smallholding families generally cultivating scattered strips rather than compact farms. Thus in the 1920's Russian agriculture was more backward and far less market-oriented than under tsarism, when great landed estates had dominated.

In addition, the destruction of industry during the imperialist war and then the post-1917 civil war made it impossible to supply the peasants with manufactures at pre-war terms of trade. This manifested itself in the so-called "scissors crisis" (a widening disparity between agricultural and industrial prices) of 1923. This further discouraged peasants from supplying produce for the urban market.

In 1914, grain production per capita had been 584 kilos; by 1928 it had fallen to 484 kilos. But the most drastic declines were in production for the market (i.e., the surplus over peasant household consumption). In 1913, marketed grain was 1,300 million poods (a pood is about 36 pounds). In 1928, it was less than half, 630 million poods. Even more startling than the fall in marketed surplus was the share available for export: in 1925-26 Russian grain exports were only 24 percent of the pre-war level.

Naturally the wealthiest farmers, the kulaks, contributed a disproportionate share of marketed produce. While 3-5 percent of the farming population were kulaks, they supplied 20 percent of marketed grain. The kulaks sold twice as much of their harvest as the rest of the peasantry.

During the early 1920's, when the main task was recovering from the effects of the war and the revolution, the NEP was more or less successful. By 1925, this process was essentially completed and the new situation required the systematic expansion of the economy. Here the contradictions of NEP, with its backward, smallholding agriculture, came to the fore. After 1926, food production stagnated while the industrial labor force continued to expand. The winter *zagotovki* (state procurement of grain following the harvest) became a dominating, crisis-ridden event in the economic life of the country.

The policy of the Stalin/Bukharin bloc, the ruling group after 1925, was to encourage greater output from the wealthiest, most productive farms, thereby increasing class differentiation in the countryside. This attitude was encapsulated in Bukharin's notorious slogan directed at the kulaks: "enrich yourselves." In 1925 the laws restricting the hiring of farm labor and the renting of land were greatly liberalized.

The early NEP legislation, drawn up under Lenin's direct guidance, while allowing free trade in agricultural produce, severely restricted the use of wage labor and acquisition of land. Stalin/Bukharin's post-1925 policies were not a continuation of Lenin's NEP, but were far more permissive toward agricultural capitalism.

Novosti Press

Modern irrigation system in Ararat Valley. Water is delivered through massive pipes (above) and monitored at control center (below).

Novosti Press

The Stalin/Bukharin strategy for economic development was to allow the pace of industrial expansion to be governed by the freely marketed agricultural surplus. To maximize this surplus, the regime tended to concentrate land, labor and finance in the hands of the wealthiest, most productive farmers. By 1927, this policy had not only failed on the economic level, but had also strengthened consciously anti-Communist elements in the villages.

The Left Opposition

As early as the 1923 "scissors crisis," Trotsky and other left oppositionists had rejected an industrial policy governed by peasant demand for manufactured consumer goods and equipment. As against Stalin/Bukharin, the left regarded an acceleration of industry as a necessary precondition for increasing agricultural production by both encouraging mechanized collectivization and improving the terms of trade for farm commodities. The initial resources for expanded industrialization would have to come from additional taxation on the wealthier peasants. But the long-term strategy of the left was extracting a larger share of farm output on the basis of increasing the productivity of the entire agricultural sector. The heart of the left's approach to agriculture was summarized by its leading economist, Evgeni Preobrazhensky, in *The New Economics*:

> "The task of the socialist state consists here not in taking from the petty-bourgeois producers less than the capitalists, but in taking more *from the still larger* incomes, which will be secured to the petty producers by the rationalization of the whole economy, including petty production, on the basis of industrializing the country and intensifying agriculture." [emphasis in original]

When differences between the Bukharin and Stalin factions emerged in 1927, the latter began viewing collectivization as a panacea, a cheap means for overcoming the agricultural crisis. The

left absolutely rejected the utopian notinn that collectivization could succeed without fundamentally raising the technological basis of agriculture. The 1927 *Platform of the Joint Opposition* called for "the systematic and gradual introduction of that most numerous peasant group [the middle peasants] to the benefits of large-scale mechanical-collective agriculture."

The Left Opposition rejected any notion of achieving collectivization through state coercion. Its policy was to encourage collectivization through strictly economic means, primarily a steeply progressive income tax on private farms coupled with subsidies and easy credit for cooperatives.

Because of Trotsky's insistence that the fundamental solution to the agricultural problem was inseparable from industrialization and the technological advancement of agriculture, the Stalin clique accused him of "underestimating the role of the peasantry." Trotsky acidly retorted that:

> "There ought to be an end to the jabbering about underestimating the role of the peasantry. What is really needed is to lower the price of the merchandise for the peasants."
> —*The New Course*, 1923

It must be emphasized that the Left Opposition's policies were in no sense anti-peasant. The 1927 *Platform* called for an increase in agricultural procurement prices, particularly for grain, and for reduced taxation on poor peasants and no tax increase on middle peasants. From the kulaks, however, it called for a forced loan of 100 million poods of grain.

Russian peasants in the 1930's. Keystone

The economic strategy of the Left Opposition can be summarized as follows: Increased taxation of the wealthier peasants was needed for the initial breakthrough on the industrial front. This expanded industrialization would in turn provide the means for encouraging agricultural collectivization, increasing farm productivity to allow a larger surplus to be extracted from the mass of peasant producers. In addition, expanded industrialization would lower the cost of manufactured goods, further stimulating the peasants' marketed surplus. Central to the left's policy was the need for balanced growth with complementary increases in industrial and agricultural productivity.

Stalin's Terrorization of the Peasantry

The growing contradictions of NEP reached a crisis point in the winter of 1927-28 when state procurement of agricultural produce fell to 10.1 million tons compared with 10.6 million the previous harvest. Stalin launched an emergency confiscation campaign which he kept secret from the rest of the party. Emergency confiscation only worsened the underlying situation as the peasants reduced their sown acreage and total output fell still further. Stalin then resorted to an even greater confiscation campaign against the kulaks and "speculators" but the 1928-29 *zagotovki* was only 9.5 million tons.

In the winter of 1929-30, the Stalin regime embarked on the immediate forced collectivization of agriculture, the so-called "liquidation of the kulaks as a class." Under the slogan of combatting the kulaks, all peasants who resisted joining the *kolkhoz* (collective farm) had their property confiscated that is, whatever they did not destroy first. The poorest peasants had been induced to join the *kolkhoz* by promises of unlimited credits for mechanization, a demagogic commitment impossible to fulfill. When the poor peasants became rapidly disillusioned and sought to dissolve the *kolkhozy*, they were met by violent repression of the Red Army and special terrorist squads of party and Komsomol members.

Once undertaken, Stalin's brutal campaign for "complete collectivization" proceeded with frightening swiftness. The proportion of collective farms, which at the beginning of 1929 had been 1.7 percent, reached 23.6 percent in 1930 and 52.7 percent in 1931. The toll in terms of human suffering was incalculable; the legacy of material destruction and the alienation of the peasantry from the Soviet regime remain to haunt the bureaucracy to this day.

The peasants resisted forced collectivization in the only way they could—the mass destruction of agricultural capital, particularly the slaughter of livestock, important for draft power and wool clothing as well as for food. In the terrible winter of 1929-30, 30 percent of Soviet livestock was destroyed. By 1932, the number of horses and pigs was only half the pre-collectivization level, while the stock of cattle had fallen 40 percent and sheep by over 60 percent. As Trotsky commented, "The destruction of people—by hunger, cold, epidemics and measures of repression—is unfortunately less accurately tabulated than the slaughter of stock, but it also mounts up to millions" (*The Revolution Betrayed*, 1936).

Between 1930 and 1932, a period of rapid growth in the urban population, grain production fell from 84 to 70 million tons. With sharply declining agricultural production and a rapidly growing urban population to feed, Stalin imposed starvation rations on the peasants. Between 1929 and 1932, average annual consumption of potatoes by the peasants had fallen 12 percent, of bread 14 percent and of meat more than 50 percent. This process culminated in the 1932-33 famine in the Ukraine when 4-5 million peasants starved to death while Stalin exported grain.

Having brought the country close to mass starvation, Stalin was forced to retreat, making concessions to peasant interests—a process that was codified in the Model Collective Farm Statute of 1935. The peasants were allowed a private plot and free market for produce over and above state requisitions. Amounting to less than 5 percent of total agricultural land, with no access to modern equipment, the private plots produced more than half the potatoes, vegetables and livestock. The free market contributed about two-thirds of the peasants' money income.

By 1935 the Stalinist regime had evolved a two-tier agricultural system which remained little changed until 1958. Grain was produced on the collective fields and requisitioned by the state at confiscatory prices. On the other hand, more than half of all potatoes, vegetables, dairy and meat products came from the private plots, while free-market sales accounted for the bulk of peasant money income. This system could only be maintained by the use of state coercion to prevent the peasants from deflecting their labor from the *kolkhoz* grain field to the private plots.

Although real industrial wages fell 40 percent between 1929 and 1938, conditions on the collective farms were so terrible that peasants flooded into the cities looking for jobs. In Stalin's Russia in the 1930's those peasants who could not find work were rounded up and shipped back to their village—or, if they resisted, to Siberian labor camps. The peasants were legally bound to the *kolkhoz* and could not leave without official permission. In fact, children born on collective farms had a legal status different from that of other Soviet citizens. They were bound to the *kolkhoz* and even on reaching the age of legal adulthood could not leave without government approval. Thus Stalin had reimposed elements of serfdom on the Russian peasants!

Khrushchev's Hare-Brained Schemes and Brezhnev's "Rationality"

Not only did Stalin starve the peasants, he also starved agriculture for productive resources. In the Stalin period, only 10-15 percent of total investment was directed toward agriculture, a sector involving more than half the labor force. For example, in 1940 only one percent of electricity was consumed in rural areas (*Voprosy Ekonomiki*, June 1974, translated in *Soviet Review*, Winter 1975-76). With a labor system based on coercion and a backward technology, it is far from surprising that agriculture has been the weak link in the Soviet economy. While heavy industry recovered its 1940 level by 1948, agricultural production did not reach the pre-World War II level until 1955.

Attempting to overcome the backwardness of agriculture has been the dominating economic problem for the post-Stalin regimes. Nikita Khrushchev's farm policies were marked by erratic, get-rich-quick schemes. Crop/geographical patterns were changed overnight. Concessions to peasant interests were made with one hand and taken back with the other.

Maize (corn) was to become the main fodder crop and was planted in northern climes where it did not grow well. And then there was the extension of grain to the drought-ridden Siberian "virgin lands"—a project once considered by the tsarist bureaucracy and rejected as unsound. In 1958, the Machine Tractor Stations through which Stalin had controlled the *kolkhozy* were disbanded and their equipment sold to individual collective farms. Believing the peasants now had adequate capital, Khrushchev actually reduced production of farm implements. Having raised procurement prices, Khrushchev felt he could take measures against the private plots. The results were predictable. Agricultural production barely kept pace with population growth and in 1963 fell below the 1958 level. Shortly thereafter, Khrushchev fell below his 1958 level!

The new Brezhnev-Kosygin regime denounced Khrushchev's subjective voluntarism and hare-brained schemes. Their policies have been conservative, consistent and a serious attempt to overcome the traditional backwardness of agriculture. The failure of these policies, despite their apparent rationality, demonstrates that the backwardness of Soviet agriculture is deeply rooted and cannot be overcome through quantitative changes in planning within the bureaucratic framework.

Efforts have been made to improve the living standards of collective farmers and narrow the income gap between them and the rest of the working population. Shortly after Khrushchev's fall, state-financed pensions were first extended to the *kolkhoz* aged. State procurement prices have been steadily raised and in 1972-73 stood 22 percent higher than in 1965. Since the prices of manufactures purchased by collective farmers have remained fairly constant, this represents a significant increase in peasant incomes.

The main effort of the Brezhnev regime has been more mechanization, chemical fertilizer and land reclamation. In 1960, only 15 percent of state investment was directed to agriculture; in 1975 the share had risen to 31 percent (*Economist*, 14 February 1976). Between the 1960-65 and 1970-75 Five Year Plans, the production of tractors increased from 1.1 to 1.7 million and of chemical fertilizer from 90 to nearly 300 million tons (*Izvestia*, 5 December 1975).

Agriculture is no longer the abused step-child of Kremlin investment priorities. Unlike in Stalin's day, a large and increasing share of industrial output is devoted to agriculture, where the resulting increase in labor productivity is far lower than it is for investment in manufacturing. The regime's frustration comes through clearly in Kosygin's economic report last December:

> "For the past ten years the country has continually invested large and ever-growing sums in agriculture. The Party and the government have a right to demand that these funds be spent properly, thriftily and with a high rate of return. Unfortunately, wastefulness, carelessness and indiscipline still survive in some quarters."

Why does productivity lag so far behind the increase in non-labor inputs? The answer is, as it has been for decades, the lack of incentives for collective farmers. While the income gap between *kolkhoz* members and state employees has narrowed since the 1950's, it remains significant. In 1971, the income of *kolkhoz* members was 73 percent of those of state-farm employees doing comparable work. And the latter, in the same year, were receiving only 77 percent of the average industrial wage (*Voprosy Ekonomiki*, June 1974). Moreover, these figures understate the real difference in living standards since city dwellers have access to social and cultural services unavailable in the countryside.

Peasant Youth Vote with their Feet

The practice continues of neglecting the *kolkhoz* fields to work on the private plots (which still produce about 25 percent of marketed food and account for about a quarter of peasant money incomes). However, the main deflection of labor from the collective fields is not toward the private plots but out of agriculture altogether. Both the collectives and state farms are being systematically stripped of the most energetic, educated and skilled rural youth—the very worker-cadre needed for a technological revolution. The collective farm is becoming the home of the old, the backward and the ignorant.

A necessary condition for Stalin's agricultural policy was the prohibition against urban migration by *kolkhoz* members. With the relaxation of totalitarian terror in the mid-1950's the law binding the peasants to the land became unenforceable. Moreover, the USSR's loss during World War II of 20 million dead—largely youth—and the slowdown in the birth rate thereafter led to a significant fall in population growth. With the steady increase in industrial production, the Soviet labor market has

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UAW Local 600 Leaders Call Mass Meeting

Plant Closure Threatens River Rouge Complex

No Layoffs!
No Sellouts!
For A Class-Struggle Leadership!

DETROIT, March 28—After numerous meetings between the union leadership and management got nowhere, the Ford Motor Company recently announced that it intends to phase out the engine plant at the giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn by July 9. Approximately 1,500 workers on two engine lines are to be permanently laid off, and an additional 500 radiator and fuel tank workers will lose their jobs soon thereafter. The leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600, whose leaders brag of being the "world's largest local union," has called a mass membership meeting for April 4 to address the question of the shutdown.

Having failed to "persuade" management to change its mind at the bargaining table, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi and UAW International vice-president and Ford director Ken Bannon are attempting to put up a facade of resistance. The threatened engine plant closure is a "morally indefensible" act, they wail: "Ford workers are sick and tired of losing their jobs" (*Ford Facts*, 22 March). But the mass membership meeting is likely to be little more than a controlled protest rally, since Woodcock, Bannon, Rinaldi & Co. have already made it clear that they are dead-set *opposed* to the militant action and class-struggle program needed to stop mass layoffs and plant closures.

Occupy the Dearborn Engine Plant!

The mass layoffs from the Dearborn Engine Plant will affect the rest of the sprawling, multi-plant Rouge complex, since higher-seniority workers are allowed to "bump" into other plants. The union's entire River Rouge membership of 27,000 is thus directly attacked by the shutdown. Including temporary layoffs, as many as 5,000 workers from Local 600 could be out of work by summer. Ford's profit-hungry, cynical decision to throw thousands of workers into the streets permanently is nothing new, of course. Since the massive, "self-sufficient" Rouge complex began production with 100,000 workers in the late 1920's, Ford has shut down operations such as cement, plastics, transmissions, axles and springs.

Preparations must begin immediately to *occupy the engine plant* under the slogans: *No layoffs! No plant closures! For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay*

Power plant at River Rouge complex in Detroit. WV Photo

to divide the available work—the company, not the workers, must pay for the anarchy of capitalist production! Such a plant occupation would quickly mobilize the active support of all workers at Rouge, and would lay the basis for an industry-wide, North American strike of all auto workers for 30 hours work at 40 hours pay.

A plant occupation and class-struggle program is the only way to *win* against the corporate giant. But Rinaldi has another idea. Explaining that "We as Ford workers here at Local 600 have always felt ourselves to be close to the heart of the Ford Motor Company," this phony pretends to have suddenly discovered a "new" flame in management's heart: "the business of making profits in whatever way, shape or form" (*Ford Facts*, 22 March). Hoping to keep the romance alive, Rinaldi pleads with the bosses for "Ford work for Ford workers." This reactionary demand is directed even against other UAW members doing contracted work from Ford! Another "solution" of the UAW tops and Local 600 leadership is to combat imports through trade quotas and to urge UAW members to "buy an American-made car." These slogans only pit worker against worker, when what is needed is international labor solidarity.

In addition to such back-stabbing national chauvinism and protectionist schemes, the other "answer" of the UAW officials is Congressional legislation to "deal with" plant closures. Woodcock gives the union's backing to the pitiful Mondale-Ford bill, which does nothing whatsoever to save or create jobs. The measure would simply require notification by employers of their intentions to close plants and promises only tokenistic retraining programs for the workers.

Reliance on bills such as this typifies the UAW bureaucracy's total dependence on the capitalist politicians of the Democratic Party. Their subordination of the workers' interests to Democratic presidential aspirations will be one of the UAW tops' primary excuses for opposing any militant actions against the Rouge plant closure, for keeping demands minimal in the contract bargaining and for avoiding a national contract strike in September. It is up to the ranks to reject this class-collaborationist betrayal and struggle for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government.

While the UAW leadership was politically class-collaborationist from the beginning, it was forced to give lip service to a few demands in the workers' interest. Thus Walter Reuther made endless promises to achieve the shorter workweek, and Local 600 inscribed this goal on its giant banner at the 1955 UAW convention. Today, even this pretense has been dropped, and Woodcock's "short worktime" proposal is nothing but a thinly-veiled absentee-control program for the companies.

Unless a class-struggle program is actively put forward from the ranks, the Local 600 mass membership meeting, under the misleadership of Rinaldi and Bannon, will turn out to be a *diversion* from the struggle. In the absence of a fight to build a new, class-struggle leadership for the UAW, the present "leaders" will have a free hand to continue to lull the workers to sleep with bogus promises of favors from the bosses.

—No layoffs! No plant closures!
—Occupy the Dearborn Engine Plant!
—For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay!
—Build a new class-struggle leadership for the UAW!

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Teamsters...

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movement will inevitably be used to weaken organized labor, no matter what the pretext.

Despite the propaganda barrage in the big-business press against "high-paid" Teamsters, the union ranks' will to fight is not dampened. When the negotiations outside Chicago failed to produce enough crumbs from the companies' table to recommend any kind of serious offer to the membership, 700 IBT officials met to order local-by-local strike authorization votes. The response was overwhelming. In Cleveland the members of Local 407, the largest general freight local in the area, voted heavily for a strike, as did the 18,000-member Local 299 in Detroit. Detroit-area long-haul drivers in Local 337 registered strike sentiment by a 99-to-1 margin. In Oakland (Local 70) and St. Louis (Local 600), the pro-strike tally was over 90 percent.

In contrast, the head of the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, William Hill, announced that his 5,000 over-the-road owner-operators had voted Saturday night not to stop work. He called on union drivers to quit the Teamsters in the event of a walkout. The Steel Haulers waged violent strikebreaking attacks on the union in 1967 and 1970, and have filed petitions with the National Labor Relations Board to decertify the IBT at 14 trucking companies. On the other hand, the steel-hauling division of Local 299 in Detroit voted to strike.

Employers Plead Poverty

The freight companies, represented nationally by Trucking Employers, Inc. (TEI), have been taking a hard line since the beginning of bargaining late last year. Demanding that the union give up past gains, the TEI at one point walked out of negotiations. Their latest insulting "offer" was a meager 85 cents-per-hour increase spread over three years, representing a pitiful 10-cent increase over their previous position. This is despite the fact that Teamsters have lost nearly $1 per hour in real wages since 1973 because of an 11-cent "cap" (maximum) on their annual cost-of-living (c-o-l) adjustments. Over-the-road drivers have suffered additional losses in their mileage-based wages due to the federal 55 mile-per-hour speed limit (a product of the oil companies' 1973-74 "fuel crisis").

Trying to look militant, Fitzsimmons began with an early demand for $2.50 per hour over three years, plus full c-o-l. However, by last weekend's meetings, he had moved down to a paltry $1.25, with no c-o-l in the first year, a 25-cent cap in the second and an uncapped escalator clause only in the third year. Furthermore, the IBT leadership has done nothing to fight unemployment, which is still running high despite the business upturn in the industry during the first three months of 1976. Teamsters are also suffering layoffs due to the companies' heavy use of "casual" labor and the effect of trucking firm mergers, where drivers of numerous smaller bought-out companies are unable to transfer their seniority protection. Despite rising traffic, employers are keeping new job openings down through use of longer trailers and double and triple hitches.

The bosses' shrieks that wage increases cause inflation are nothing but their usual cynical defense of profits. However, the capitalists do have something to worry about. As the Midwest-centered 1970 wildcat demonstrated, even local Teamster strikes can quickly cause plant shutdowns throughout the country. A militant nationwide Teamster strike genuinely determined to defend trucking industry workers against the ravages of inflation and unemployment could quickly galvanize the entire labor movement. An IBT

strike will have an immediate effect on negotiations for Teamster warehousemen and UPS drivers, as well as for food industry workers whose contracts are coming up shortly.

In addition, rubber companies fear a major strike in mid-April, and the auto giants face a contract renewal in September. As a loyal servant of capitalism, Fitzsimmons (and the rest of the IBT bureaucracy) is entrusted with the job of subordinating the workers' demands to the trucking companies' profits, so as not to "upset" the fragile business "recovery." On Wall Street, business analysts seem to be confident he will do his job, expressing the belief that he will "moderate" demands still further. But even they admit the industry is in "relatively good shape" (*New York Times*, 29 March).

For a Class-Struggle Opposition in the Teamsters!

The problems facing truck drivers are not the result of particularly tight-fisted bosses, but reflect the over-all capitalist economic crisis. Against inflation and unemployment, Teamsters should mount a militant, nationwide strike for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and full cost-of-living protection (a sliding scale of wages and hours). To check the treacherous union bureaucracy and mobilize the membership for struggle, such a strike should be democratically run through elected strike committees. It must also aim at providing support to other workers engaged in struggles with the capitalists, most immediately the UPS drivers, food industry and rubber workers.

The Fitzsimmons "leadership" stands squarely in the way of all these goals. Already it is trying to prevent a serious strike by moving to clamp down on key areas of militancy, keeping negotiations secretive, preparing to knuckle under to a government injunction and selling out the most fundamental demands of the membership. As for labor solidarity, Fitzsimmons' vicious union-busting raids on the United Farm Workers is vivid testimony that IBT tops don't even know the meaning of the words.

In the past, many Teamsters had looked to Jimmy Hoffa for a "militant" alternative to the conservative craft division "barons" now in power in the IBT. However, Hoffa's removal from the scene in a mysterious kidnapping last summer left anti-Fitzsimmons forces without a recognized leadership. On the other hand, in 1970 Chicago-area truckers union leaders sparked "unauthorized" strikes as far west as California. The independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union and IBT Local 705, bargaining for a local agreement not covered in the national Master Freight Agreement, held out for 55 cents per hour above the official settlement. Eventually, Fitzsimmons and the employers were forced to adjust wage settlements for the whole union upward to meet the Chicago figure.

This year, however, Fitzsimmons has carefully prepared to prevent a similar outbreak of militancy and independence. He elevated the 70-year-old Ray Schoessling (head of the IBT's Central States Conference) to replace a younger man as International secretary-treasurer. Louis Peick, who as head of Local 705 was one of the leaders of the 1970 wildcat, was named an International vice-president. With the national contract talks moved from IBT headquarters in Washington to a Chicago suburb, Fitzsimmons has Peick sitting tightly on the local bargaining in town. So the "militants" who led the struggle for "more" six years ago are now firmly locked into the bureaucratic "team" effort to prevent a powerful strike in 1976.

With Hoffa out of the way and Chicago under Fitzsimmons' thumb, would-be militants in the Teamsters have turned an eye toward the only available opposition grouping, Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). Facing a highly unpopular union president and with Hoffa supporters having nowhere else to go for the moment, TDC rallies in several cities have attracted relatively large audiences. The group has also performed some elemental services, such as leaking the official contract demands, which IBT tops would otherwise have kept secret from the membership.

TDC agitation has no doubt been responsible for some of Fitzsimmons' nervous gestures in the direction of militancy, although employer intransigence is primarily responsible for the belated official talk of "no contract, no work." The TDC has also drawn the fire of the bureaucracy in the form of goon-squad attacks on leafletters, bureaucratic railroading at local meetings and scurrilous red baiting. It is the duty of all militant unionists to defend the TDC against these attacks and protect its right to exist within the Teamsters.

Nevertheless, the program of Teamsters for a Decent Contract is thoroughly reformist. In no sense can TDC represent the kind of class-struggle opposition needed in the Teamsters. Despite the uncritical political support it receives in the pages of *Workers' Power*, newspaper of the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), the TDC leadership has refused to raise such crucial demands as a call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Its call for an end to "casual" labor to make more work for regular members can only have the effect of pitting the employed union members against the unemployed or sporadically employed drivers who have not yet been able to "make the list."

On the crucial question of labor solidarity, the TDC restricts its support of other workers to attempts to link up with UPSurge, an allied group of IBT members in the United Parcel Service, and other Teamsters. It has consistently opposed defending the United Farm Workers as part of the TDC program, nor does it raise the issue of racism, despite the fact that the percentage of black drivers in over-the-road operations is notoriously low.

From its inception, Teamsters for a Decent Contract has seen its role as a pressure group seeking to push the bureaucracy to the left. This meant that Fitzsimmons could neutralize the opposition of the TDC simply by appearing to raise his demands somewhat. This has already happened, and in consequence the TDC has made several conciliatory statements extending the benefit of the doubt to the sellout Teamster chief. Thus, at the Local 70 strike vote meeting in Oakland, TDC leaflets did not even call for a walkout. Challenged on this by Spartacist League supporters, TDC spokesman John Larson said that the demand for a strike "depends on what the company is offering. We'll hear about it in the meeting"!

Smash Redbaiting, A Tool of the Bosses!

Teamsters for a Decent Contract has been discredited in several areas because of its failure to vigorously respond to redbaiting. In one instance, Oakland's Local 70 passed TDC contract demands during the absence of its Local president, Chuck Mack. Upon his return, in a stewards' meeting Mack launched a violently anti-communist attack on TDC which went virtually unopposed by TDC supporters. As a result, the Local's motion was altered to remove all mention of the TDC, and was turned instead into support for the IBT leadership.

Failure to oppose redbaiting is a national policy of the TDC, which has itself adopted anti-communist statements in an attempt to appear respectable. At the January 10 national steering committee meeting of the TDC, a motion was passed stating the group's opposition to "political change by any means other than by lawful, constitutional procedures." As reported in the *Torch* (15 March-14 April), newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League, the motion went unopposed by the bulk of the members, including alleged supporters of the I.S.

The motion was put forward by Washington attorney Arthur Fox, an open anti-communist who opposes "socialists" in rank-and-file union groups and favors government investigation of the union. According to Teamster members in Cleveland (TDC headquarters), TDC spokesmen confirm that the motion in question was passed. They declare it irrelevant because, "no one is going to get up and harangue Teamsters about socialism, anyway."

Teamsters for a Decent Contract continues to work with Fox, despite the fact that the latter's demand for government investigation has just been adopted by the Senate Permanent Investigation Sub-Committee in a move obviously aimed at laming and discrediting the IBT during the crucial contract period. Such investigations will hamstring the membership's militancy rather than rooting out the notorious gangsterism associated with the Teamsters bureaucracy. Earlier investigations against Dave Beck, Jimmy Hoffa et al., did nothing about corruption in the IBT and were primarily intended to prevent "union bosses" from tying up industry with a national Teamsters strike.

Only the workers can clean up the unions. To work with the supporters of "investigation" by the Ford administration or the Democratic Congress at the same time Taft-Hartley threats are being thrown at the Teamsters is a gross betrayal of the union cause. The I.S. bears co-responsibility for this betrayal with its hypocritical silence on the relationship between TDC and lawyer Fox ever since the January steering committee meeting. (Earlier, *Workers' Power* reported that Fox was the TDC lawyer and that the group worked with PROD, Fox's "professional drivers" organization.)

Redbaiting can only be defeated by openly fighting for a full transitional program that goes beyond simple contract demands to pose the real answer: the struggle for a workers government. The TDC opens itself to charges of harboring "secret reds" because, while it attracts the support of opportunist fake-socialists, its program is limited to simple trade unionism: "to force Fitz to put more on the bargaining table," as the L.A. *Teamster Grapevine* (No.6) put it. "More" for the IBT, and to hell with the unemployed, other workers, racial minorities, defense of the labor movement against government interference, etc.! This is the program of aspiring union bureaucrats. The only difference between the TDC and Louis Peick is that no one has bothered to buy off the TDC yet.

Real class-struggle militants must begin with the objective, immediate needs of the workers and struggle for the only program that can achieve these goals: a sliding scale of wages and hours, domestic and international labor solidarity, opposition to all government intervention in the unions, nationalization of industry without compensation, workers control and an independent workers party struggling for a workers government. The TDC, in contrast, capitulates to backward elements in the union in order to build the "broadest" possible group around the most immediate trade-union demands. Rather than building a new leadership that can put an end to Fitzsimmons/Hoffa betrayals, this course only seeks to *rejuvenate* the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. What is needed are caucuses based on a full class-struggle program. ■

Local Teamster Hacks "Prepare" for Strike

While Teamster union leaders went through the motions of consulting the membership in strike ballots around the country last Saturday and Sunday, a spot check with key IBT locals indicated that officials are doing nothing to prepare the ranks for a real strike struggle.

CHICAGO: Following a meeting of over-the-road Local 710, Teamster members told *WV* reporters that neither strike authorization nor the latest management offer had been on the agenda. Local members were told to stay on the job, and simply instructed to call the union if they saw pickets.

During the meeting an official goon squad appeared outside to tear up the literature of Teamsters for a Decent Contract. A number of members who left the meeting early complained that it was all "bullshit" inside, and that they would refuse to work after the contract expired.

The same intimidation of the membership took place in the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union (CTDU), where president Ed Fenner refused to call a general membership meeting or to open discussion on the contract in separate division meetings. Fenner is working closely with IBT vice-president Louis Peick in joint Chicago-area negotiations.

BAY AREA: In the San Francisco-Oakland area, employers are pressing especially hard to take away union conditions won in past contracts. In particular they seek to end the union hiring hall, unique to the northern California supplement to the Master Freight Agreement.

They also want to introduce staggered starting times. Under present rules, workers must be paid from 8 a.m. on, even if they don't start work at that time. The companies' proposal would mean shifts beginning at 5 a.m. It is estimated that the employer demands would lead to the elimination of one out of every five drivers currently employed.

Local 70 president Chuck Mack said after the strike vote meeting that the management was serious about these drastic attacks on union conditions and jobs. Yet Mack insisted he had no intention of defying the expected government anti-strike injunctions.

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Transit...

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was approved by the EFCB. The September NYC teachers contract – which didn't even include a wage increase—has yet to be approved by the EFCB. Guinan and the Local 100 leadership have, significantly, never ruled out the possiblity of a deferred wage increase, nor have they even indicated how much money they are asking for. *No deals with the Financial Control Board—No wage deferral!*

The state law also permits a monetary settlement in the form of cost-of-living (c-o-l) adjustments. But c-o-l without a wage increase will not make up for the erosion of wages by inflation under the last contract. The TWU's own chief counsel, John O'Donnell, has argued during the present negotiations that while the c-o-l clause netted union members 22 cents an hour under the last contract, inflation had forced the cost of living up by $1.16 an hour in the same period!

Obviously, the existing c-o-l clause is woefully inadequate. The current formula provides for an increase of 1 cent for every 0.4 percent rise in prices; this means that anyone earning over $2.50 an hour falls behind! Transit workers need a *sliding scale of wages* (equal increase in pay for every increase in prices, with no cap)! To win this they will have to smash the EFCB and its anti-labor "guidelines."

WV salesmen outside transit workers meeting last Sunday. WV Photo

Guinan and his cronies assert that the TWU has not given anything away. This is false. In the past 12 months alone the TA claims to have realized so-called "productivity" savings of $80 million. These savings have come from speed-up, cutting corners on maintenance and safety, and eliminating jobs. Over the last two years the payroll has been trimmed by over 2,000 employees. The TA would like to lay off even more full-time employees and replace them with part-timers who would receive reduced pay and benefits. Already, laid-off transit cops have been hired into jobs, displacing the normal civil service hiring lists. (TWU leaders say they "welcome" the racist and anti-labor cops into the union.)

Wage increases must not be financed by speed-up, layoffs, part-timing, service cutbacks, and neglect of safety and maintenance. Transit workers must demand a *sliding scale of hours* (a shorter workweek with no loss in pay) to create more jobs and fight unemployment. *No productivity deals! For 30 hours work for 40 hours pay!*

Guinan and the TWU leaders claim to support a free mass transportation system, but they have never mobilized the TWU membership in militant labor actions to oppose a single fare increase. The danger exists that the TA will attempt to make the rest of the city's working population pay for any contract gains granted transit workers. Already the TA's parent body, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, has urged the state legislature to pass legislation calling for a payroll tax on employees, a 5-cent increase in gasoline taxes, and the installation of tolls over the now-free bridges crossing the East and Harlem rivers. Cutbacks in transit service and/or another fare hike are other possibilities. *No cutbacks! No transit or toll hikes! No new city wage tax!*

The banks and bondholders have profited for years at the expense of the city's working people. The subways were once owned by the banks, who deliberatedly drove them into bankruptcy, sold them for a whopping profit to the city and then lent the city the money to pay for them! Simply the interest on the transit debt provides many tens of millions of dollars annually to the financiers. This robbery must be ended. *Cancel the city debt, expropriate the banks and provide essential social services free of charge!*

Transit workers still bitterly recall the contract sellout perpetrated in 1972. Guinan and Local 100 president Ellis Van Riper are not about to lead a militant transit strike in 1976, either. Today they are encouraging illusions that the TA may come through with a decent contract without a strike. Tomorrow it is not unlikely that they will announce approval for another sellout contract, order the TWU back to work and conduct a phony mail ballot—all without calling a single union meeting where the contract terms can be discussed and debated. To ensure a militantly conducted strike in the interests of the membership, *strike committees must be elected* in the garages and barns, and a centralized strike leadership created on this basis!

At the rally, Local 100 secretary-treasurer Cronin and other TWU officials asserted that "ripping off the poor has been a way of life since Nixon." This is a feeble attempt to distract attention from the TWU's collaboration with the equally anti-labor Democratic Party. Today it is Democratic mayor Beame and Democratic governor Carey who are enforcing the city wage freeze, cutbacks in schools and social services, and layoffs of city workers. Both the Democrats and Republicans are committed to making working people pay to preserve capitalist profits. *Break with the Democrats and Republicans—Oust the bureaucrats—Build a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government!*

Neither the present TWU bureaucracy nor any existing rank-and-file group in the union is capable of fighting for a program that breaks with the class collaborationism of Guinan & Co. The spineless Transit Workers Action Caucus (TWAC) passed out a leaflet at the TWU rally that didn't utter a peep of criticism against either Local 100 or the International leadership, that did not call for a strike, and that didn't even demand "no contract, no work"! Only an opposition dedicated to an independent, militant mobilization of the membership on a class-struggle program can provide a leadership capable of winning victory for transit, and all, workers. ■

Anti-Communist Sabre-Rattling at Manhattan Center

Plyushch Caught in Henry Jackson's Anti-Soviet Web

WV Photo

Senator Henry Jackson (left) and Leonid Plyushch at podium during meeting.

Over 4,000 people, many of them Ukrainian emigrés, filled Manhattan Center to capacity March 27 for a rally sponsored by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. The meeting was addressed by a broad spectrum of anti-communists, including ex-Soviet dissident Pavel Litvinov, grandson of Stalin's foreign minister; a former Lithuanian seaman, Simas Kudirka, who jumped ship off Massachusetts several years ago; Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC); Inez Weissman of the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry; Congressman Ed Koch and Senator Henry Jackson. The principal attraction, however, was the keynote speaker, Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian dissident who was recently freed from a Soviet psychiatric hospital after nearly three years' incarceration.

Unlike many Soviet dissidents who translate hatred of the Stalinist bureaucracy into outspoken anti-Communism, Plyushch claims to be a "neo-Marxist." But his appearance on Saturday night—following a number of speeches by "cold war" ideologues and professional reactionaries who several times unfavorably compared the Soviet regime with Nazism and tsarist autocracy—left no doubt that despite his professed commitment to socialism, Plyushch is already being drafted into the anti-Soviet chorus of apologists for imperialist "democracy."

Following Plyushch's release by the Russian authorities and his emigration, *Workers Vanguard* solidarized with dissidents victimized by the Soviet regime for the "crime" of criticizing the repressive bureaucracy. At the same time we warned:

> ".. now that he is out of the USSR Plyushch must face a concrete choice: he will either reaffirm and systematize his socialist, anti-bureaucratic convictions or become a witting or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist anti-Communists anxious to use the issue of Soviet dissidents as a cynical justification for exploitation and oppression under capitalism."
>
> —"Stop Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture In USSR!" *WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976

In recent interviews, Plyushch has stressed his lack of information on a number of important issues. He also has been reported to be "sharply critical" of Ukrainian groups in the U.S. with ties to the American government. But whether consciously or unconsciously, with whatever criticisms or hesitations, he is now lending his authority as a professed socialist to the attempt of the rabidly anti-communist American social democrats to ingratiate themselves with the capitalist candidate of their choice: the "senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson. (Jackson recently was the featured speaker at an NYC meeting of the Social Democrats USA; among the sponsors of another Plyushch meeting this week are DSOC, the Socialist Party USA and Americans for Democratic Action.)

Plyushch understands that the Russian bureaucracy's current anti-Zionist campaign serves as a cover for anti-Semitism. Yet he then turns a deaf ear to the manner in which agitation against repression in the USSR can be similarly utilized by imperialist apologists as an anti-communist weapon against the Soviet Union. Not only was Plyushch more than willing to share a podium with such notorious war-mongers as Jackson, but he expressly saluted this sabre-rattling imperialist "for his participation in the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union." Plyushch went on to tell Jackson that "your authority is very great" and appealed to him to exert his influence on behalf of Chilean political prisoners.

Marxists support the democratic rights of political dissidents, with the exception of active counterrevolutionaries, in the deformed workers states. Our goal is the restoration of workers democracy in the Soviet Union through a proletarian political revolution to oust the privileged ruling clique and restore political power to the working masses. Our enemy is not only the bureaucratic usurpers in Moscow, but also the ideologues of international capital, such as Jackson (who demands that the U.S. government intervene economically against the workers states), with their dreams of the destruction of the nation-

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Soviet Agriculture...

(continued from page 7)

become very tight and any rural youth who can get to a city has a job.

It is impossible for the bureaucracy to keep trained youth on the farms. A recent survey of rural secondary school seniors in the Russian Republic indicated that less than 20 percent intended to remain in the countryside. In Novosibirsk province, Siberia, collective farms lose 20 percent of their machine operators each year, according to a study done by the Soviet sociologist T.I. Zaslovskala (summarized in *Problems of Communism*, November-December 1974).

Between 1958 and 1970 the rural population of the Russian Republic and the Ukraine declined by 20 and 18 percent respectively. But in both Republics the rural population aged 20-24 dropped by 50 percent, according to economist Y. Karimovsky (*Ekonomicheskiye Nauki*, August 1973, translated in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 13 February 1974), who concluded that:

> "...the age-group structure of migration and the unregulated 'drainage' of young people from rural areas is the main explanation for the insufficient high level of labor productivity in agriculture... The irrational out-migration of rural young people is apparently the reason why levels of technical equipment available to agriculture in the USSR and USA are drawing together *much faster than the levels of agricultural labor productivity*." [our emphasis]

The Novosibirsk study revealed that only 7 percent of those moving to the city gave higher money wages as a reason. But 30 percent said they desired a better quality of life, 20 percent indicated they wanted more free time and 34 percent expressed dissatisfaction with the conditions of labor on the *kolkhozy*.

A large part of Soviet real income is accounted for not by money wages but by social services provided free or at nominal prices. These services naturally tend to be concentrated in the cities. For example in 1973 only 23 percent of farm households had an indoor water supply and plumbing. The same conditions causing the exodus of peasants also make it impossible to keep good teachers or doctors in the countryside.

Nor is the rural out-migration motivated simply by consumerist interests. The bureaucratic abuse of *kolkhoz* members is also a factor. Collective farmers are treated like state employees without enjoying any of the material benefits. Zaslovskala's article explains:

> "Young people feel that they are not so much the masters as hired laborers in agricultural production; as a rule, they have no share in managing the collective, the section, or the brigade; they do not participate in the making of important decisions, and therefore they have no opportunity to utilize their potential and their knowledge of the productive process."

On the farms, material and cultural impoverishment combines with the bureaucratic arbitrariness integral to every aspect of economic and social organization in the Soviet degenerated workers state. The monopoly of political and economic life by the parasitic bureaucracy deforms centralized economic planning and blocks the worker and peasant masses from collectively undertaking the construction of a society of material plenty for all.

Only the ouster of the Stalinist ruling caste by workers political revolution, and the democratic regulation through soviets of economic life at every level, can remove the bureaucratic fetters on the economy and institute coordinated economic growth in the USSR. Only the obliteration of capitalism on a world scale by international proletarian revolution, liberating the productive forces from the stranglehold of bourgeois productive relations, can open the road to socialist development in the context of a global division of labor. It is only in this context that the wanton chaos and colossal inefficiency of Soviet agriculture can be overcome.

Reforging the Smychka

After an anti-bureaucratic revolution in the USSR, the soviet regime would inherit the problem of 50 years of Stalinist abuse of the peasantry. This involves not only the fundamental imbalance between agricultural and industrial production, but also a distrustful or even hostile attitude by the peasants to what they view as an urban-based "Communist" regime.

Trotsky demonstrated the intimate relationship between the Stalin clique's advocacy of national economic self-sufficiency and its promulgation, beginning in 1923, of the doctrine of "socialism in one country" which first wrote off, and then began actively to sabotage, the international extension of the October Revolution. Trotsky pointed

Wide World

Nikita Khrushchev

out the inherent economic irrationality of "socialism in one country": "To aim at building a *nationally isolated* socialist society means, in spite of all passing successes, to pull the productive forces backward even as compared with capitalism" (*The Permanent Revolution*, "Introduction to the German Edition," 1930, emphasis in original).

One obvious question for the revolutionary government would be whether to continue the Stalinist policy of attempting self-sufficiency in food production rather than increasing imports. Considered solely from the standpoint of current levels of economic efficiency, the answer would be no. A study by A.K. Il'ichev (translated in *Problems of Economics*, January 1975) compared Soviet production costs with world market prices and reached the not-so-surprising conclusion that the USSR does not have a comparative advantage in food production, but rather in primary metallurgy and oil and gas. Global socialist planning might well involve the massive exchange of North American grain and meat products for Russian steel ingots and Siberian natural gas.

Both from the standpoint of social policy and economic efficiency, it would be better to gradually liquidate much of Soviet farming and import most food from countries whose agriculture already possesses a highly mechanized, capital-intensive technology. But the only nation presently capable of supplying food to the huge Soviet urban population is Gerald Ford's (or maybe Henry Jackson's?) America. It would be criminally negligent for a revolutionary workers government in the USSR to make itself dependent upon food imports from an imperialist USA.

An isolated Soviet Union would unfortunately have to strive for self-sufficiency in basic food production. And this requires gaining the good will of the peasant masses for the revolutionary regime. The strategic need of a revolutionary government in the Soviet Union today requires the reforging of the Leninist *smychka*, the alliance of workers and peasants.

Whenever Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe have been in crisis, there has been a strong tendency for the peasants to abandon the collective farms and return to smallholding. When in 1950 the internationally isolated Tito regime in Yugoslavia moved to secure a popular base, it not only instituted limited workers management in the factories, but also permitted the dissolution of the collective farms in favor of private farming. When Gomulka forestalled a violent upheaval in Poland in 1956, a key policy was the restoration of private agriculture. The Hungarian revolution of 1956 likewise witnessed the self-liquidation of the collectives.

There is certainly good reason to assume that a political upheaval in Brezhnev's Russia would call forth anti-collectivist, individualistic impulses among the peasantry. The dissolution of collectivized agriculture and restoration of smallholding is neither inevitable nor, from a revolutionary socialist standpoint, desirable. But any attempt by a revolutionary government to maintain the collectives by force—to underwrite Stalin's actions in 1929-30—would be dangerous in the extreme. It would risk driving the peasants into the camp of reaction, particularly where economic dissatisfaction coincides with national grievances, as in the Ukraine. Efforts to maintain the collectives, and in fact to encourage the development of state farms, must be through economic means rather than by coercion. The policies of the left opposition in the 1920's provide good guidelines.

The collectives should be transformed into genuine cooperatives whose internal organization should be determined by the members, without direct state administrative control. Collectives should be given easier credit than any emerging private farms, while the latter should be subject to higher tax rates. Should private smallholders emerge nonetheless, it is essential to prevent their development into agrarian capitalists by the strict prohibition of wage labor.

It is important to prevent the development of a class of merchants/usurers operating between the peasantry and the urban market. The state must have a monopoly of agricultural trade. This can be effective only if the peasants are given the full market price for their commodities. Attempts to force deliveries to the state at artificially low prices will lead to widespread black-marketeering and speculation. The inegalitarian effects of market-price procurement can be limited by a progressive income tax on the collectives, while increased prices of farm products for the urban population can be partly offset by consumer subsidies.

For decades the Stalinist bureaucratic caste has concentrated the scarce wealth of Soviet society in the cities. The health of the economy and loyalty of the peasants to the communist cause require a radical reversal of that situation. Fifty years of Stalinist oppression of the peasantry have made the re-establishment of the Leninist *smychka* a crucial goal of the Soviet political revolution. ■

Plyushch...

(continued from page 10)

alized property forms of the workers states, by military means if necessary. The struggle for workers democracy in the Soviet Union cannot be divorced from the elementary duty of all socialist militants for unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution.

On 16 January 1973 the Spartacist League addressed a letter to the leftist Committee for the Immediate Liberation of the Political Prisoners in the Countries of Eastern Europe (led by the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste [OCI]) in which we stated:

> "In the present circumstances, almost all of the American commentaries on repression and persecution of the dissidents in the deformed workers states stem unequivocally from anti-communism.... Thus, Jiří Pelikan's open letter to Angela Davis was widely reproduced by the liberal and anti-communist press in the U.S. with clearly anti-communist commentaries. Thus, the slogan 'Free the political prisoners' does not separate itself sufficiently from directly anti-communist campaigns such as 'Free Soviet Jewry' or from support for Hungarian 'freedom fighters' such as Cardinal Mindszenty. Thus, the open letter by Rev. Daniel Berrigan, S.J., one of the leaders of the 'antiwar' movement, recently addressed to Brezhnev, equated fascism, the persecution of the dissidents in the Eastern European countries and imperialism as repressive and reactionary forces. This is the framework within which we see, for example, the 'Call on Czechoslovakia,' initiated by the League for the Rights of Man and signed by the Committee and by the OCI, in which the signatories commit themselves to oppose repression 'whatever may be the opinion of the victims of the repression'."

Plyushch, the "neo-Marxist," apparently refuses to grasp the principle of class-struggle defense of Soviet dissidents. He is allowing himself to be used to build a platform for anti-communism and to further the presidential aspirations of Henry Jackson. His collaboration with the partisans of imperialist "democracy" serves only to delay the victory of the international proletarian revolution and thereby to prolong the suffering of political prisoners from the camps of the Gulag to the torture chambers of Santiago. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

No Deferrals!

For a Militant Transit Strike to Smash NYC Wage Freeze!

MARCH 28—An overflow crowd of several thousand transit workers packed a rally at Manhattan Center today and authorized a strike if an agreement has not been reached with the New York City Transit Authority (TA) when the old pact expires at midnight, March 31. The workers, members of Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, booed loudly whenever the names of NYC mayor Abraham Beame or chief TA negotiator David Yunich were mentioned, and were equally vigorous in demonstrating their determination to walk out if no new contract is signed.

Since last summer the wages of New York City municipal employees have been frozen by a state law enforced by the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB). Although the law permits a deferred wage increase or cost-of-living adjustments, the TA is saying it has no money even for that. The TA claims a current operating deficit of $332 million and asserts that the subsidies it has been receiving from city, state and federal governments will decline in the future. Mayor Beame has several times reiterated the position of the city administration that it has no money for wage increases.

Speaking time at the union rally was monopolized by officers of Local 100 and the TWU International, who spouted a lot of tough-talking rhetoric. Union officials often repeated that Local 100 would not give up any of its past contract gains, and drew cheers whenever they referred to the traditional union policy of "no contract, no work." However, behind this militant talk lies a far more treacherous policy for transit workers. International president Matt Guinan tipped his hand when he said: "They put through a law freezing wages of public employees. Maybe that was necessary.... I don't know."

This off-hand remark clearly indicates Guinan's willingness to negotiate a settlement within the confines of the anti-labor city pay freeze. (Last week he tried to get the EFCB to enter the bargaining and indicate what an acceptable settlement might be.) The failure to attack the wage freeze is not only a betrayal of the interests of thousands of workers and students (as well as millions of subway riders) who have been victimized by the austerity program forced on the city's working and poor population, but is a direct threat to the interests of transit workers themselves.

A Program for Victory

One way to get around the city wage freeze is to bargain for a pay hike that will be "deferred" until the future. Such a deferment, however, would undoubtedly be *indefinite*. TWU members would not get any money until payment

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NO CONTRACT, NO WORK! DEFY ANTI-STRIKE INJUNCTIONS!

Teamster Ranks Eager for Strike

MARCH 29—Bargaining for a new national Master Freight Agreement covering 435,000 over-the-road and local cartage drivers in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) grinds on toward a midnight, March 31, deadline. Voting in local meetings around the country this past weekend indicated a massive majority of the Teamster ranks enthusiastically favor a strike. Nevertheless, widely despised IBT president Frank Fitzsimmons continues to maneuver feverishly between intransigent employers and discontented ranks in a desperate attempt to bridge the gulf with a rotten compromise. While the union membership is suffering from heavy unemployment and loss of real wages due to rampant inflation, Fitzsimmons' only concern is to negotiate a package "sweet" enough to secure his re-election in June.

The government and big corporations are paying close attention to the truckers' contract talks, hoping to forestall a generalized labor offensive. An "out-of-line" settlement "could start a new inflationary surge," blared *Business Week* (29 March), trying to blame "strike pressures welling up from rank-and-file drivers and dissident union groups" for the inevitable future rate hikes in the industry. The Ford administration is already directly intervening in the talks through Labor Secretary William Usery, and the threat of an immediate 80-day Taft-Hartley back-to-work order is being used to intimidate the ranks.

Threats are also descending on the Teamsters from the Democratic Congress, which announced a new "investigation" into gangsterism in the union late last week. This move was prompted by a multi-part television report on IBT corruption which NBC News just "happened" to run only a week before the contract deadline fell due. This supposedly accidental timing should make clear to those who call on the courts and government to clean up the unions that intervention by the bosses' state into the affairs of the workers

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In April 1971 strike Teamsters stayed out in violation ot back-to-work order by the International.

UPI

Plant Closure Threatens River Rouge Complex.....8

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Detroit Truckers Oppose Contract

DETROIT, April 6—Teamsters union chief Fitzsimmons' dictatorial order calling off the "national" truck drivers' strike has met with some explosive rank-and-file opposition to his contract. Until this afternoon a wildcat raged in Detroit. But under the vacillating leadership of the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), the opposition fizzled out in the face of threatened court sanctions. On Sunday, employer spokesmen complained that several terminals around the city remained shut down. Outside IBT Local 299 offices almost 3000 Teamsters rallied against Fitzsimmons' pact.

On Monday afternoon the protests escalated as a mass membership meeting of Local 299 overwhelmingly demonstrated disapproval of the contract. Over 2,000 union members packed Cobo Hall and booed down Local president Dave Johnson and International vice president Robert Holmes, who attempted to defend the deal. When the bureaucrats abruptly adjourned the meeting, switched off the sound system and walked out, union dissidents—including supporters of TDC—called for a strike vote, which passed unanimously.

However, also on Monday, a federal court issued a restraining order against the dissidents' picketing. According to radio accounts, the response of the wildcat leadership at a meeting this morning called by the TDC was to urge compliance with the court order.

WV Photo

Teamster pickets confront scab trucker at Cleveland depot.

Teamster Strike Stopped Short by Fitzsimmons

APRIL 4—Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) called off the first "nationwide" truck-drivers' strike on its third day with the announcement that a new master freight agreement had been negotiated. The terms of the settlement were reportedly similar to agreements that had been signed with two employer groups the day before, providing for a $1.65 wage increase over three years, a removal of the cap on the cost-of-living (c-o-l) clause in the second and third years, and an increase of $17 a week in health and pension benefits.

The money settlement is much more substantial than the wage increase and 11-cent limit on the c-o-l negotiated by Fitzsimmons in 1973, when he was faithfully implementing Nixon's wage controls. The new wage pact amounts to an increase of over 20 percent in three years. But the 1976 settlement is no better than the 1970 contract, and is a gift to the companies, who have been making record profits. Al Shaw, a prominent securities analyst at Standard and Poor's, said during negotiations that an increase in wages totalling 30 to 35 percent over the life of the contract would be "reasonable" (*New York Times*, 29 March). Moreover, the reported c-o-l formula of 1 cent increase for each 0.3 point increase in the Consumer Price Index is far from full cost-of-living protection, and it is rumored that there will be no c-o-l increase in the first year of the contract.

The real crunch will come on the questions of job security and work rules. Companies figure that whatever they give up in pay increases can be recouped in increased productivity and intensification of labor. Over the last contract period jobs were slashed through the use of longer trailers and double and triple hitches. In addition, during recent years employers have utilized the frequent consolidations and mergers of trucking firms not only to cut jobs but also to eliminate traditional union work rules.

They have also made increasing use of casual labor at sub-union rates. Wednesday-Sunday schedules, designed to eliminate payment of overtime on weekends, have become commonplace. Overtime is generally mandatory and many truck drivers work backbreaking schedules of 70-80 hours a week. In 1973 the right to strike over grievances after 24 hours' notice was eliminated, and thousands

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Africa

MPLA flag being raised in Huambo, former FNLA/UNITA capital.

MPLA Consolidates Bourgeois State in Angola.....6

Bible-Thumping Courts Declare Sex a Crime 3

Civil War Threatens Partition in Lebanon

Gamma/Liaison

Gamma

Above: Muslim soldier fires on body of dead Phalangist being dragged through Beirut street by car. Right: Guards riding in the car of Phalange leader Pierre Gemayel.

APRIL 5 –The utter impossibility of solving the most elementary and urgent democratic questions within the framework of decaying capitalism is demonstrated daily in the Lebanese civil war. Agonizingly slow and often dubious "victories" by predominantly Muslim military forces –costing on the average 100 fatalities a day, with an additional 200 wounded—are resulting in a gradual partition of Lebanon as the once-privileged Maronite Christians are squeezed into besieged enclaves.

Muslim militiamen backed up by al-Fatah-led Palestinian guerrillas decisively won the "Battle of the Hotels" by capturing the garish 26-story Holiday Inn, the unfinished Hilton and pompous Normandy from Maronite militiamen belonging to the fascistic Phalange. The Maronite population in Beirut has been forced into the Ashrafieh district and the nearby Starco shopping complex.

On March 25, the "Lebanese Arab Army" composed of deserters from the now-disintegrated regular Lebanese army, along with the private army of Druze patriarch and "Progressive Socialist" Kamal Jumblat, drove Lebanon's Maronite president Suleiman Franjieh from the presidential palace at Baabda. Franjieh, with his state papers and personal belongings, was taken under armed escort through Maronite-controlled areas to Junieh. This port town north of Beirut is in the heart of an enclave which right-wing Maronites are determined to defend at all costs.

Franjieh's exodus to Junieh symbolizes the partition which may well be the outcome of this disastrous civil war. The struggle around Baabda is also part of a larger battle for control of the Beirut-Damascus road on which Baabda is situated. Here the "Arab Army" and Jumblat have been largely successful. Toward Beirut this road leads into the Maronite enclaves. From the other direction has come the increasing intervention of the Syrian Ba'athist regime in the Lebanese civil war, both politically and militarily.

For all save the most reactionary forces, Franjieh's resignation from the presidency (his term does not formally end until September) is now the talisman held up by the Lebanese ruling class to end the civil war. Those who have called for Franjieh's resignation include more than two thirds of the religiously based parliament (which has a built-in six-to-five Christian majority), all non-Maronite Christian groups and even the Maronite League of Raymond Edde (who sees himself as the next president), not to mention the Muslim parties.

On March 11, Brig. General Abdel Aziz al-Ahdab, the highest-ranking Muslim in the Lebanese army and commander of Beirut's garrison, seized a television station and launched a "corrective movement," initiating the call for Franjieh's resignation. Aziz also proclaimed himself provisional military governor of all Lebanon. Since, however, the regular army has disintegrated, the brigadier controls little more than the television station over which he reads his unheeded "communiqués."

The Damascus Connection

Franjieh is backed only by his own private army, the Phalange of Pierre Gemayel and the right-wing Maronite minister of the interior, Camille Chamoun, who as president in 1958 called in the U.S. Marines to suppress a Muslim-led rebellion. However, he has the protection of the Damascus Ba'athists, through Syrian-officered battalions of the Palestinian Liberation Army and the Syrian-backed commando group al-Saiqa.

For all their "Arab Revolution" rhetoric, the Damascus colonels support the isolated reactionary Franjieh in order to maintain the status quo next door. They fear that disintegration of Lebanon's feudalist "confessional system," according to which government posts are allotted by religious affiliation, would spill over into Syria and exacerbate its own mixture of long-standing ethnic and national conflicts. Druze patriarch Jumblat, a long-time pillar of the "confessional system," now declares he is for secularization of Lebanese society and has become the archenemy of right-wing Maronites and the Syrian Ba'ath "Socialists."

On April 2 yet another "ceasefire" was formally agreed to. This one is to last ten days, during which time parliament is to meet for the purpose of amending the constitution so as to permit an early successor to Franjieh. The president, however, refused to resign under the pressure of political isolation and 130 mm. artillery shells, and may not be moved by constitutional amendments. Moreover, there has in fact been no cessation of conflict, and the parliament has been unable to find a safe place in Beirut in which to convene a meeting.

Within the Palestinian commando movement, the most prominent group, Yassir Arafat's al-Fatah (which previously observed strict neutrality in the civil war, as mandated by the 1969 Cairo accords), has now thrown itself into the conflict on the side of Jumblat and the "Arab Army." The pro-Syrian al-Saiqa, which once collaborated closely with al-Fatah, now has become the last line of defense for the hated enemies of the Palestinians—Franjieh, Gemayel and Chamoun—the right-wing Maronites who have been responsible for the savage repression and attempted expulsion of Palestinian refugees from Lebanon.

The deterioration of the right-wing Maronite forces' military position has placed direct military intervention on the agenda for Syria. The *New York Times* (30 March) reports that "In public and in private Mr. Kissinger has praised the Syrian mediation efforts in Lebanon," while cautioning against direct military intervention. Less cautious, the imperialist stooge of Amman, Jordan's King Hussein, while visiting his patrons in Washington, D.C., "told members of Congress today that probably only Syrian military intervention could restore order in Lebanon."

That the feudal Hashemite king looks to the current Syrian regime to "restore order in Lebanon" is no historical anomaly. Hussein is still grateful for the role Syrian ruler Hafez al-Assad played in the September 1970 Jordanian civil war, the so-called "Black September" when Hussein brutally massacred up to 10,000 Palestinians. On 16 September 1970 Syria sent armored units into Jordan in support of the beleaguered Palestinians. However, the units moved in without authorization from the ministry of defense, headed at the time by Assad, who opposed intervention. General Assad refused to provide air cover, and as a consequence the Syrian armored units were crushed by Jordanian air strikes.

Assad was severely criticized by the "civilian wing" of the Ba'ath party for opposing aid to the Palestinian resistance. But the general, firmly in control of the army and with the aid of the notoriously reformist Syrian Communist Party, purged the "civilians" and assumed the post of prime minister. In early 1971 he took the presidency, awarding the Syrian CP with two portfolios. Al-Saiqa was brought firmly under the thumb of the Syrian military. Thus the current honeymoon between the "radical" colonels in Damascus and the feudal king in Amman—in which there is much talk of a common military pact against Israel and even of eventual Syrian-Jordanian union (would Assad then become a prince, or Hussein a mere colonel?)—actually has its origins in Black September.

Baghdad and the Rejection Front

Another protagonist in the Black September events—notable more for what it failed to do than what it did—is the Damascus Ba'athists' rival in Baghdad, which is also threatening direct military intervention in the Lebanese civil war today. According to a *New York Times* (31 March) dispatch from Paris, "western intelligence reports" claim that "The Iraqis promised to send airborne units to help the Moslem-leftist alliance in Lebanon and to send army units across the Syrian-Iraqi border if the Syrian Army became substantially involved in the Lebanese situation."

Ever since the Iraqi Ba'athists resolved their own civil war by drowning the Kurdish struggle for self-determination in blood, they have unleashed a barrage of chauvinist invective against Syria. In order to keep their bloated officer corps busy, they have massed Iraqi troops along the Syrian border, allegedly because of a conflict over the use of the water of the Euphrates River. But the Iraqi army is known more for its bluster than its military prowess, except against poorly armed Kurdish irregulars.

The Palestinian resistance movement has not forgotten Iraq's perfidious role during the Black September events. During 1970, Iraq maintained a 12,000-man expeditionary force in Jordan, which Baghdad promised to commit to the Palestinian side in any major conflict, either with the Zionists or the Hashemites. Yet the Iraqi forces remained *neutral* during the Black September massacre!

Both Syrian and Iraqi Ba'athists demonstrate that nationalism even when it bombastically dresses itself up as "revolutionary" and "socialist," and loquaciously pays lip-service to the national justice for the Palestinians –is still the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie which aspires to exclusive exploitation of its "own" nation, and will readily sacrifice the Palestinian cause for defending that exploitation. "Pan-Arab" nationalism and the "Arab nation" of the Ba'athists are the slogans with which the Kurdish struggle is drowned in blood; the slogans around which Syrian and Iraqi soldiers are mobilized against one another for petty national claims, and the slogans for which Baghdad and Damascus inter-

vene on opposite sides in Lebanon's senseless communal war.

Since Iraq shares no common border with Israel, is not directly threatened by Israel and has not lost territory to Zionist expansionism, Baghdad has taken the verbally most intransigent position towards Israel, at no cost to itself. Iraqi-backed Palestinian commando organizations led by Dr George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, notorious for its airline hijackings and the Lod Airport massacre are grouped together in the "Rejection Front," so-called because it rejects negotiations or interim settlements with Israel (such as a West Bank "mini-state"). There have been frequent clashes between al-Saiqa and the "Rejection Front," especially in Lebanon. Further, Iraqi aid to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and "Rejection Front forces" has often been blocked by Syria and its Palestinian supporters.

The Rest of the Gang

Egypt, as part of its bitter *guerre de plume* (paper war) with Syria brought on by the Sinai accords, has called for the dispatch of "joint Arab symbolic peace-keeping forces until the fighting subsides and a proper atmosphere is created to end this bloody strife" (*New York Times*, 29 March). Needless to say, the "atmosphere" in Lebanon has not improved and this symbolic call for "symbolic peace-keeping forces" goes unheeded.

Another protagonist of Black September, the U.S. ambassador to Amman at the time, L. Dean Brown, has been sent to Beirut as Kissinger's "special envoy." While a five-ship U.S. amphibious group headed by a helicopter carrier and two destroyer escorts, with 1,700 Marines aboard, has been off Lebanon's coast, and U.S. under secretary of state Joseph Sisco today refused to rule out direct American intervention, nonetheless the likelihood of such intervention at this point is not great. In 1958 the Eisenhower administration feared that the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in Iraq, where there existed a powerful proletariat and sizable Communist Party, would lead to a social revolution. Thus Lebanon was invaded not because of its own internal strife, which was used as a cover, but in order to serve as a beachhead for action against a potential Iraqi Mao Tse-tung.

The reduction of the Maronites from a relatively privileged group into a besieged minority in forcibly compacted enclaves will no more ameliorate the oppression of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, both Christian and Muslim, than the invasion and partition of Cyprus by the Turkish army in 1973 liberated the Greek and Turkish masses on that many-times conquered island. Only on the foundations of socialist property forms can there be a reconstruction of this war-ravaged country in which the old feudalist institutions are swept away and the complex religious, ethnic and national conflicts are democratically resolved. ■

Vient de paraître

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- L'OCI reconstruit le Bureau de Londres
- SWP. Pour la «liberté d'expression» des fascistes

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Bible-Thumping Courts Declare Sex a Crime

In obeisance to the most hypocritical and arch-puritan social prejudices the United States Supreme Court has ruled upholding the right of the state to proscribe certain sexual activities deemed "unnatural" by judicial "authorities." Without hearing verbal arguments and without issuing an opinion of its own, the court affirmed a lower federal court ruling which had rejected a challenge to a section of a Virginia law prohibiting "crimes against nature."

The Supreme Court decision provoked cries of outrage from spokesmen for liberal, legal, civil rights and humanist organizations. Recent cases belie the myth that these laws are unenforced. A New York Police Department spokesman claimed that the equivalent New York law (which applies only to unmarried couples) is "basically a law we don't make arrests for." But according to the National Gay Task Force, over 200 people were arrested under the law from January to June 1973. The threat of arbitrary prosecution under these vicious laws is not only real, but reinforces social prejudices by providing legal sanction for the pervasive harassment of homosexuals.

"Unnatural" vs. "Natural" Sex

The Virginia statute provides for the courts to decide between "unnatural" and "natural" acts of sex. In practice, such laws are applied almost exclusively against homosexuals, but formally their scope is far broader. The Virginia law may be used to prosecute for sodomy, defined as any "abnormal" sexual intercourse such as anal intercourse or bestiality. It also allows for the determination of other sorts of sexual activity – such as cunnilingus, fellatio, masturbation, pederasty or onanism as "abnormal" or "unnatural" and thus illegal. (Kinsey indicates that a majority of human beings engage in "abnormal" practices.) Comparable statutes have been interpreted in case law to cover any sexual activity other than standard "missionary position" sexual intercourse. Some states require homosexual "offenders" to register with the police in their jurisdiction, a procedure often involving photographs and fingerprinting, and to inform the police when there is a change in residence.

The Supreme Court ruling goes directly against the trend toward liberalization of laws banning homosexual activity. Such organizations as the National Institute of Mental Health, the American Law Institute and the American Psychiatric Association have spoken out against considering homosexuality a crime. In December 1971 the Florida Supreme Court struck down an almost identical statute which had been on the books for 103 years. Even in Massachusetts, home of the U.S.' most stringent "blue laws," the state's highest court has overturned a law prohibiting "unnatural and lascivious" acts between consenting adults.

While 15 states have repealed similar laws or overturned them through court action since 1962, such puritanical laws still stand in 36 states. Most often they provide a lever for the persecution of homosexuals. However, a married couple, convicted under the same Virginia statute, is now serving a five year sentence. The couple's "crime" was revealed when their young child brought a photograph of them in a sexual act to school for "show and tell"!

The civil suit—filed originally by two men in a Richmond, Virginia, federal district court was brought against the statute only as it is applied to homosexual relations between consenting adults in private. The plaintiffs cited Supreme Court rulings on the right to privacy such as the 1965 ruling written by William O. Douglas striking down the Connecticut law banning contraception to married adults.

In the Virginia suit, the two majority district court justices reverted to overtly reactionary bombast denying the right to personal privacy outside the marriage bed. The state argued, in part, that homosexual conduct "is likely to end in a contribution to moral delinquency" and even that its prohibition would serve to encourage heterosexual marriages! The dissenting judge dubbed the latter argument "unworthy of judicial response." He added that "private consensual sex acts between adults are matters, absent evidence that they are harmful, in which the state has no legitimate interest."

Going back to the Bible for an enlightened opinion on homosexuality, the majority judges cited a quotation from Leviticus: "Thou shall not lie with mankind, as with womankind. This is an abomination." How does the court stand on the rest of the prescription which reads: "They shall be put to death; their blood is upon them"? And what is its stand on other pronouncements in Leviticus which call for death to practitioners of adultery and bestiality, as well as for death by fire for certain incestuous acts?!

Homosexuality as such may be legally viewed in the same way as other so-called "crimes without victims," such as prostitution, narcotic and drug violations, gambling and pornography. These "crimes" are distinguished by their voluntary and consensual nature. Thus, arrest is frequently accomplished by entrapment since the participants are not interested in prosecuting each other for the offense. "Morals" laws in the United States are typically vague and wide-ranging and carry sentences up to 20 years or more in prison. The New York state law, before a recent liberalization, considered any sexual contact between persons of the same sex to be sodomy and therefore illegal. If one of the participants were a minor, the offense became a felony.

Among the industrialized Western countries, none punishes sodomy more harshly than the United States. Laws governing private, consensual sexual conduct have been abandoned by many European and Latin American countries in many cases in the early 19th century as part of sweeping legal reforms which followed in the wake of the French Revolution.

In 1966 Britain decriminalized private, consensual homosexual practice after an extended parliamentary debate. The British government-constituted Wolfenden Committee had found in 1957 that:

> "Unless a deliberate attempt is to be made by society, acting through the agency of the law, to equate the sphere of crime with that of sin, there must remain a realm of private morality and immorality which is, in brief and crude terms, not the law's business."

But although another section of the report advocating stiffer penalties for prostitutes was codified (with a vengeance!) within two years, it took nine years to implement the liberalization of laws regarding homosexual behavior along the lines advocated in the Wolfenden Committee report.

Bourgeois morality—which closely parallels the social, economic and political needs of capitalist society opposes homosexuality in order to bolster the ideal of the nuclear family, a bulwark of capitalism. While the abolition of laws criminalizing consensual homosexuality would begin to allow for changes in social attitudes toward homosexuals, it would not prevent their continued persecution. A myriad of other misdemeanor provisions such as loitering, "lewd or lascivious behavior" and soliciting are used to persecute homosexuals. Moralistic prejudices stemming from fear that homosexual individuals tend to be unstable, dangerous, sexually aggressive or exhibitionist reinforce discrimination in housing and employment. Furthermore, because of the illegality itself homosexuals are often seen as undesirable tenants, had employment risks and vulnerable to blackmail.

The Supreme Court ruling is part of a generalized rightward shift on a broad range of social questions in the United States. In particular, reactionary and religious forces are currently waging a campaign to reverse ratifications of the Equal Rights Amendment in numerous states. This must be vigorously resisted by the workers movement. Support the ERA Extend protective legislation to all workers!

Other democratic rights and demands are also under attack. In New York state the legislature has just strengthened restrictions on abortion. Class-conscious workers must demand, Free abortion on demand! Free health care for all!

"Crimes" without victims are not crimes! Abolish all laws regulating consensual sexual conduct!

Full democratic rights for homosexuals No discrimination! ■

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Union Chiefs Turn the Other Cheek

Transit Super-Sellout "Not Enough" for NYC Finance Czars

NEW YORK In the early morning hours of April 1, with only a few minutes remaining before the union's extension of the strike deadline ran out, the leadership of Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 and the New York City Transit Authority (TA) reached agreement on a new contract. As the *New York Post* crowed in its front-page headline, the agreement, while providing a modest cost-of-living increase to be financed by "productivity savings," leaves intact the wage freeze imposed on the city's workers. Moreover, the new pact will not be implemented at all unless its terms are approved by the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), which is now threatening to scuttle the whole deal unless important "modifications" are made.

TWU International president Matthew Guinan had boasted throughout the negotiations that he would accept nothing less than a "substantial" wage increase. He quickly changed his tune after the settlement, however. Guinan now claims that "We recognized from the beginning that we couldn't get a wage increase," and that "With or without a strike, the settlement was the best that we could do" (*New York Post*, 1 April).

No amount of double-talking by the labor fakers can disguise the fact that the new contract is a defeat for transit workers. The failure to win any wage increase whatsoever means that the loss of $1.16 an hour in real wages to inflation over the last contract period a figure cited by TWU officials themselves during negotiations will not be made up. The cost-of-living (c-o-l) formula, a 1-cent-per-hour increase for every 0.3 point increase in the regional consumer price index, falls far short of full c-o-l protection.

Worst of all is a clause stating that improvements in the escalator clause embodied in the pact "shall have to be met through internal savings." This signifies an intensification of the existing "productivity agreements," under which jobs have been slashed through attrition, speed-up has been implemented, safety and maintenance checks cut back and subway and bus service curtailed. It is known that the TA would also like to eliminate the paid lunch period, hire part-time employees at reduced wage and benefit rates and eliminate "snow" and other penalty rates. Such an agreement, which ties pay gains to cutbacks in other areas of the contract, is obviously self-defeating.

The *New York Times* (3 April) termed the transit agreement a "very moderate package" and quoted one "knowledgeable observer" who called it "a bargain" (from the viewpoint of ruling-class interests). Nevertheless, it is entirely conceivable that the contract will be rejected by the Financial Control Board, which is out for blood. It has been widely reported that the main reason for the delay in reaching the transit settlement was the opposition of Mayor Beame and other city and state officials who wanted to make "productivity" cutbacks a precondition for any money increases to the transit workers. As presently worded, the agreement provides for "linking" c-o-l raises to "productivity savings," but does not make the former contingent on the latter.

The EFCB has been gunning for a showdown with the municipal unions. It continues to sit on the sellout pact negotiated last September by teachers' union chief Albert Shanker. Setting its sights on the contracts of 250,000 city employees which expire in June, the Control Board has been leaking reports that it will insist on making the transit workers' escalator clause improvement dependent upon prior "productivity savings." (It has also threatened to veto the c-o-l raise outright.) Beame, who like New York governor Carey is a member of the EFCB, has made haste to declare that the AFSCME unions headed by Victor Gotbaum could not expect a settlement similar to the transit pact because it would exceed the limits of the sacrosanct financial plan dictated last summer by the bankers and corporate bondholders of the Municipal Assistance Corporation.

Nury Hernandez/NY Post

David Yunich (right), head of Metropolitan Transportation Authority, said of "agreement": "Look, we gave them nothing...." Mediator Vincent McDonnell (left) and TWU president Matthew Guinan look on as Yunich announces deal.

There is considerable disgruntlement and uneasiness within the ranks of transit workers over the minimal pay increase and the unspecified contract modifications that may be made under the guise of "productivity savings." However, the absence of an organized class-struggle opposition to Guinan & Co. makes an effective challenge to the sellout policies of these labor fakers unlikely. The TWU bucks plan to submit the agreement to a mail ballot of the membership, thus ensuring that there will be no contract ratification meetings where militants could expose the rottenness of the agreement.

The ranks of city labor will continue to be sold out until a militant struggle is launched against the wage freeze and the union-busting policies imposed by the entire bourgeoisie, from the finance czars and the Ford administration to Carey and Beame. As the most powerful municipal union, the TWU is well-suited to spearhead such a fight. A strike fought under the banners of breaking the wage freeze, for a free transit system and jobs for all at decent wages to be paid for by canceling the city debt to the parasitic banks and bondholders could quickly mobilize the support of NYC's working and poor population. However, as the negotiation of this super-sellout of the transit workers makes clear, such a perspective is unrealizable so long as the city labor movement is run by pro-capitalist bureaucrats of the likes of Guinan, Shanker and Gotbaum. ■

Save the Engine Plant!

Mass Meeting at River Rouge

DETROIT, April 4 A well-attended mass membership meeting today of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600, which encompasses the giant 27,000-worker Ford Rouge complex, heard union leaders blast the planned phase-out of the engine plant scheduled to begin July 9. Approximately 1,500 workers on two engine lines are to be permanently laid off, and an additional 500 radiator and fuel tank workers will lose their jobs soon thereafter. The layoffs will reverberate throughout the entire Rouge complex, as workers with six years or more seniority will "bump" union members in other departments.

Ken Bannon, International UAW vice president in charge of Ford Motor Co., struck a pseudo-militant pose at the meeting. He drew vigorous applause when he stated that if the company refused to do something "meaningful" about the 2,000 threatened jobs, there would be no contract in 1976. Bannon also referred to militant union action taken in 1949 to ward off company moves designed to slash assembly plant operations, and went on to announce a mass demonstration at Rouge on Tuesday, April 13.

However, other union leaders made clear the real strategy the labor bureaucrats are pursuing. Mike Rinaldi, Local 600 president, boasted of the sympathetic response the UAW was getting from "friendly" politicians. A telegram from ten congressmen to Henry Ford III stating their "concern for abandoning the engine plant at River Rouge and urging the delay of the closure until they had had time to examine the necessity of the action" was read.

Rinaldi also described efforts to push Detroit Democratic mayor Coleman Young and Michigan governor Milliken to send similar telegrams. The bureaucrats also pushed the Mondale-Ford bill, a token measure that would require notifications by employers of their intentions to close plants, and promises only minimal retraining of affected workers. Stating that he feared a presidential veto of this bill, Rinaldi concluded his strategy by proclaiming that "the answer to that, come November, is a Democratic president."

By seeking to delude Rouge workers with the possibility of reconciling their interests with big business inside the capitalist Democratic Party, Bannon, Rinaldi & Co. are seeking to evade their own responsibility for failing to respond to the layoffs with militant union action. Throughout the massive auto layoffs of 1973-75 UAW bureaucrats uttered similar rhetoric about "legislative solutions" and electing "friends of labor." Meanwhile tens of thousands of auto workers remained unemployed with their SUB benefits cut off. The Spartacist League advocated militant action such as sit-down strikes to halt massive layoffs and plant closures.

An attempted phase-out of the engine facilities must be met first of all by a strike to close the entire Rouge complex demanding, *No layoffs! No plant closures!* Such an action would include possible occupation of the closed engine plant and support actions by Detroit auto workers. It would provide a dramatic rallying point for workers throughout the industry, setting the stage for UAW-wide strikes for jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay.

A strike at Rouge cannot be entrusted to UAW bureaucrats like Woodcock, Bannon or Rinaldi, however, who are reduced to appealing to the "humanitarian side" of Henry Ford. They would very likely call for a postponement of strike action until the contract expires when the idea would be junked entirely. The UAW officials carefully keep the membership ignorant by carrying on their negotiations with the company behind closed doors. They also systematically stifle the right of the rank and file to discuss and debate the issues (at today's meeting not a single minute was given over to floor discussion).

Negotiations and strike preparations must be carried out by an *elected strike committee*! Otherwise, the present union misleadership will succeed in quashing the struggle against layoffs at Rouge by lulling the workers with bogus promises of favors from the bosses and their political parties. ■

"Investigation by Terrorism"

Drop All Charges Against Susan Saxe!

Susan Saxe, a fugitive for over four years, is scheduled to come to trial in Boston. Her pre-trial hearings will resume April 12. Charged with a 1970 bank robbery and murder of a cop in Boston, Saxe has been denied bail, and if found guilty faces three life sentences.

Saxe was picked up by the police a year ago in Philadelphia and charged with a bank robbery there and with theft of classified government documents from the Newburyport Arsenal. She pleaded guilty "in the context of the laws of the United States," and will receive a maximum of ten years for the Philadelphia robbery and two years for the document theft, to be served concurrently.

In return for her guilty plea, Saxe obtained a government agreement that she will not be compelled to testify in any proceeding about events which occurred between 1969 and the present, even if granted immunity from prosecution. Thus she will not supply any information to the government about her "underground" years or contacts made during that time. Saxe was also adamant that the agreement guarantee she would never have to testify against Katherine Power, accused of participation in the Boston robbery, who is on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list.

Unlike Jane Alpert whose "feminism" led her to "cooperate fully with Federal investigators in providing details of her years as a fugitive" (*New York Times*, 15 November 1974) – Susan Saxe, a self-proclaimed "Lesbian feminist Amazon," has refused to cooperate with the government. In a 9 June 1975 statement issued at the time of her appearance in court on federal charges in Philadelphia, Saxe writes:

> "The most significant point of this plea agreement is *that the United States government realizes* that I am not and never will be a collaborator. I have made it clear to them that if I am called as a witness in any government proceeding, I will refuse to testify ..." [emphasis in original]

In contrast to Alpert's grovelling before the authorities, Susan Saxe's refusal to be an informer, despite the personal consequences for her, is courageous and commendable. The government's case in Boston is a continuation of the witchhunt against Saxe. As a symbol of resistance to "forced informing" for the bourgeois state, Susan Saxe must be defended by the entire left and workers movement. Drop all charges against Susan Saxe. Free her now!

Saxe and the Grand Juries

Saxe stood up to an all-out FBI "star chamber" investigation. Since the late 1960's, the FBI – armed with grand juries that make a mockery of the right to protection against "self-incrimination" – has gone on a rampage against black militants, the antiwar movement and the left.

Grand juries act either as rubber stamps of the prosecutors' office or, when they go after the left, as investigative witchhunts. At a seminar for cops and prosecutors in Houston last December, the chief of Detroit's Organized Crime Strike Force "spoke enthusiastically of 'investigation by terrorism'. The prosecutors and cops agreed that 'in the hands of a competent prosecutor there are few better tools'" (*Newsweek*, 1 December 1975).

An added weapon in the "investigation by terrorism" was Nixon's 1970 Organized Crime Control Act. By granting "use immunity," the FBI can subpoena a witness who is deprived of legal counsel and forced to talk or go to jail. A witness can be held in jail for the entire term of a grand jury and then be re-subpoenaed. Although the 1970 bill was nominally aimed at the Mafia, few indictments against organized crime were brought in by the federal grand juries. But the law opened up a barrage of grand jury investigations against the left and antiwar movement.

UPI

Susan Saxe

Supposedly in connection with its search for "armed and dangerous" Saxe and Power, the FBI conducted an extensive grand jury investigation. Still imprisoned in Lexington, Kentucky for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury, Jill Raymond has already been jailed for a year and cannot be released until May, when the life of the Lexington grand jury expires, and may then be re-subpoenaed. The Lexington investigation included 40-50 people who were extensively grilled by the FBI about the personal lives of their acquaintances. Six women refused to talk to the FBI, were subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury and were imprisoned when they refused to testify. Informed they would remain in jail until they cooperated, only Jill Raymond continues to refuse to provide information to the government.

Another such FBI sweep, concerning supposed harboring of Saxe and Power, occurred in New Haven, with Ellen Grusse and Terri Turgeon refusing to talk to the FBI and to a subsequent grand jury. They were jailed for more than eight months until their release December 19. Although non-appearance before grand juries is not a principle, the refusal to "inform" certainly is. For their solidarity in facing jail themselves rather than supply information which will be used against the left, these courageous women must be commended. We call for the immediate release of Jill Raymond!

Grand jury harassment is only one weapon in the legal arsenal of the bourgeois state. The prosecutors of U.S. capitalism's courts will give up their awesome power to indict their political enemies only when they are themselves indicted by the workers' tribunals of the victorious proletarian revolution.

Stop the Witchhunt! Drop the Charges! Free Susan Saxe!

For more information, contact: Susan Saxe Defense Committee, P.O. Box 39, West Somerville, Mass. 02144. ■

Protest Anti-Communist Exclusion!

Mandel Barred by U.S. Government

Ernest Mandel, a leader of the centrist Majority faction of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) as well as its most prominent academic, has been denied a visa to visit the U.S. to accept a teaching position at Stanford University. According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (22 March), Mandel was told by the U.S. embassy in Brussels that his visa request was being denied under the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act, which "prohibits the issuance of a visa to anyone who is or has been a member of the Communist Party or a communist-controlled organization." In order to gain entrance to the U.S., Mandel would now have to be granted waivers by the Departments of State and Justice.

This atrocity is potentially of great importance, especially in view of the American government's earlier harassment of Mandel. In October 1969, Mandel had been refused entrance to the U.S. despite an impressive array of academic invitations and planned speaking engagements. The USec and its American co-thinkers, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), mounted a vigorous campaign to publicize the important legal battle against this explicitly anti-communist exclusion. The SWP's publicity efforts lasted until the Supreme Court in June 1972 upheld the ban against Mandel. The post-Watergate revelations of the government's persistent and criminal persecution of the SWP (see article on FBI break-ins in this issue) make this a particularly important time to take the offensive against the legal persecution of the left.

The McCarran-Walter Act is a blatantly reactionary attack on basic democratic rights. This witchhunting bill is the legal basis for both political exclusions of leftists such as the Mandel ban and the anti-democratic and racist immigration policies of the U.S. government. It decrees both the suppression of leftist political views and the exclusion from the U.S. of broad categories of oppressed working people. Under the McCarran-Walter Act, desperate refugees from reactionary terror in Chile are arrogantly refused asylum in the U.S., while Cuban and Vietnamese criminals and butchers are welcomed; "illegal immigrant" laborers are exploited for the profits of American corporations while being denied the rights of citizens.

The only appropriate response to this latest Mandel case must be to bring together the broadest possible mobilization of left and working-class militants in protest against the Mandel exclusion, as part of an aggressive campaign to strike down this arbitrary and unconstitutional law. However, the SWP has as yet made no public response whatsoever to the government's obstruction of the Mandel visit, while continuing to heavily publicize the exclusion of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, a supporter of the SWP-led minority wing of the USec.

The SWP's sectarianism and ultra-"respectable" approach have also undercut the building of a broad-based political defense of Blanco. On 3 October 1975 the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle legal defense group whose work for anti-sectarian defense of victimized left-wing and labor militants the Spartacist League endorses, had addressed a letter to the SWP-backed U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) urging a united-front demonstration to protest Blanco's exclusion. The letter pointed out:

Pathfinder

Ernest Mandel

> "...it was just such broad public, united front demonstrations combined with other forms of publicity and protest which galvanized international support behind Blanco when he was imprisoned on the Peruvian prison island of El Frontón and saved him from execution, eventually winning him his freedom. The Spartacist League took an active part in building the campaign in the U.S. to free Hugo Blanco. Now that Blanco is again being subjected to political repression the PDC and the SL again intend to take an active part in protesting this naked exercise of political censorship by the U.S. government."

Neither USLA nor the SWP made any response to this letter, nor did they participate in a PDC-organized demonstration against Blanco's exclusion held later that month in San Francisco.

In opposition to the McCarran-Walter Act, the PDC has actively protested the exclusion from the U.S. of a broad range of prominent left-wing spokesmen and unionists, including in addition to Blanco and Mandel of the USec—veteran Ceylonese Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody, Australian labor leader Laurie Carmichael, Dr. Melba Hernandez of the Cuban Communist Party and Chilean MIR leader Carmen Castillo. The SL and PDC have publicized these cases in *Workers Vanguard* and through protest demonstrations around such issues as deportations of "illegal aliens" and exclusion of Chilean refugees. We express our solidarity with Ernest Mandel, latest target of McCarran-Walter Act repression. Protest the exclusion of Ernest Mandel – Down with reactionary immigration legislation! ■

After Rout of Imperialist-Led Forces

MPLA Consolidates Bourgeois State in Angola

APRIL 3 The withdrawal at the end of March of the last two battalions of South African troops from Angola marked the ignominious end of the first major post-Vietnam U.S.-orchestrated imperialist military adventure. After an initial lightning advance in November-December to within rocket range of the former colonial capital, Luanda, the CIA-led coalition suffered one reverse after another at the hands of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The rag-tag "armies" of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) were so pathetically incapable of serious fighting that they and their mercenary "advisor"-commanders wisely fled at the mere approach of the Russian-equipped, Cuban-reinforced MPLA troops.

On the diplomatic front, after the myth of bourgeois Pan-Africanism went up in smoke at a deadlocked January meeting of the Organization of African "Unity," the military rout of the imperialist colonialist-led forces in Angola soon convinced virtually all of the black African states to jump on the MPLA bandwagon, or at least to make their peace with the victors. In Europe, one-time suppliers of the FNLA (France) and UNITA (West Germany) decided to cut their losses and clumsily stumbled over each other in a hasty scramble to recognize the Luanda regime.

Then last week the United Nations all but put its official seal of approval on the Cuban military intervention in Angola by condemning the South African invasion. By this time, Henry Kissinger was left alone holding hands with the hated white-supremacist Pretoria regime. So unpopular had the U.S.' position become that it did not dare to veto the Security Council resolution. In virtually every respect, the Angolan adventure had become the Edsel of the Ford administration.

"Détente of a New Type"

Meanwhile, the MPLA regime in Luanda, the "People's Republic of Angola" (PRA) led by Agostinho Neto, is riding high. Having routed the phantom "Democratic Republic" of the neo-colonialist/anti-communist UNITA and FNLA, the PRA is not even faced with the necessity of extensive mopping-up operations. Instead it is concentrating on wiping up crumbs from the diplomatic table and "normalizing" relations with the neighboring countries that had backed its nationalist rivals.

To the north, the Angolan government has concluded an agreement with Zaïre (the former Belgian Congo) "to assure mutual confidence and security of each state." After supporting the FNLA for 14 years, Zaïre has now cut loose the shattered organization. The National Front's leader, Holden Roberto, has reportedly fled to Tunisia. In return, Neto guaranteed to Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko (the CIA's number one man in tropical Africa) the return or pacification of 6,000 ex-Katangan gendarmes. These former supporters of secessionist Congolese politician Moïse Tshombe had fought first with the Portuguese colonial army and then alongside the MPLA in the hope of securing an Angolan base from which to attack Mobutu (*New York Times*, 23 March).

Angolan war caused thousands of refugees. Salgado/Gamma

In the south, UNITA forces abandoned the towns in mid-February, shortly after the pull-back of its South African suppliers. This did not, however, stop the notoriously mendacious UNITA press officers from claiming, as late as March 17, that their army was "more organized and nearly 20 times larger that it was during the colonial epoch," and that its guerrilla operations against the Luanda government were "becoming more successful every day"!

When it held the towns of the south-central highlands, UNITA was incapable of providing any administrative order or even marketing agricultural produce. Its only "success" was in unleashing random despotic terror in the region it controlled. And as the UNITA defenses were collapsing, in a parting gesture before fleeing, it carried out a gruesome massacre of several thousand MPLA partisans.

The most blood-chilling report was of a former PIDE (Portuguese secret police) jail outside Bie which had been taken over by UNITA to imprison local leaders of the MPLA. According to *Le Monde* (18 February):

> "All were massacred. A small corn field sloped gently toward the brush. When they got to the edge, the prisoners took off their shoes. The soldiers who accompanied us counted off 235 pairs. Then they were killed by blows with iron bars, thrown into common graves and barely covered with dirt. Under a swarm of flies, parts of bodies protruded. Further along, more common graves, older ones. Under the trees there were skeletons. How many [dead]? Lucio Lara, general secretary of the Movement, answered, 'hundreds.' Among them might be Joaquim Campagno, who was a member of the [MPLA] political bureau and enjoyed great popularity throughout the central plateau."

As he retreated from his "capital" of Huambo, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi declared his willingness to join a coalition government with the MPLA. Neto, for his part, had not excluded an eventual coalition with other "patriotic forces." But the vicious mass killings brutally slammed this door shut. Fearing similar treatment at the hands of the victors, masses of UNITA supporters have crossed the border into Zambia. The MPLA leaders will not soon forget the massacres instigated by UNITA, and one of the PRA's key demands in negotiating with Zambia over diplomatic recognition and re-opening of the vital Benguela railway to Zambian goods has been for repatriation of some 12,000 Angolan refugees (*Times* [London], 19 March).

Members of people's militia in Luanda. Afrique-Asie

The only anti-MPLA force which withdrew from the Angolan battlefields in a semblance of good order was the South African army. However, the fact that the largely black armed forces of the MPLA had defeated their vaunted military juggernaut was a serious psychological defeat for the defenders of apartheid. South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster based his announcement of the withdrawal of his last troops from the Calueque dam on the border of Southwest Africa (Namibia) on reported "third party" assurances—via Britain and UN secretary-general Waldheim—that Angola would respect Pretoria's interests in the massive hydroelectric project.

On March 19 Neto denied that any formal assurances were given. However, earlier in the month official Luanda sources explicitly denied press accounts which had quoted the PRA president as saying the MPLA "would continue the armed struggle against the white racists in power in Namibia and Rhodesia." "We do not have the intention to go beyond our boundaries," said the Angolan government, adding "it is not a question for us of invading Namibia..." (*Le Monde*, 4 March).

But just in case the détente with the MPLA should fall through, South Africa has not forgotten the ghosts of the FNLA and UNITA. In addition to maintaining a cordon of troops along the 1,600 kilometer northern border of Southwest Africa and creating puppet black armies for the "bantustans" of Ovamboland and Kavangoland, the Pretoria regime is now reportedly hiring former FNLA soldiers as mercenary border guards. It also permitted 200 UNITA soldiers to slink across the border and take refuge in the Kavango region (*Le Monde*, 30 March).

Hatching a New Ruling Class

In an article entitled, "Smash the Imperialist Power Play," soon after the

beginning of the South African invasion (*WV* No. 85, 14 November 1975), we wrote that "The correct policy for proletarian revolutionists at this time ...is military support to the MPLA against the Washington-financed South African-organized offensive." At the same time we warned: "The MPLA while presently aligned with Moscow could tomorrow become the favorite of Washington, and it is in any case no less hostile to the slightest expression of working-class independence." Calling for military victory of the MPLA's struggle against the imperialist onslaught, communists nevertheless do not give *political* support to these "aspiring exploiters" who despite their "progressive anti-imperialist" posture aspire to build a *bourgeois* Angola.

The reformist apologists of the MPLA are currently churning forth reams of accolades for the "socialist option" and "non-capitalist road" of the "People's Republic" of Angola. Veteran Stalinist carpethagger Wilfred Burchett conducted a lengthy interview with PRA prime minister Lopo do Nascimento, who explained that the new regime has "no choice but to build socialism" because economic reconstruction requires government operation of enterprises abandoned by Portuguese colonialists. Burchett even compares Angola to Vietnam where, he says, "the White House...scared South Vietnam's capitalists and bourgeoisie into wholesale flight" (*Guardian*, 24 March).

But Angola is *not* Vietnam. Now that they hold the reins of state power, the former petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrilleros of the MPLA are giving ample proof of their fundamental allegiance to capitalism. This is the content of their "détente" with Zaïre, Zambia and (more tenuously) with South Africa. Moreover, in sharp contrast to Vietnam, the major capitalist enterprises in Angola either never left or are now coming back. The latest and most important was the announcement Friday by Gulf Oil that it would resume pumping from its Cabinda offshore wells "as soon as possible" at the request of the PRA. Gulf's negotiations with Luanda were approved in late February by the State Department, although the U.S. is still withholding diplomatic recognition and Kissinger continues his blustering warnings to the Cuban forces in Angola (*New York Times*, 3 April).

The economic disruption caused by the war and the flight of the white colons does dictate major government intervention in the Angolan economy, but such measures, accompanied by vague leftist sloganeering, hardly constitute the destruction of capitalist rule. As in Algeria they are the basis for creating stable conditions for continued exploitation.

Again recalling the early post-independence years in Algeria, the contradictory tendencies within the MPLA are presently sorting themselves out. The correspondent of *Le Monde* writes in its 28 February edition that:

> "The holy alliance against the invader is frittering away. A confrontation between those who call for a little 'people's power' and those who aspire to finally enjoy the privileges of the former colonists appears to be inevitable."

While the writer appears to have some illusions in the top "left" leaders of the MPLA, he details the transformation of former black petty-bourgeois officials and traders into small capitalists: "the new group of businessmen, transporters and functionaries who always believed that their MPLA card gave them the right to take over the positions which the departure of the Portuguese left open." He also quotes a regional MPLA political commissar who commented:

> "While we were occupied at the front, the people at the rear were occupying positions from which they must be removed ... The population has been very sensitive to our propaganda. The war is almost over. They are now demanding, therefore, that our slogans be followed by concrete results, but they are not sufficiently organized within the MPLA to be able to defend their interests there."

The Hoax of People's Power

The new regime has made much of a "law on people's power" implementing article 3 of the PRA constitution, which guarantees "broad and effective participation in the exercise of political power" to the popular masses. The formal structure is similar to that provided for in the recently adopted Cuban constitution (see "Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress," *WV* No. 100, 12 March), and the content is far from bourgeois democracy (not to mention the proletarian democracy which the Cuban regime pretends to). The highest level is provincial; real power remains in the hands of centrally appointed commissars, and the function of the various "people's commissions" is purely consultative. Most importantly, this "people's power" decreed from above has nothing to do with the organizations which grew up in 1974-75 partly independent of MPLA control (see "MPLA: 'Nationalists of New Type'?" *WV* No. 93, 23 January).

The various commissions exist, at this point anyhow, largely on paper. The main preoccupation of the new government has been to consolidate an effective police force to keep order in the urban areas and suppress the increasingly restless masses. Independent self-defense groups in the plebeian *muceques* (slums) surrounding Luanda were disarmed last fall. Now a "People's Police Corps" has been formed with snappy new uniforms, and recently a group of 2,500 volunteers were sworn in as the first members of the militia called the "Organization of People's Defense" (ODP). PRA defense minister "Iko" Carreira said of the ODP that these soldier-workers during the war were responsible for the surveillance of the rear "which will soon become the true front of the struggle against the internal

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Bohemia

Holden Roberto (arrow) with Chinese advisors touring FNLA camp. Picture was among materials captured by MPLA troops at Uige. Cuban ambassador displayed this at UN April 1.

On the Road to State Department Socialism?

Which Way for Comrade Plyushch?

WV Photo

Leonid Plyushch

Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch was the principal speaker at a panel discussion in New York on Saturday evening, March 4, entitled "The Left and the Soviet Union: Is a Broad-Based Left-Wing Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners Possible?" The panel, which was more liberal than left, included British historian E. P. Thompson, pacifist Grace Paley, Daniel Berrigan, S. J. and George Saunders of the reformist Socialist Workers Party. The meeting was sponsored by a medley of social-democratic groups, including the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Socialist Party USA and others.

Plyushch opened his remarks by stating that he wished to address himself to those people who dream of a paradise on earth:

> "Many Western leftists believe that the USSR is a paradise or at least better than the USA. Many people believe that the light comes from the East. The light is not coming from any direction now.... The USSR is a prison for peoples and individuals – a deceitful police-run, bureaucratic, exploitative system."

Plyushch's statement that "the light is not coming from any direction now" and his later comment (which was met with applause) that "...maybe our entire world is insane, but what can you do?" encapsulate the pessimism and profound demoralization which ran through his entire message. He not only warned his audience to place no hope in the Soviet Union lest they be "duped the way the Soviet peoples were duped," but also to have no confidence in *any* government or political party. Quoting a Russian poet, Aleksandr Galich, he said:

> "Do not be afraid of pestilence
> Do not be afraid of sorrow.
> Do not be afraid of plague and famine.
> Be afraid only of him who says,
> 'I know what to do.'
> He will pass over the earth in his steel-clad boots.
> He will drown it in blood."

"History," said Plyushch, "is confirming these words." On the contrary. But history does record that Galich has admitted to working with the CIA-run Radio Liberty.

Criticisms of Trotskyism

Following a brief attack on the Communist Party USA, which he characterized as a religious organization existing only as a remnant of obscurantist fanaticism, Plyushch stated:

> "I'd like now to turn to my Trotskyist comrades. I'd like to get into discussions and arguments. They say that the Soviet Union is a degenerated workers state. Degenerated, yes; but why a workers state? The nature of the state is determined by the nature of power.... The working class, like the peasantry and the working intelligentsia, are oppressed. The upper echelons of the party and the bureaucracy are in power."

While it is true that the bureaucracy has usurped political power in the Soviet Union, the nationalization of the means of production, the establishment of economic planning and the state monopoly of foreign trade remain the historic legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution, which expelled imperialism and destroyed capitalist property relations. These gains have brought tremendous increases in the living standards of the Soviet masses and provide the indispensable precondition for advancing to a socialist society. While Plyushch may believe that there is *nothing* worth preserving in a world gone mad, the Soviet working class understands quite well the value of these gains and will not relinquish them. Nor will it place confidence in those "anti-bureaucratic fighters" whose program invites capitalist restoration.

Plyushch also criticized Trotskyists for calling only for political revolution in the Soviet Union. "The USSR," he said, "needs not only a political but also a social revolution." Then, in a contradictory turnabout, he proclaimed that he was opposed to *all* revolutionary activity:

> "...the government and the authorities will be willing to do anything [to smash a socialist revolution], even use thermonuclear weapons, against their own people. The imperialist states will not sit passively on the sidelines. Mankind will perish. Even the rotten civilization in which we are living now will perish. That is why we, the majority of the members of the democratic movement of opposition in the USSR, are for peaceful revolution – or evolution."

This cry of terror and despair reflects Plyushch's total loss of confidence in the international working class and its historic mission, as well as his lack of a materialist viewpoint. The alternative to socialist revolution is not maintenance of "the rotten civilization in which we are living now" which he is so anxious to preserve, but, as Trotsky said, *barbarism*! Plyushch fails to grasp that the suffering of the masses in the course of the proletarian revolution which he so

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Teamsters...

(continued from page 1)

of unresolved grievances have piled up as a result. On all these issues Fitzsimmons' proposed contract is silent

Nationwide Strike?

Trucks carry over 60 percent of domestic freight in the U.S. It is obvious that a national Teamsters strike would have a tremendous impact on the economy. After only two days of the current strike, auto manufacturers were already forced to lay off 20,000 workers. Yet it would be a misnomer to say that Fitzsimmons called a "nationwide" Teamsters strike. Even before the announcement of a new master freight agreement, two thirds of the 435,000 drivers "on strike" had been ordered back to work by the IBT. And even though the proposed national pact has yet to be ratified by the membership, Fitzsimmons has urged that the remaining drivers return to their jobs.

One third of the Teamsters drivers ordered back to work were employees of generally smaller companies who signed so-called "me-too" agreements with the union. These agreements exempted the firms from being struck, on condition that they observe an interim contract until a national pact was signed. Another one third of the Teamsters drivers were employees of the Irregular Route Carriers and the Motor Carriers Labor Advisory Council, who on Friday agreed to the contract that became the model for the master agreement accepted a day later.

Furthermore, Local 705 in the key trucking hub of Chicago, which has the right to bargain its own wage agreement, extended its contract and did not strike at all. In the past this local and the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union have been a major problem for the IBT brass because of their militancy. The recent promotion of Local 705 chief Louis Peick to one of the International vice presidencies apparently achieved its purpose: "persuading" the Local to cooperate with Fitzsimmons' weak-kneed strike policies.

Fitzsimmons justifies the policy of signing separate contracts with individual employers on the grounds that it splits the companies and applies pressure on those who continue to hold out. However, the interim agreements were signed with the smaller, intra-state firms which have little impact on the principal interstate carriers. This strategy, which is pursued by other labor fakers like Woodcock of the UAW, served to dampen the impact of the strike nationwide. Most observers agree that Fitzsimmons consciously utilized this tactic in order to mollify President Ford and convince him that the work stoppage was not severe enough to justify invoking Taft-Hartley.

Companies who signed "me-too" agreements with the union were given "red stickers" to identify their trucks. For the most part this sowed confusion in the ranks of Teamsters, who were unclear as to just who had been permitted to operate and who was scabbing. Militants complained that local union bureaucrats commonly accepted payoffs from trucking companies who had signed *no* agreement, in return for the right to red-sticker their vehicles. There was considerable sentiment among rank-and-file Teamsters for a policy of "if you shut one down, shut them all down!"

Fitzsimmons' call for all strikers to return to work also leaves unresolved local bargaining issues, which include key questions of work rules and seniority rights. Under a 1973 contract innovation designed to further suppress rank-and-file militancy, locals are deprived of the power to reject their own contract supplements and call a strike. Local supplements are included in the same package as the master freight agreement. Ratification is by the undemocratic procedure of a nationwide mail ballot supervised by the Department of Labor, and a two-thirds vote is required to reject. Locals which want to strike essentially must get the sanction of the IBT International.

WV Photo

Demonstration by Teamster militants in front of hotel near Chicago where contract negotiations were held.

Break With Fitzsimmons/TDC Reformism

It should be clear from the strike-breaking policies pursued by the Teamster bureaucracy that an elected strike committee is needed to conduct the struggle against the companies. But Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), a reformist pressure group inside the IBT, in the first issue of its "daily strike bulletin" instead counseled individual Teamsters to send wires to Fitzsimmons urging that he fight for TDC demands!

As if this impotent tactic weren't bad enough, TDC also called on union members to send President Ford a pathetic appeal which said in part, "Don't use Taft-Hartley and become a strike-breaking president." This can only spread illusions that the capitalist government can be neutral in the class struggle.

And while in one breath Teamsters for a Decent Contract was demanding that there be no government interference in the strike, in the next it was calling for intervention by the same government into the labor movement: thus TDC is currently publicizing two suits against Teamster locals—one against Thomas "Eddie" Lee, secretary-treasurer of Cleveland Local 407, for interfering with the distribution of TDC literature; the other, in Pittsburgh, demanding the right of locals to ratify their own contracts.

It is precisely the strategy of inviting the government into union affairs that reinforces the IBT bureaucracy's red-baiting claim that the TDC is composed of "outsiders" and allows Fitzsimmons to pose as a defender of union sovereignty. Only a program of class independence from the bourgeoisie and its state can spearhead the fight to oust Fitzsimmons and defeat the companies. Such a program must include demands for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, expropriation of the trucking companies without compensation, a workers party, opposition to racial and sexual oppression and IBT raiding of the Farm Workers.

Lacking such a program, the TDC is seen by class-conscious Teamsters as qualitatively no different from the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. (Fitzsimmons also believes that the federal government is neutral in the class struggle and that Gerald Ford needn't be a strikebreaker.) Only a leadership which breaks from TDC's reformist economism as well as Fitzsimmons' gangsterism can show the way forward. ■

SWP Offices Ransacked 92 Times

Nation's No.1 Burglar: the FBI

MARCH 29 —It was announced yesterday that specially trained teams of FBI agents burglarized the New York offices of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at least 92 times between 1960 and 1966, an average of once every three weeks. This criminal program, sanctioned in Washington, produced an astounding mass of some 10,000 photographs of documents and correspondence concerning virtually every aspect of SWP activities, including the defense activities of members involved in federal legal proceedings. Organizational correspondence, records of political contributions, minutes of meetings and other material were on occasion even stolen outright by J. Edgar Hoover's gangsters.

This intensive scrutiny was uncovered in the thousands of pages of FBI documents turned over to the SWP as the result of the party's suit for $27 million in damages for years of federal harassment and violation of the most elementary democratic rights. The disclosure of these blatantly illegal activities explodes the mendacious denials by Justice Department officials, who testified during the case that the SWP had not been a victim of the hundreds of FBI burglaries previously reported as having occurred against fourteen unidentifed "target" organizations from 1942 to 1968.

With his political police caught red-handed, FBI director Clarence Kelly acknowledged at a news conference last July that the bureau had conducted what he described as "surreptitious entries" over this 25-year period. These so-called "black-bag jobs" were undertaken, according to the FBI head, in order to "obtain information relative to the security of the nation" and were "paramount in the protection of the country." Cut from the same cloth as his predecessor, Hoover (once aptly described by a Communist Party leader and victim of the 1950's witchhunt as "a prevarieating pimp"), Kelly shamefacedly told reporters at that conference that "I do not note in these activities any gross abuse of authority" (*New York Times*, 29 March).

FBI records already made public indicate that some of the internal information contained in the rifled SWP files was used by Hoover's agents in their notorious Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of disrupting the activities of the SWP and other leftist organizations. Pilfered information on the private lives and backgrounds of SWP members was used in various attempts to cripple party activities. Federal agents supplied anonymous tips to the media concerning arrest records (often on trumped-up charges) of SWP electoral candidates.

In addition, internal differences or tensions within the organization were exploited by the circulation of unsigned and often slanderous letters; the possession of membership lists and addresses was necessary to give these letters an air of credibility. Major arenas of SWP activity, like the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendents (civil rights activists arrested in North Carolina) and the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, were targetted for disruption. Federal agents sent "poison pen letters" to the employers of SWP members in order to get them fired. Other COINTELPRO provocations resulted in the murders of several Black Panthers.

Equally as scandalous as the revelations arising from the SWP suit is the case with which the bourgeoisie's professional thugs are excused for their crimes after a few ritual "mea culpas." Even liberal news commentator Bill Moyers was led to remark on his 29 March National Educational Television program:

> "Four years ago, you recall, 'White House plumbers' broke into the headquarters of the Democratic Party. A president was eventually toppled as a result. It says a lot that there has been no general outery over the harassment of the Socialist Workers Party and no evidence that any federal bureaucrat has even been reprimanded."

The left and labor movement must call the perpetrators of these acts to account. The thieving FBI agents, their superiors who authorized the operations and the New York police who provided security must be tried and punished like the criminals they are. The working class will not forget or forgive the bourgeois hypocrisy which accepts burglary, wire-taps, slander, physical assault and even cold-blooded murder as instruments of government policy toward socialist, black and labor militants. ■

Death Sentence Commuted After International Protests

NYC Rally Demands Freedom for Desmond Trotter

WV Photo

Demonstration March 31 at the UN demanded freedom for Desmond Trotter.

Desmond Trotter, the young political activist imprisoned on the tiny Caribbean island of Dominica, narrowly escaped the hangman's noose. Trotter's execution on a frame-up murder conviction, scheduled for April 8, was halted by mounting international protest. Rallies were held in Dominica, and on the nearby island of Martinique nearly 4,000 demonstrated on Trotter's behalf. Telegrams of outrage and appeal from Europe and North America flooded the government offices of the tourist-minded petty bureaucrats who run the island of only 72,000 inhabitants. Last week an international delegation went to Dominica and to the neighboring island of Antigua, where they located the only two "witnesses" against Trotter and obtained from them a retraction of their testimony.

These vigorous defense efforts compelled the tinpot tyranny of Dominica's Premier Patrick John to commute the death sentence at the eleventh hour. But Trotter remains in jail, facing a life sentence, and only massive international protest can free him.

At a rally last Sunday in Brooklyn's Bellrose Ballroom, supporters of Trotter's defense hailed the news that the victimized youth would not hang and pledged to continue the fight to free him. The audience of about 125 heard how John and his plantation bosses' "Labour" Party were blocked from implementing the slogan they had hung over the jury room during the trial: "Hang Trotter!"

A member of the international delegation recently returned from Dominica told the audience how they had attempted to visit Trotter in jail, where he had been in solitary confinement for two years. Magistrate Ephram Georges, who had initially agreed to the visit, turned the delegation away, asking "Why is there such international concern for Desmond Trotter? He's just one person." The delegation replied that Trotter is a symbol of political repression under John's brutal regime.

The U.S. delegation, headed by Bernard Wiltshire of the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee, was joined by a 17-man delegation from Martinique. The delegation went to Antigua and located the only two civilian witnesses against Trotter, who had earlier admitted to an Antiguan lawyer that they had been coerced into identifying Trotter. One woman disappeared after this confession and did not appear at Trotter's trial; the other spun a web of lies that nearly cost Trotter his life.

The delegation obtained from these "witnesses" a signed statement admitting they had been coerced by the Dominica police to make a false identification, in return for leniency on their threatened arrest for overstaying their visa and drug charges. The Mercy Committee, a six-man panel scheduled to review Trotter's death sentence, was handed the women's confession and an emergency cabinet meeting was called. Following this meeting, Premier John announced the commutation of the death sentence over the radio, then reportedly took to the streets to explain that his action was due to his own magnanimity rather than to the international protest.

The Brooklyn rally—sponsored by the Desmond Trotter Defense Committee, Caribbean Student League, Organization for Total Independence of Dominica, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Student Coalition Against Racism, Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) and others—heard the numerous speakers stress the need to build a powerful and united defense for Trotter. With the exception of the USLA speaker, all the statements of solidarity linked the defense of Trotter to the need to address the miserable economic conditions in Dominica and the Caribbean.

Most of the speakers placed the defense of Trotter in the political context of pan-Caribbean nationalism. Bernard Wiltshire presented his political views within the framework of non-sectarian defense work. His speech praised the work of USLA, the SWP and PDC and the efforts of the delegation and two WLIB radio announcers. He noted that all had come forward without being asked for help, and that the PDC had been involved in Trotter's defense even before his Defense Committee had been formed. Wiltshire stated that the Trotter case had brought the struggle for the "Caribbean nation" to a higher level; the Defense Committee, in his view, was an

continued on page 11

CP Jobs Rally in Washington

WV Photo

APRIL 5—The National Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment (NCFIU), a group led by the reformist Communist Party (CP), held a "Bicentennial March for Jobs" in Washington, D.C., Saturday. Supporters of the CP and the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) comprised the bulk of the 1,500 marchers, and the Stalinists lost no opportunity to demonstrate their true-blue class-collaborationist colors. From the high school marching band that led the march, playing "America the Beautiful" all afternoon, to the rostrum of speakers who urged a "pink slip" for Ford and a vote for the Democrats in November, this liberal protest rally was anchored firmly within the orbit of bourgeois electoral politics.

The large YWLL contingent chanted "We Need a J-O-B, So We Can E-A-T" and carried signs reading "Slash the Military Budget," "Youth Too Have a Dream" and "Jobs and Education for All—HR 50." The latter referred to the phony "full employment" Hawkins-Humphrey bill. Through NCFIU, the CP has stumped the country gathering 200,000 signatures on a support petition and building numerous rallies and demonstrations for this bill, which is little more than a vehicle for Hubert Humphrey, the undeclared Democratic presidential candidate, to garner election-year publicity. The Stalinists ballyhoo this measure, attempting to lend credibility to the pretensions of liberal Democrats that full employment can be achieved under capitalism with a little fiscal fine-tuning. A statement by CP leader Daniel Rubin in the April 3 issue of *Daily World* demonstrates that the CP swallows this moldy hoax in the cynical knowledge that it is impotent and meaningless:

> "...the acid test for a bill in this field is what it will do to put people to work or alleviate the burdens of unemployment ... By that test, no version of the bill was of great significance, with the present one of much less value. The main argument for it has been its establishment of the policies and rights discussed. As we see, some of these are not new at all, some are contentless, some negative and only some positive. In the current bill, even rights such as the right to a job have no mandated implementation in the bill itself."

These left criticisms (essentially correct) underscore the two-faced hypocrisy of the CP's support to the bill. By the same token, the CP's "independent" electoral campaign is revealed by these pro-Democratic Party rallies to be nothing more than a left cover. The CP is still perched firmly on its "three-legged-stool strategy" one leg in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, one leg in the CP itself, one leg in the mini-"mass movement" of the likes of NCFIU with all three legs planted in the mire of opportunism. ■

Angola...

(continued from page 7)

infiltrations of imperialism."

Just what is the nature of these "infiltrations"? *Le Monde* of 12 March described the repression in the *muceques*:

> "...the MPLA ...struck out much more often to its left than to its right. Since the month of October, the local leadership of the autonomous 'people's power' organizations of the population in the Luanda slums...was eliminated after its members had entered into open conflict with the MPLA.
>
> "...the extreme left, which immediately demanded a dominant role for the Angolan working class (therefore incompatible with the frontist strategy of the Movement) disappeared in Luanda. Today, even though the leaders do not fail to attack the 'pseudo-revolutionaries' in their speeches, no evidence of this far left is perceptible. In contrast, the hatching of a caste of nouveaux riches strikes the eyes."

What has surfaced instead is a demagogic appeal to racist hostility among impoverished blacks against whites and mulattos, including the leadership of the MPLA. The *Washington Post* (1 March) reported that "In recent weeks there have been public demonstrations assailing what were termed pro-white and pro-mulatto bias in government policy" in Luanda.

On the few occasions that the phenomenon has been mentioned in the American press this racist appeal has been ascribed to "young, city-based leftists trying to win popular support" (*ibid.*). *Le Monde*, however, lays the origins of this racial demagogy at the feet of the new rich. It is worth quoting its account in detail:

> "Almost all of the retail trade and transport services are in the hands of newcomers, whose rapaciousness hardly seems compatible with the declared objectives of the MPLA. In the space of a few months, tens of thousands of Angolans have gone from the status of clerks or lower-level technicians and white-collar employees to that of businessmen with a house of their own or department managers.
>
> "On the other hand, the pressure of the popular masses is increasing. They now demand a considerable improvement in their living conditions, in all areas. Those who bore most of the sacrifices of the war do not intend to be excluded from the fruits of what they consider their victory. Obviously, the privileges of one group cannot be reconciled with the demands of the other.
>
> "The problem will be posed in particularly confusing conditions. First of all, in leaving their social program vague the MPLA leaders gave everyone the illusion that they would defend interests that were in fact quite divergent: there will be a rude awakening. On the other hand, it is not clear in which framework this confrontation can be solved.... The best cadre are involved in the armed forces, where they have been assigned administrative tasks. The 'opportunists' occupy positions within the Movement [MPLA], up to the highest levels.
>
> "This situation favors the formation of a 'coalition of malcontents,' manipulated by those who do not wish to lose their new privileges, and who often use demagogic arguments. It is in this manner that a black racism is developing against the mulattos, who play a preponderant role in the higher levels of the MPLA."

The article goes on to ascribe to the army—"the only organized force"—a "preponderant role in the denouement of the crisis." But it also reports that during December a regiment in Luanda mutinied and the Cuban contingent had to take over security in the capital.

What Anti-Imperialism?

The return of Gulf Oil to Cabinda and the request by the international Diamang consortium for Angolan state participation in its diamond mines (to increase labor discipline) give a good idea of the future outlines of the PRA's policy toward imperialist investment in the key sectors of its economy. However, in various left newspapers there has been much talk of popular representation in companies and state enterprises (e.g., Burchett's enthusiastic account of "Workers Control in Angola," *Guardian*, 17 March). The reality of this phony "workers control" was shown in the 28 February *Le Monde*.

French newsmen who visited a coffee plantation of the Agricultural Company of Angola (CADA) found it still under the management of the Espirito Santo group. This was until last year a major Portuguese monopoly, now nationalized by the Lisbon government; today its main holdings are in Angola and Brazil. "'Events' required the administrators of the company to leave Portugal and locate themselves in Luanda"! So even with a center-right government in the former metropolitan center currently cracking down on leftists, "socialist" Angola is a main base for one of the top Portuguese trusts!

There have been "problems," the article reports. After April 1974 the *fazenda* (estate) workforce of 3,000 went on strike for the first time and doubled their wages. "However, since according to the new agreement food is no longer furnished by the company, it is not clear that this wage increase will compensate for the rise in the price of food." The account goes on:

> "The workers commission? 'A simple consultative organ,' responded the manager, who hastened to add: 'Management's powers are intact.' In any case, the importance of the company is such that in case of a sharp social conflict it turns to arbitration by the government, whose general attitude was judged 'very reasonable.' The managers even considered a nationalization 'quite implausible.'
>
> "Nationalize CADA? The eight members of the coordinating committee of the workers commission (six administrative employees and two foremen) were very astonished to hear such an incongruous question posed."

Already in Ben Bella's Algeria, such state-controlled "workers committees" proved a key instrument of the bourgeois government in disciplining the working masses who had been mobilized in the course of a struggle for independence. Those who today praise the "socialism" of Neto & Co. should look at the history of Algeria and consider the sorry fate of its "self-management committees" and union federation (not to mention that of the left-posturing Ben Bella regime, which was subsequently effortlessly overthrown by Boumedienne).

The initial measures of the "People's Republic" fully bear out our earlier statements that the MPLA was committed to building a bourgeois Angola. They also clearly confirm the Spartacist tendency's insistence that it is only under the most exceptional historical circumstances that petty-bourgeois nationalist or Stalinist guerrillas have created bureaucratically deformed workers states such as China or Cuba.

The most far-sighted imperialist regimes, along with Lisbon's military rulers and major investors, recognized some time ago that the MPLA was the only one of the three contending nationalist formations with sufficient educated cadres and administrative personnel to run a post-colonial government. Hence the new regime will not be forced to the left by the kind of imperialist intransigence which confronted Castro. Already, the new rulers in Luanda have moved decisively against their left flank by firmly repressing the workers and poor in the capital and outlawing any potential socialist opposition.

As we have repeatedly emphasized—and a recounting of the MPLA's first weeks in office confirms—complete liberation of the Angolan masses from imperialism can only be accomplished by the proletariat in power, led by a Trotskyist proletarian vanguard party, forged on the program of permanent revolution and closely linked to the powerful working class of South Africa ■

Plyushch...

(continued from page 7)

fears will be *nothing* compared to that of the reactionary holocaust which would follow the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Convinced that the working class is impotent and apathetic despite proletarian uprisings in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956 and Poland in 1970, as well as a number of strikes in the Soviet Union, Plyushch can only counsel leftists to forget about revolution in Eastern Europe. Inviting imperialist warmongers like Henry Jackson and religious leaders of every sect to join him, Plyushch appeals to the bourgeoisie to put pressure on the Soviet bureaucrats to give Stalinism a "human face."

Refuses to Take Position on Defense of USSR

During the discussion period, a supporter of the Spartacist League (SL) pointed out that the parasitic bureaucracy of the Soviet Union plays a role similar in many ways to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy of trade unions in the United States. While the SL calls for the ouster of the sellout union bureaucrats, he said, it does not claim that the trade unions have ceased to be workers organizations because they are led by class traitors. Similarly, the fact that the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies must be overthrown does not change the *class* nature of the Soviet Union. The dictatorship of the proletariat remains, although saddled with a petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste that transmits the pressures of imperialism and ultimately prepares the way for counterrevolution. The SL calls for political revolution in the USSR precisely to *defend* the social conquests of the October Revolution.

The SL speaker proceeded to raise the crucial question of military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack:

> "You have stated that you consider the Soviet Union to be 'state capitalist' and regard our characterization of a 'degenerated workers state' as an 'error of the Trotskyites.' We would point out that many of those who consider the USSR 'state capitalist' logically enough refuse to defend it against imperialism and counterrevolution. Trotsky always held that unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union was an absolute necessity for communists and all class-conscious workers. As he wrote in his 'Letter to the Workers of the USSR' in 1940: 'Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might.' What is your position, Comrade Plyushch? Do you stand for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and counterrevolution?"

While nothing in Plyushch's address indicated that he sees anything worth defending in the Soviet Union, his answer to the SL spokesman's question was evasive. In fact, he now apologized for having raised political issues at all:

> "I am very sorry that instead of talking more about political prisoners I began to elaborate all sorts of theories. It seems to me that this whole question is so complicated that we can't just lay it all out and decide everything right here. We must keep in mind the political prisoners.
>
> "I do believe that in order to make our defense of Soviet political prisoners more effective, we must understand the nature of the Soviet state. But for that we'd need a second discussion just for this one question. If leftists start to talk about the nature of the state, they're going to quarrel and they'll never be able to come to terms, never be able to agree on the defense of Soviet political prisoners.
>
> "It's easier to come to agreement on what the Soviet Union is not: it is not socialism, it is not humanism, it is not internationalism, it is not democracy."

On the Road to Anti-Communism

Revolutionary militants sharply denounce the Stalinist repression which imprisoned mathematician Plyushch in a psychiatric torture center for three years for the "crime" of criticizing the bureaucracy. We also note the important fact that Plyushch declares himself to be a socialist. This stands in positive contrast to so many exiled Soviet dissidents who have become virulent anti-Communist demagogues: the most prominent, of course, being Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who now praises the "Christian virtues" of tsarist Russia and hails the Francoist dictatorship in Spain as a model of freedom.

However, in an earlier article, entitled "Dissident Plyushch Freed: Stop Stalinist 'Psychiatric' Torture in USSR!" (*WV* No. 96, 13 February 1976), we pointed out:

> "...now that he is out of the USSR Plyushch must face a concrete choice: he will either reaffirm and systematize his socialist, anti-bureaucratic convictions or become a willing or unwitting pawn of pro-imperialist anti-Communists anxious to use the issue of the persecution of Soviet dissidents as a cynical justification for exploitation and oppression under capitalism."

The social democrat-sponsored panel discussion on March 4, and his appearance together with U.S. senator Henry Jackson at Manhattan Center a week earlier (see *WV* No. 103, 2 April), indicate that despite his insistence that he is a "neo-Marxist," Plyushch has gone more than a few steps down the road to collaboration with the class enemy. His failure to defend the conquests of October and evident fear of revolution lead him into the arms of those who favored saturation bombing in Vietnam and use grain exports as a means of imperialist blackmail of the Soviet Union. Consciously or unconsciously, the prophets of despair become the allies of reaction. ■

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Trotter...

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"embryo of the workings of the Caribbean nation." "From Cuba to Guyana we are one nation," he said; "we will say what must be done with the product of our labor."

Allie Roberts, speaking on behalf of the International Caribbean Service Bureau in Montreal, also stressed pan-Caribbean nationalism. He focused on Cuba as the model for West Indian revolution and praised Cuba's "revolutionary role in Angola." He urged the audience to study the Caribbean "tradition of internationalism" by reading the works of Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, C.L.R. James and Franz Fanon.

In its message of solidarity the Spartacist League linked the Trotter defense to a strategy for a socialist federation of the Caribbean. SL/SYL speaker Gerald Smith emphasized international proletarian solidarity to free Trotter as part of an "uncompromising commitment—which is a long-held principle in the communist movement—to fight for the unconditional freedom of all class-war prisoners. For us, for proletarians of all nations, there can be no justice under capitalism!"

Smith pointed out that Trotter, a leader of the Movement for a New Dominica, was "being used as a scapegoat for the government's inability to solve the depression conditions in Dominica." Stressing the role of the working class and the need for the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, Smith offered a sharp criticism of pan-Caribbean nationalism and Cuban Stalinism as revolutionary models:

> "'Black Power' schemes, whether they are called 'pan-Carribbean nationalism' or 'pan-Africanism,' offer the masses no solution. Only through a working-class offensive against our class enemies—the Patrick Johns, Eric Williams, Michael Manleys and Duvaliers—and their imperialist masters is real social revolution possible. But neither can we look to Cuba as an alternative—its aid to the 'progressive' Manley regime in Jamaica includes money to train his native police force! Our defense of Cuba against imperialism should not in any way inhibit our criticism of this betrayal. A better educated and trained Jamaican police force would be used to arrest more Desmond Trotters!"

The PDC speaker presented the perspective of a mass class-struggle defense organization on the order of the International Red Aid that existed in the 1920's under the leadership of the revolutionary Communist International. Emphasizing "the unknown Desmond Trotters throughout the Caribbean and the world," he ended his message of solidarity by recalling the class-struggle traditions of the workers movement: "There is an old trade-union slogan. It is simple but has become the victim of years of betrayal. It is, 'An Injury to One is an Injury to All!' The PDC is determined to fight along with all those for whom 'Freedom for Desmond Trotter' is the slogan."

Other messages of solidarity were read. These included statements from C.L.R. James, Caribbean Unity Conference, SWP Congressional candidate Pat Wright, Ethiopian Students Union, Caribbean Socialist League, Pan African Students Organization, Caribbean Student League, Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906, New Beginning Movement and Junior Cottle Defense Committee. The speaker from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU praised the Waterfront and Allied Workers Union of Dominica for its support to Trotter's freedom and drew applause when he announced his group was sending telegrams to the British Labour Party and TGWU urging action on behalf of Trotter.

Political differentiation emerged within the context of the united struggle to free Desmond Trotter. Following the remarks of the SL/SYL speaker, the rally's chairman interjected that she felt personally obligated to reassert that Cuba is a fine example "for our struggle." The Cuba issue was again raised during the discussion period and informally following the meeting. Only the USLA and SWP supporters maintained as though it were a principle that defense work was not political, although the rally itself clearly demonstrated that pan-Caribbean nationalists, Trotskyists and others could unite around the Trotter defense as long as they were free to present their own motivations for undertaking this important work. In the fight for non-sectarian defense it will be those who argue that politics "alienates" the masses who pose the real danger of narrowing the broad base of the struggle.

The rally enthusiastically agreed to send a resolution to the Dominica government demanding review of the Trotter case and his exoneration and immediate freedom.

Join the campaign to free Desmond Trotter! Cable Premier Patrick John, Government Headquarters, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies to demand immediate, unconditional release of Desmond Trotter. (Copies should be mailed to: Committee in Defense of Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in Dominica, P.O. Box 231, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies.) Only mass international protest will free Desmond Trotter! ■

For more information on how you can assist the campaign, contact:

DESMOND TROTTER DEFENSE COMMITTEE
853 Broadway, Room 414
New York, NY 10003
Phone: (212) 254-6062 or (212) 666-8451

DESMOND TROTTER DEFENSE COMMITTEE
37 Tollington Park
London N. 4, England
Phone: 01-272-0594

San Francisco...

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the city, and sewage plants have been allowed to continue operation under supervisory personnel. Although Muni drivers have unenthusiastically respected the picket lines, many other workers have not.

Conversations with strikers in various parts of the city Friday revealed great concern over the seafaring, and cynicism about the union leadership. Several picketers told a *Workers Vanguard* reporter that at some point "something extreme" might happen. One such incident may have involved the traffic signals, which snarled extra-heavy rush hour traffic by continuously blinking red. At city hall a union militant complained that the leadership was uninterested in building a solid strike. "They want us out here impressing the public about how we're good boys," he told *WV*. Everyone standing around agreed that the public would be a lot more impressed by a show of determination than the present namby-pamby half-hearted militancy.

The failure of the Labor Council to halt or even significantly cut back the number of workers going into city hall or the hospitals, despite an SEIU vote to respect the picket lines, has been a source of much gloating by the board of supervisors, who have locked themselves away and sent their errand boy Mahler out to talk to the enraged union leaders. Meanwhile, Mayor Moscone has assumed a fake "neutral" stance, letting the supervisors take the heat in the hope that he might play a mediation role later.

Until now most of the talk of a general strike has come from Moscone rather than the union leaders. But having put their authority on the line and no results to show for it, some of the local union bigwigs, such as George Evankovich of the Laborers Union, have begun threatening to "escalate the strike until it's a general strike" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 April). Even Crowley has warned of the "very grave possibility" of a general strike and made reference to the verbal support of Harry Bridges of the ILWU. Some piers were, in fact, shut down briefly by roving pickets on Wednesday, indicating the tremendous potential for a militant city-wide mass strike. Yet the labor bureaucrats obviously fear such an escalation, which could get "out of control" with the enraged ranks brushing them aside. At last report, the union leaders have agreed to resume negotiations in the presence of a "neutral" observer former San Francisco mayor George Christopher.

It is clear that a powerful general strike is necessary to beat back the attacks of the city officials. An effective general strike means not only militant tactics, but also a qualitative broadening of the demands. The demand must be raised to reopen all city workers' contracts, to win large wage increases, 100 percent cost-of-living protection and more hiring, not cutbacks, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay.

The bourgeoisie's scare tactic of threatening higher taxes must be answered by a call to cancel the city debt and expropriate the rapacious banks without compensation. Furthermore, a general strike must demand abolition of all the anti-labor propositions and legalization of the right of public workers to strike. This means a fight to break the unions from the capitalist parties and build an independent workers party, to fight for a workers government—a task requiring the ousting of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy by a class-struggle leadership committed to fighting on to victory instead of finagling with the bosses. ■

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Funds Urgently Needed for Philip Allen Defense

Philip Allen, the victim of a racist frame-up, accused of shooting Los Angeles sheriff's deputies last year is now appealing his conviction in court. But the costs of an adequate legal defense at the appellate court level are simply out of reach of the victims of bourgeois class "justice."

The ability to raise funds can mean the difference between an unjust prison term and freedom! The Philip Allen Defense Committee is under tremendous financial strain and has a pressing need for funds *immediately*. The PDC urges *WV* readers to send contributions to:

PHILIP L. ALLEN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
OF THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH
2936 West 8th Street
Los Angeles, California 90005

WORKERS VANGUARD

City Workers Strike Against Wage Cut

Shut Down San Francisco!

WV Photo

Pickets at San Francisco Muni transit barn last week.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 3—Despite the impressive labor strength demonstrated by the shutdown of mass transit here this week, the city board of supervisors and S.F. mayor George Moscone went ahead and signed into law a stringent new wage ordinance on April 1. The wage package for 1,900 skilled tradesmen and 18,500 "miscellaneous" city workers was presented at the last minute with a high-handed "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude by the board's special negotiator, Patrick Mahler. Mahler is being paid $3,000 per month for his services.

This display of arrogance by S.F. city officials is a reflection of the bourgeoisie's current drive for severe austerity in the public sector. Last November's municipal elections marked a shift to a get-tough policy which relies more on direct confrontation with the working class than on mediation by the trade-union bureaucracy (the style of former mayor Alioto) in maintaining bourgeois order. The electorate, particularly the heavily taxed petty bourgeoisie, was worked into an anti-labor frenzy by a campaign of lies in the Hearst press about $17,000-a-year street sweepers.

The new mayor and budget-slashing majority of the supervisors were armed by the passage of Proposition B, which erased a 30-year-old city charter provision pegging municipal craft workers' pay to the prevailing rate in private industry. With the parity formula repealed, the board moved Monday to slash the wages of skilled tradesmen (machinists, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, etc.) by $2,000-$4,000 plus per year. Limited wage increases for the non-crafts workers came to only $2.3 million, as against the $65 million originally demanded by the unions.

The glaring exception to the austerity budget was an 11 percent raise for the Teamsters and 15 percent for the Stationary Engineers, strategically placed workers who run the sewage plants, among other things. As one city official admitted, "The game plan was to first go after two key unions--the Teamsters and the Stationary Engineers. Call it a buy-off" (*San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 26 March 1976).

San Francisco rulers have begun a frontal assault on the city unions by using "salami tactics," first slicing off the craft workers. The potential division within the workforce fostered by the great gap between the wages of skilled tradesmen and those of other municipal employees has been skillfully exploited by the union-busting supervisors. Decades of neglect of the bulk of city workers by the union tops are now coming home to roost with widespread scabbing on the craft unions' strike. "I want to know what I'm going to get *now*," snapped one black woman as she brushed past a picketer at city hospital on April 1.

The last-minute bargaining, led by Jack Crowley of the San Francisco Labor Council, served to fuel the bitterness of lower-paid workers. On March 25, shortly before the new ordinance was to be enacted, bureaucrats of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) rammed through approval of the token pay raise for their members, largely clerks and nurses. It was only when the city proposed to cut deeply into craft workers' pay that Crowley balked. The narrow labor aristocracy of tradesmen is the core of the local union bureaucracy's social support.

This the single focus of Crowley's strike call was to defend the old wage-parity formula for craft workers. The strategy was to put pressure on city hall by stopping mass transit (Muni) and harassing other services such as the airport, without actually shutting down the city. No attempt has yet been made to close the schools or halt trucking in

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LATE BULLETIN

SAN FRANCISCO, April 6—The S.F. Central Labor Council (CLC) today voted to prepare a general strike against drastic pay cuts ordered by the city board of supervisors for municipal craftsmen. It would be the first general strike in the city in more than 40 years, since San Francisco labor shut the city down in 1934 to back a strike by longshoremen.

This morning CLC head Jack Crowley announced that the union body's executive committee had voted to back a general strike, but did not set a date. Crowley said that council members were going back to consult with their unions and it would take "several days" to organize.

The tension in the city craft unions' strike, which began March 31, has increased as the labor tops gradually escalate their tactics. Today began with a strike by Teamster taxi drivers at Yellow Cab Co., which operates 500 of the 850 San Francisco cabs. When striking municipal employees sent pickets to the school bus garages, drivers refused to cross the lines. Meanwhile, Muni transit drivers continue to solidly back the tradesmen. There have been no city buses and streetcars since last Wednesday.

Police harassment of the strikers has also increased, with as much as one cop per picket at many sites. As we go to press there are reports of more than 100 picketers massed at San Francisco International Airport facing scores of police. One account termed the situation at the airport a "near riot."

The ILWU is formally committed to backing the municipal unions' strike action. Longshore leader Harry Bridges yesterday quipped, "Well, I came in during a general strike, and it looks like I may be going out with one." However, the ILWU has not called out the longshoremen and warehousemen in sympathy action, and has done nothing to prepare for a serious mass strike.

The CLC tops likewise have not mobilized their ranks for militant union action to smash the draconian wage cut. Instead they are trying to use the threat of a general strike to pressure their Democratic Party friends in city hall. It remains to be seen whether the militancy of the ranks and the intransigency of city officials will force the pro-capitalist labor fakers to go farther than they intend.

San Francisco mayor George Moscone has in effect dared the unions to carry out their threats, predicting that a general strike would never get off the ground. In response Crowley talked of closing the airport, the Golden Gate and Oakland Bay bridges and Highway 101, moves which would largely seal off the city. The first test of strength may be at the airport.

Any successful general strike would quickly bring down the full weight of the state against the strike. All Bay Area labor must prepare to come to the aid of embattled San Francisco workers.

Now is the time for the working class to draw the line. S.F. officials and the chamber of commerce have for several years been waging a campaign to break the municipal unions, particularly since the explosive city workers strike of February 1974. The unions must grasp the tremendous potential for labor solidarity to take the offensive and fight for a program that offers a real answer to the workers' needs.

—Smash the wage cut! For a militant S.F. general strike!

—Reopen all city workers' contracts—Reject the insulting pact negotiated by Crowley! For a big raise and full cost-of-living protection! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!

—For mass picketing and a democratically elected strike committee! Organize to militantly defend the picket lines!

—Prepare to smash a government anti-strike injunction! Abolish the anti-labor charter amendments!

—Cancel the city debt—Expropriate the banks!

—Break with the bosses' parties—Oust the bureaucrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 105 16 April 1976

Defy the Court Injunction–Smash Proposition B Wage Cuts!

Bust the Union Busters! For an S.F. General Strike!

Stop the Scabs—Defend the Picket Lines

SAN FRANCISCO, April 13 The courts yesterday joined the S F. hoard of supervisors in escalating a determined union-busting offensive against the city unions. Superior Court judge John E. Benson declared the municipal craft workers' strike illegal and handed down a sweeping injunction against "striking, inducing others to strike, picketing city facilities in support of the strike or hmdering, delaying or interfering with work by other city employees."

This draconian ultimatum is not meaningless bluster; it is a gun held at the head of the workers movement. Notice has now been served on the temporizing city union bureaucrats that, unless their April 6 vote to prepare a general strike is actually carried out, the strike by 1,900 skilled tradesmen will go down in abysmal defeat. But the cynical labor brass continue to bumble along, muttering occasional empty threats, ohlivious to the looming dangers.

This confrontation is a crucial test of strength for the Bay Area lahor movement, with ramifications that will spread across the country. If the arrogant wage-slashing assault by city officials on craftsmen succeeds in the traditionally most militant "union town" of the U.S., the capitalist class will be immeasurably emboldened in its attempts to break the back of the labor movement in the public sector and place the costs of the capitalist depression squarely on the workers.

Already the hoard of supervisors has prepared a successor to Proposition B, the anti-labor city charter amendment it got passed in last Novemher's elections which erases a 30-year-old charter provision pegging municipal craft workers' pay to the prevailing rate in private industry. A new amendment, to be put on the ballot in June, will han *all* strikes hy city workers.

Judge Benson minced no words in spelling out what the ruling class has in mind: "The right to strike by public employees has been defined time and again by the courts of this state. The rule is that public employees do not have the right to strike against their employer" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 April).

In addition, it is widely rumored that the no-strike clauses contained in the recent batch of contracts signed hy the non-craft union bureaucrats include notorious "yellow dog" agreements, obligating workers to cross the picket lines of other unions.

Defense of the most elemental trade-union right—the right to strike—is at the heart of the current struggle in San Francisco!

No Answer to Scabbing

The court injunction is the bourgeoisie's response to the demonstrated weakness and incapacity of the S.F. Central Labor Council (CLC) to lead the strike to victory. In the week since the CLC issued its statement that it would "back" a general strike, the lahor

continued on page 3

Striking city workers picket City Hall. WV Photo

Appeal of the Committee for the Defense of Imprisoned Chilean Workers, Soldiers and Sailors:

FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY TO SAVE THE LIFE OF MARIO MUÑOZ!

The coup d'état carried out hy the armed forces in Argentina has presented to the world an image of moderation and respect for human rights, but the reality is brutally different. Silently the Argentine junta has unleashed a bloody repression against all revolutionaries, trade unions and people's organizations. Meanwhile rightist organizations continue to operate with impunity, including the criminal Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), which has redoubled its attacks and assassinations.

This is the tragic truth that the entire world must know: raids, tortures, abuses, mass arrests. The lives of thousands of Argentines are in serious danger. Militants of other nationalities who happen to be there, in particular Chilean political refugees, are likewise victims of this persecution, being turned over to the Chilean military junta or shot on the spot without legal proceedings of any sort.

Among those condemned to death is Mario Muñoz Salas, Chilean revolutionary working-class leader. The brutal persecution of which Mario Muñoz is the victim must he internationally publicized. Pursued and condemned to death hy the Chilean junta, he is today threatened with the same fate at the hands of the new Argentine government, which claims to respect international conventions regarding asylum and human rights.

Only 48 hours after the demagogic declarations of the Argentine junta, a military patrol of national police, composed of 30 men in hattle gear, raided his house at 3 a.m. (March 25). By mistake they first invaded the house next door, violently hreaking down the doors and brutally beating those they found inside. Upon discovering their error they proceeded immediately to the house of Mario Muñoz. They entered, smashed up the interior and dragged out of the house his compañera, Olga Meneses Ibaseta, their five children and a couple of relatives who were present, beating them all the while.

All were taken into the street where the troops immediately hegan

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Letters

USec Majority: All the Way with the MPLA?

Montreal, Quebec

1 March 1976

The Editor,
Workers Vanguard

Comrades,

I have had a subscription to *Workers Vanguard* for a couple of years now, and while I find it to be a professional and informative publication, I would like to make a criticism which has been on my mind for some time.

In every issue for the past two years, *WV* has used the term "fake-Trotskyist" to describe the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, led by Ernest Mandel. Until last night, I didn't know the historical reason for this insult. While you might have serious and legitimate political differences with the USec, I don't believe it is correct to denounce comrades who are serious Marxist revolutionaries by calling them fakes, even though you believe they have committed political errors. Last night I had a discussion with some comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada from Toronto, when I learned that supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency, the predecessor of the Spartacist League, were expelled from the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1960's over political differences on the nature of the Cuban state.

I agree with the Spartacist League on this question that the Castroist régime has been a deformed workers state from its inception and that the stifling of debate within the SWP through bureaucratic expulsions is contrary to all principles of democratic centralism. Yet your weekly denunciation of the USec and all groups affilliated to it as "fake-Trotskyist" smacks of sectarianism itself.

I say this mainly because of your consistent denunciation of organizations affilliated to the Fourth International such as the SWP (of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction) and Canada's Revolutionary Marxist Group (of the International Majority Tendency) on almost *all political questions*. For instance, the RMG, like the Spartacist League, has the correct analysis on the Angolan situation, calling for military victory to the MPLA, but withholding political support, as all three liberation movements are petty-bourgeois in programme. And yet you insist that the RMG *really* gives political support to the MPLA, despite statements to the contrary in its press. In this way the Spartacist League attempts to create an artificial difference between itself and all other Trotskyist organizations, on all questions. The method used is clear: question the honesty of other Marxist groups. Regardless of what they say in their press, you *really* know what they think.

This kind of behavior is unworthy of revolutionary Marxists. I don't agree with Ernest Mandel on everything, but I don't call him a "fake". I think he's a sincere comrade. I hope you won't consider me a "fake-Trotskyist" as well for my criticism.

Fraternally,

Richard-P. Wagman

WV replies: Our use of the term "fake-Trotskyist" to describe the various factions that compose the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) is not, as the writer believes, a gratuitous insult but rather a political characterization of central importance. The USec's claim to represent the organizational and political continuity of the Fourth International founded by Trotsky is manifestly false. The very existence in Canada and other countries of politically disparate, competing organizations affiliated to the same "Fourth International" is sufficient evidence to demonstrate the USec's radical departure from the Leninist Trotskyist norms of international democratic centralism.

Programmatically, both USec factions adapt themselves to non-proletarian strata in their quest for organizational growth and popularity. The reformist minority pursues political blocs with sections of the bourgeoisie (the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in the U.S. and the Peronist movement in Argentina). The right-centrist Mandelite majority orients to tailing after various popular fronts as well as petty-bourgeois nationalist and Stalinist forces. Its sections have given political support ("with criticisms") to the Union of the Left in France, the Popular Unity government in Chile, the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal and the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front in Bolivia, heaping betrayal upon betrayal and tying the workers to forces committed to the maintenance of bourgeois rule.

The support of the USec majority led by Ernest Mandel to the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is another case in point. A scrutiny of the newspaper of the Canadian Mandelites, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), reveals a rather different picture of its position than the writer portrays. The January issue of the RMG's *Old Mole* writes:

> "Our support for the MPLA is *not* conditional upon the character of its leadership until the war is over and the

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Editorial Notes

Purging and Hemorrhaging in the I.S.

SAN FRANCISCO—"Some of the comrades will call this a purge..." the leadership of the International Socialists (I.S.) wrote in a recent internal document. Indeed it is difficult to know what else to call the wave of expulsions and resignations which hit the West Coast I.S. in the wake of a "house-cleaning" national tour by I.S. national secretary Glenn Wolfe in January.

One former I.S. member estimates that through expulsions, resignations and the withdrawal of membership applications the organization has lost about 20 people. The largest single chunk is a Los Angeles grouping which had characterized as "a liberal, not a socialist" one of the organization's recent prize "worker-recruits" who was put on the local executive committee. When "Comrade Pepper" arrived he and the L.A. leadership began preparations to throw out the dissidents, who beat them to the draw by quitting. They charge the I.S. leadership with depoliticizing the organization and with cliquism.

In conjunction with the same national tour, in the Bay Area the process began when the I.S. local executive committee demanded the expulsion of long-time I.S. member Barry Gordon, following which those who had sought to prevent Gordon's ouster also found themselves outside the organization. Gordon and his coterie are mainly cynics who had no differences with the I.S.'s brand of left-social-democratic opportunism but resisted the group's drastic "turn" from soft New Leftish accommodationism to bureaucratic "Bolshevization" and the "worker membership" drive which was touted as the means to instant success modeled on the pattern of the more leftist, workerist British I.S. organization.

The wave of expulsions and resignations flows directly out of the dismal failure of this opportunist get-rich-quick scheme. No doubt legitimately perplexing to the I.S. honchos—who have always believed that organizational success is directly proportional to the rate of selling out one's paper socialist "program"—the group's recent orgy of opportunist betrayals has reaped only disaster.

The ill-conceived "Red Tide," once heralded as the route to a youth organization through sucking in young activists on a non-political basis, has apparently folded everywhere except Detroit. The "worker membership" campaign (for the purpose of which the group virtually liquidated any political standards of recruitment) yielded nothing approaching the grandiose predictions, and many of those who were recruited quickly left upon discovering the Potemkin village character of I.S.'s pretensions to widespread influence. The weekly *Workers' Power* succeeds only in being twice as boring as it was as a bi-weekly.

The I.S. had staked most of its hopes on an openly opportunist trade-union formation, Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). So long as *Workers' Power* could parade as press agent for the TDC operation, I.S.'s workerist orientation could manage to look feasible. But even that fig-leaf isn't holding up so well. Fitzsimmons' initial bargaining demand were for 50¢ an hour more than the TDC "program"! Despite TDC's explicit refusal to counterpose itself to Fitzsimmons, the front group's members have become fractious: in one recent incident Bay Area TDC members actually prevented *Workers' Power* from being sold at a TDC rally.

Typically, the I.S. leadership has reacted to the ensuing demoralization by scapegoating. After all, the leadership reasons, the problem cannot be the group's politics, and it certainly cannot be the leadership..., so it must be the members. Thus, "Bolshevization" means driving out not only some of the I.S.'s old crew of confirmed cynics and dilettantes but also getting rid of the critics, seeking to replace them with politically raw recruits. The technique recalls Bertolt Brecht's sarcastic suggestion to the East German Stalinist regime (faced at the time with a workers' revolt) that since the people had lost the confidence of the government, the obvious answer was to "dissolve the people and elect a new one."

The I.S. choice of a label for its campaign is itself symptomatic: in 1924 Stalin and Zinoviev launched a "Bolshevization" drive to cover a bureaucratic purge in the Communist International parties. As Trotsky pointed out, "purging of the party of alien elements and habits, of social democratic functionaries clinging to their posts, of freemasons, pacifist-democrats, idealistic muddleheads" ("The Third International After Lenin") was a task performed by Lenin's Comintern from the very first day of its existence. But Stalin-Zinoviev's cynical appeal to the authority of the Bolshevik party was an attempt to ferret out and expel potential oppositionists and bludgeon the rest into cowed submissiveness. A fitting precedent for Geier-Wolfe's hatchet job.

The now homeless dissidents are howling long and loud in Bay Area radical circles about I.S. bureaucratism and cliquism, but the local organizer flatly refused to talk with a *WV* reporter who sought an interview to get the leadership's version. Documents supplied by the ex-members, however, more than adequately tell the story, as I.S. leaders openly justify the method of political expulsion:

> "...involvement in a faction or developing faction is not in itself grounds for expulsion from the IS unless the politics put forward by such a group is incompatible with those of the IS....
> "We are not a monolithic organization and encourage debate on a broad range of issues. But let's not confuse this with the rights of the majority to define our membership according to our political principles."

The aggrieved complaints of the long-time I.S. supporters, however, ring somewhat hollow: many of the recently severed I.S. members happily participated in the explicitly political purge of the group's former leftist faction which became the Revolutionary Socialist League.

The same document by the I.S. leadership attempts to sugar-coat the purge pill with the disingenuous remark that "we are a voluntary organization.... When a member is expelled from the IS, she or he does not go to jail or even have to leave politics." A revolutionary party is, of course, a voluntary organization, but this hardly justifies a leadership's arbitrary "de-volunteering" of dissidents! The argument amounts to saying that the I.S. is not democratic, but so what; after all, when the bureaucracy "gets" you, you don't wind up in a forced labor camp, do you?

For serious revolutionists, expulsion from the party is not a laughing matter, for it means divorce from the shaping of the party program and from the struggle to root that program in the working class. Likewise, for a serious revolutionary organization, internal party democracy is not a matter of indifference, but the only means of reaching a correct political line and educating a conscious and committed body of cadre capable of carrying forward the line in a disciplined manner.

The I.S., however, is not a revolutionary party and its program—if it ever attains a following—can only help to disorient the proletariat. Perhaps a few of the recent batch of terminated I.S. members will profit by the end of their relationship with the I.S. and begin the process of struggle that could transform them into revolutionists. But revulsion against the cynical opportunism and cliquist bureaucratism of the I.S. is only the beginning of wisdom.

Most of the recently exited I.S. members are headed toward open reconciliation with the bourgeoisie via the way-station of the implicitly anti-communist Bay Area "independent radical" milieu of assorted ex-members and semi-supporters. We can only hope that a few of the others will re-examine the fundamental underpinnings of I.S. politics—Stalinophobic "third campism," faddish opportunism, patronizing petty-bourgeois workerism. But they should be forewarned that it is a hard road up from left reformism to Marxism.

S.F. General Strike...

(continued from page 1)

tops have suffered defeat after defeat in their half-hearted efforts to spread the strike beyond its narrow base of skilled tradesmen.

From the beginning, three quarters of the SEIU members employed at city hospitals have scabbed. Attempts last week to shut down city hall, San Francisco International Airport and Candlestick ballpark were failures. Then yesterday pickets at all the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) stations in S.F. failed to halt a single train.

With the single exception of the Muni workers, no city union has given the craft workers any real support. And the leaders of several unions have eagerly rushed forward to disclaim their intention of launching a general strike. Harry Bridges, ILWU president and fossilized left-over from the 1934 San Francisco general strike, wheezes that the time is not yet ripe for such action.

In every way the labor lakers have shown that their threat of a general strike is a bluff. In fact, the only concrete step taken by the CLC leaders in last week's "bargaining" was to ask for assistance from U.S. secretary of labor Usery, a fine way to prepare a general strike! But Quentin Kopp, head of the board of supervisors, continued to stick to his hard line and haughtily told the federal government it would be "ill advised" to intervene.

The defeatism of the union bureaucrats surfaced at a strategy session of senior city labor leaders yesterday. Disgruntled participants who walked away from the summit meeting reported an atmosphere of confusion and bitter mutual recrimination. The labor tops repeatedly said they couldn't understand why there was so much scabbing and blamed the membership. The head of the SEIU said he was sorry, but there was nothing he could do.

The disorientation was so great that many of the union leaders literally did not know where their picket lines were. The symphony and ballet musicians reportedly are staying out, but have complained that there are often no picket lines for them to respect! Although the bureaucrats were appalled at the treatment being meted out to them by city hall, no one suggested reopening all the contracts and taking out all city workers in solidarity with the craftsmen. Their hope was that the federal government would step in and give them a graceful way out.

Mobilizing the Petty Bourgeoisie

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party majority of the board of supervisors has been whipping up anti-strike sentiment in a way that could never happen if the union leadership was seriously attempting to build a general strike. Backers of even more draconian anti-labor legislation are picketing CLC offices to the cheers of the Hearst yellow press. In one highly publicized incident, a group of stockbrokers and their secretaries rented a large truck and used it to pick up uncollected garbage on Mission Street. The truck had a banner reading, "Trash the Strike Lines." Such frenzied petty-bourgeois elements would be swept away in a moment by a class-conscious union movement which vigorously defended its picket lines.

Smelling victory, the board has pressed its attack. The latest city offer was an insulting proposal to spread the impact of the wage cut for city craftsmen over three years! Earlier, the supervisors had magnanimously offered to resubmit Proposition B and the massive craft pay cuts to another vote this June.

While this proposal was rejected by the labor chiefs, their whole policy is to try to live with the anti-labor amendments and somehow avoid the pay cuts. Even today CLC head John Crowley claimed that "people did not know what they were voting for" when they approved Proposition B in November. In contrast, a militant, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement would not cringe before this rigged "voters' mandate." Strike action must be taken to remove all the anti-labor amendments from the books!

Strike in the Balance

The San Francisco city workers strike now hangs in the balance. The injunction gives the city a free hand to "legally" mobilize the cops to arrest strike leaders and picketers. The puny picket lines currently being haphazardly maintained will be no match for this escalation of bourgeois state violence. The strike must be broadened *now* into a general strike!

The labor misleaders bear full responsibility for fostering the illusion that cops will not be used against the strike. They allowed the Police Officers' Association to affiliate with the SEIU. Now they face the prospect that their "fellow unionists" will begin breaking picket lines, as they have promised to do. The cops—hired guns of the capitalist class—must be expelled from the labor movement, and preparations begun now to defend mass picket lines!

The question of the general strike is posed point-blank for all of San Francisco labor. Militant unionists must demand that a mass meeting of all S.F. labor be called immediately to lay concrete plans to implement a general strike! Such a strike must demand:

—No pay cuts! Abolish Proposition B! Victory to the craft workers strike!

—Re-open all city workers' contracts—For a big pay hike with full cost-of-living protection! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!

—For the right to strike—Abolish all the anti-labor charter amendments!

There is no time to be lost. Delay at this point will lead to a collapse of the craft unions' strike and a stinging defeat for all. Now is the time for the working class to draw the line! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Idle trolley buses fill Muni yard. WV Photo

Muni Drivers Mass Meeting Calls for General Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, April 9—Close to 1,000 drivers of the Municipal Railway (Muni) which runs the S.F. buses, streetcars and cablecars packed the Transport Workers Union (TWU) hall Wednesday, enthusiastically supporting the call for a general strike to shut down San Francisco and smash the wage-slashing plans of the city board of supervisors. The crowd interrupted speeches at least three dozen times, with applause and cheering every time there was a mention of militant union action.

The meeting opened with a lengthy speech from TWU Local 250A president Larry Martin, who took the better part of an hour trying to feel out any anti-strike sentiment. He reported that in the Central Labor Council there has been some opposition to the Teamsters entering the strike, but the TWU had insisted on Teamster participation, to shut down the whole city and get the strike over with.

Martin made out that the Transport Workers were behind the call for a general strike. But throughout the speech he tried to appear militant while simultaneously playing on resentment growing out of the fact that, so far, Muni drivers have been the only group of workers to solidly back the striking craftsmen. The TWU chiefs are talking general strike not in order to smash the city officials' union-busting offensive, but to get themselves off the hook.

Martin downplayed the need for militant mass action to spread the strike, at one point alleging that Muni drivers had no choice but to stay out since virtually all the rolling stock was non-operational anyway, and no one was on duty to repair them. The next speaker, TWU International secretary-treasurer Roosevelt Watts, related the union's "heroic" stand in the Labor Council. Martin, he said, had issued an ultimatum: either give him some concrete plans to shut down the city, or he would recommend to his members that they vote to return to work!

One leaflet distributed at the meeting complained that members of Local 250A were losing $1 million a week in wages, repeated city council propaganda about high wages for tradesmen and concluded, "I say we aren't rich enough to fight their battles for them." In contrast, most of the Muni drivers at the meeting were well aware that if city rulers can bleed the craft unions now it will bring down the same union-busting attacks on the TWU when the transit contract comes up in August.

The executive board presented two recommendations for a vote at the Wednesday meeting: one, that Muni drivers will respect the picket lines, and two, that Muni supports the call for a general strike. Both were passed unanimously by a thunderous voice vote. But the exec failed to provide any concrete direction to organize a general strike, or even to combat the widespread scabbing which is sapping the spirit of the strikers.

Outside the meeting various "opposition" groups passed out leaflets calling for action, but inside the hall the "militancy" of these groups was reduced to applauding the union chiefs' appeals for "strength" and "unity." One leaflet, which was highlighted in the 16 April *Militant* (newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party) that appeared today, contained a two-point proposal which incredibly failed to mention a general strike. Instead it only called for a "strike support committee" and asked that "all facilities of our union be placed at the disposal of this committee which is instructed to enlist the active participation of all our members. . . ."

From the beginning of its phony "turn to the working class" in recent months, the reformist SWP has sought above all to demonstrate its loyalty to the union bureaucracy. The most obscene example was its bitter denunciation of "disrupters" at last year's April 26 Washington, D.C., jobs rally, and an accompanying offer to pimp for the labor fakers as professional crowd controllers. Now, when the union tops are forced into a show of fake militancy by the intransigence of management, the "responsible" (to the bosses) SWP tries to duck the question of a general strike, thus coming out to the *right* of the mainline union brass! ■

Cuba in Africa: Vanguard of Revolution or Rearguard of Detente?

Speaker:
CHARLES O'BRIEN
Editor, *Young Spartacus*
Spartacist League Central Committee

Wednesday, April 21 at 7:30 p.m.
U.M.H.E. Common Place
333 North 14th Street
University of Nebraska
LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

TDC Sets Up a Defeat

Detroit Teamster Wildcat: An Autopsy

John Collier/Detroit Free Press

Detroit Local 299 Teamsters hooted as local officials read contract settlement at meeting April 5.

DETROIT, April 9—The Detroit Teamsters wildcat ended ignominiously on Tuesday, April 6, after a brief three-day existence. Thrust into a position of leadership after a tumultuous union meeting when the union bureaucracy temporarily abdicated, a confused and unprepared Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) capitulated to the Teamsters leadership within 24 hours. On Monday TDC placed itself at the head of a mass meeting of 3,000 members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) Local 299, denounced the contract negotiated by IBT International president Frank Fitzsimmons, reasserted a policy of "no contract, no work" and overwhelmingly passed a vote to strike. On Tuesday a beaten TDC, after negotiations with union officials, called off the picketing in return for promises from the IBT leadership to defend wildcatters against company victimization.

Detroit Teamsters returned to work under the same contract terms they had been offered before the wildcat. Yet, amazingly, the TDC—as is the trademark of opportunists everywhere—labeled the defeat a "victory." TDC leader Gene Fleszar declared triumphantly, "We made a breakthrough; the union actually talked to us" (*Detroit Free Press*, 7 April). This "triumph" was shared with the same bureaucrats they had hooted down the day before, as TDC leaders posed for pictures with union officials shortly after the back-to-work deal was worked out on Tuesday. It will take more than such public relations gimmicks to convince the thousands of rank-and-file Teamsters who risked their jobs by following the TDC into the wildcat that it was worthwhile, however.

Wildcat

When Fitzsimmons announced a new master freight agreement and called off the nationwide Teamsters strike on April 3, Detroit drivers didn't buy it. The next day several large trucking terminals around the city remained shut down by picketing. Outside Local 299 offices almost 300 Teamsters rallied against Fitzsimmons' pact. At this point it appeared that a major truck drivers' wildcat could take root.

The bourgeoisie, at least, understood the potential seriousness of such a situation. Since Detroit is center of the auto industry, a prolonged strike could have forced the car manufacturers to shut down from lack of parts. In fact, Chrysler, which is heavily concentrated in Detroit, was forced to send second-shift workers home at several plants after only half a day on Monday.

Furthermore, with active TDC chapters in Cleveland and Pittsburgh, a strike allowed to stabilize could easily spread to other areas of the Midwest. Well aware of this, the Motor Carriers Employers Association, the largest employers' group in Michigan, made plans to secure a federal court order enjoining TDC and 22 wildcat leaders from striking. At the same time, individual companies began to announce the firings of union militants.

Early Monday morning the word came from Local 299 that a membership meeting was to be held that afternoon at Detroit's Cobo Hall. Despite the short notice, 3,000 union members showed up by 2 p.m., the majority of them considerably early and ready for action. Local 299 president Dave Johnson (who had earlier described the contract as "real, real good") and IBT vice-president Robert Holmes were both hooted down when they attempted to read the contract terms. The bureaucrats peremptorily adjourned the meeting and walked out, shutting off the sound system.

TDC spokesmen quickly ascended the stage in an attempt to hold a meeting. Hardly a Teamster had left the room. All were awaiting an effective leadership that would organize a successful continuation of the strike. The first order of business was a strike vote. When TDC leader Camarata called the vote there was a roar of approval as only a handful dissented. Little else was accomplished, however, and the meeting broke up after half an hour of complete confusion, with individual militants exhorting the strikers to continue picketing.

Bob Scott/Detroit Free Press

TDC leaders Peter Camarata (left) and Gene Fleszar joyously embrace after Teamster bureaucrats agreed to talk to them in return for calling off wildcat at meeting April 6.

At this point de facto strike leadership lay with the TDC; however, it had already made several serious mistakes. By failing to elect a strike committee, there was no way for the "leadership" to communicate with and mobilize the rank and file; union members were forced to depend on the grapevine and bourgeois media for information. Second, although the *Free Press* that morning had carried word of the impending injunction against the wildcat, no effort was made to prepare the strikers for this eventuality. Finally, although there was general sentiment against the mail ballot ratification procedure, the absence of cost-of-living protection in the first year of the contract, the existing grievance procedure and company attacks on union conditions, the meeting broke up without formulating any demands.

Monday night, after the injunctions had been announced, the TDC held two meetings on short notice. At the West Side meeting, over 150 Teamsters gathered to hear TDCer Gene Fleszar denounce the federal restraining order as a meaningless piece of paper. He ended the meeting within fifteen minutes, exhorting the strikers to continue picketing. On the East Side, the meeting was delayed almost two hours, and by the time it began most of the 50-60 militants who showed up had drifted away. The seriousness of the situation had begun to sink in, and convinced that little could be done, TDC leader Camarata saw no choice but to end the strike.

On Tuesday morning, April 6, many Teamsters who had gotten word of the company victimizations of militants and the injunction returned to work. TDC had neither the inclination nor the organizational means to dissuade them. A hastily called union meeting attended by 300 Teamsters was held, at which union bureaucrats Johnson and Holmes worked out a deal with the TDC. The dissidents would agree to return to work under the old contract terms, and the union would promise to defend them against company reprisals. Later an official walkout was called at the Earl C. Smith Motor Freight Co. to win Camarata back his job, from which he had been fired. This of course was a staged affair carried out to make the union officials look good.

Why TDC Failed

Teamsters for a Decent Contract, an amalgam of would-be socialists, opportunists and simple trade-union militants, was founded just last August. In the absence of any other viable opposition in the union, and feeding off the considerable dissatisfaction with Fitzsimmons and his sellout 1973 contract, it grew rapidly. By the approach of the 1976 contract, it had become a pole of attraction to a layer of Teamster militants. However, the TDC leadership consciously disavowed any intention of being an opposition to the Teamster bureaucracy. Insisting that its activities were designed simply to prod IBT leaders into fighting for a little more, it refused to raise a program counterposed to these labor fakers. It refused to call for defense of the Farmworkers against Teamster raids, it advocated taking the union leaders to court and it said nothing about racial or sexual discrimination, the need for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay or breaking with the capitalist political parties.

TDC leaders belittled the idea that these and other crucial elements of a class-struggle program had anything to do with winning a "decent contract." However, it was precisely their inability to present a sharp programmatic challenge to the bureaucracy that foreshadowed the TDC's capitulation in the wildcat. It was not by accident that Detroit drivers were unprepared for the government injunction. Rather than explaining that such anti-labor acts can only be smashed by mass labor action, the TDC had adopted an implicit willingness to treat the capitalist state as a potential ally in the class struggle. First, it had utilized the courts against Teamster officials. Then, when a Taft-Hartley injunction had threatened the nationwide strike, TDC advocated that Teamsters send wires to Gerald Ford entreating him "not to become a strikebreaking president." The confusion generated by this illusion-mongering in the state proved fatal in the Detroit strike. Truck drivers still recall the impact of the intervention of the Ohio National Guard during a wildcat in 1970. They were not about to light-mindedly follow a group that had made no serious preparation to deal with an injunction.

Perhaps most important of all was TDC's refusal to see itself as an alternative leadership to the bureaucracy, a corollary to its failure to raise a qualitatively distinct program. Thus when union officials walked out and leadership did fall into the hands of TDC, it was totally unprepared to exercise it. By the time it began to think

of constructing some kind of strike committee, the wildcat had mostly dissipated.

Arguing over whether it was a mistake for TDC to agree to call off the strike on Tuesday is probably fruitless. It is true that it is sometimes wiser to retreat rather than to suffer a crushing defeat and no doubt TDC will soon justify its actions (as reformists and union bureaucrats characteristically do) by citing "the unfavorable relationship of forces." However, an important component of the relationship of forces is the character of the *leadership*, and by Tuesday the TDC's rudderless vacillation had led it into a blind alley. TDC leaders were saved from an utter disaster only by the providential intervention of the Teamster bureaucracy (for its own reasons). The blunt fact is that within 24 hours of calling a strike TDC had definitively retreated in disarray, without even launching a struggle. If the retreat was then necessary, how is it that this fact was not foreseen only a day earlier!

Only more firmly underscoring the incapacity of the TDC is its insistence that it won a victory. The gloating by these opportunists that they have finally achieved "recognition" from the Teamsters leadership may well prefigure their absorption into the anti-communist Teamster bureaucracy. TDC leader Gene Fleszar emphasized to reporters that "We are not radicals. The only problem we've had is a lot of political groups trying to use us to their own advantage" (*Detroit Free Press*, 7 April). While TDC's credentials may have increased with Teamster bureaucrats like Johnson and Holmes, they have certainly faded with whatever rank-and-file union members had looked to TDC for militant leadership in a struggle against the companies.

The farce in Detroit marks an important moment in the history of TDC. The Spartacist League had earlier mercilessly criticized the class-collaborationism of the TDC, in an effort to explain to Teamster militants that such a program would ultimately end in disaster. The Detroit events the first time that the TDC was confronted with the opportunity to lead a major struggle—confirm this analysis. They are a stark demonstration of the fundamental incapacity of simple trade-union reformists to provide militant leadership to the American proletariat, and serve equally as a condemnation of "leftists" like the International Socialists (I.S.), who have enthused over TDC's every move (see "I.S. Latest: Teamsters for an Indecent Contract," *WV* No. 92, 16 January 1976). Only by constructing a class-struggle caucus in the Teamsters union, counterposed to both the gangsterism of the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy and the pusillanimous reformism of the TDC, can a successful struggle be launched against the capitalist bosses. ■

Mario Muñoz...

(continued from page 1)

interrogating the women and children as to the whereabouts of their father, while the other relative was mercilessly beaten. During the interrogation of the children they were mistreated and savagely beaten, which produced a reaction from all the neighbors who witnessed the terrible scene of weeping and screaming. The troops then tried to snatch the smallest child, a two-month-old baby (born in Argentina) from the arms of its mother, to use it as a hostage. She replied that even if all her children were taken from her, she would not utter a single word that might endanger her *compañero*'s life. Faced with the mother's courage and firm determination and the anger of all those present, the patrol was forced to retreat; but not without first informing Muñoz' *compañera* that he was a dangerous extremist in Chile as well as Argentina, and that their orders were to shoot him on sight. Having completed this mission, they left a civilian guard in the neighboring house.

The province of San Juan has been sealed off as the hounding of Mario Muñoz continues. Interprovincial transport is being stopped and searched to look for him.

Mario Muñoz Salas, 36 years old, a mine worker: his life must be saved! By the age of 14 he was already working alongside his father in the mine; during his youth he was already involved in the struggles of his class brothers against the Yankee mining monopolies of northern Chile. Founder and leader of the Aconcagua Union of Workers and Miners; a tireless fighter, known and respected by all Chilean workers, at that time he was already being persecuted by the Chilean government in the service of the exploiters. Recognition from his class brothers made him a national leader of the Regional Miners Councils during the government of Salvador Allende. Without faltering, he took the lead in forming the *cordones industriales* [local councils] of workers, miners and peasants of Aconcagua and Valparaiso against the fascist mobilization. Until shortly before Pinochet's bloody coup he was head of the North Aconcagua Regional Committee of the Socialist Party of Chile. At a meeting with President Allende shortly before the coup, in his capacity as a national leader of the miners councils he promised the miners' unconditional defense of the government in case of an attempted coup. At the same time, Muñoz asked Allende how long he would continue to place on the workers' backs the entire burden of the economic crisis which the country was experiencing.

In his Argentine exile he has been the only one to organize the hundreds of thousands of Chilean workers and peasants who crossed the Andes by foot, fleeing the horror and betrayal. For this crime the Argentine military junta has condemned him to death.

For him and all other revolutionary organizers, "national stadiums"* have been set up for each province in Argentina. Torture and massacres are widespread and the current number of prisoners easily exceeds 100,000. UN refugee camps are ransacked three times a week.

Mario Muñoz and his family had sought UN protection, but that organization could not take responsibility for his life; he is now a temporary refugee, i.e., if the government opposes asylum it then becomes invalid. Nor would the UN take responsibility even for the persecuted family members, instead demanding legal documents from them which would never be provided by the Argentine and Chilean governments.

Only international working-class solidarity can save the lives of Mario Muñoz and his family. The Argentine government must be forced to respect human rights. Not a minute must be lost in saving the life of Mario Muñoz! It is an urgent task for the parties and organizations of the working class to mount a powerful international campaign of pressure on the Argentine military junta and the United Nations, to ensure respect for the freedom and lives of this exemplary leader of the Chilean proletariat and his family.

—COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF IMPRISONED CHILEAN WORKERS, SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

* [recalling the infamous detention center in Santiago where thousands were held and shot or tortured to death following the 11 September 1973 Chilean coup]

125 Demonstrate in Oakland

Jail the Killers of Tyrone Guyton!

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly 125 demonstrators gathered at the California state building April 7 demanding that state attorney general Younger appoint a special prosecutor to try the Emeryville policemen responsible for the murder of Tyrone Guyton. Guyton, a 14-year-old black youth, was shot in the back in November 1973 on the pretext of being a car thief. Despite the lack of evidence to substantiate this charge—or that he was "armed," as the racist cops claim—his killers continue to walk the streets as free men.

The demonstration, which was called by the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, included officials from I.L.W.U. Locals 6 and 10, numerous left groups, community residents and oppositional union groupings as well as family and friends of the slain youth. Sheila Delaney speaking for the Partisan Defense Committee pointed to the broad range of organizations working with the Guyton Committee and called for continuing mass protests against the murder.

Judy Morris of the Spartacist League spoke on the need for greater labor support, drawing the connection between the struggle to indict the cop murderers and the current San Francisco city workers' strike. Morris stated that the only way to fight the growing capitalist offensive against the labor movement and oppressed minorities was the formation of a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, Tyrone Guyton's mother, ended the demonstration by condemning the racist character of the police and thanking those who had given continued support to her struggle for justice.

Hands off Mario Muñoz!
Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Thursday, April 22
from 5 to 6 p.m.
Argentine Consulate General
12 West 56th Street
NEW YORK

Sponsor:
Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

For more information call:
Partisan Defense Committee
212-925-2426

Free all class-war prisoners in Argentina and Chile!
Stop the Manhunt!

Cuba: 16 Years of Stalinist Rule

Speaker:
MARK LAUGHTON
Spartacist League

Thursday, April 15 at 7:30 p.m.
General Assembly
Basement, Michigan Union
University of Michigan
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR (313) 995-9645
c/o SYL, Room 4316
Michigan Union, U of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 835-1535
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
MIT Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

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Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND (216) 371-3643
Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

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Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

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Box 26474
Houston, TX 77032

LOS ANGELES (213) 663-9674
Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA (215) 667-5695
Box 25601
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO (416) 366-4107
Box 222, Station B
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Six Dead, Hundreds Arrested in Israel

Zionist Cops Murder Arab Strikers

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Israeli soldiers beat Arab youth in the streets of Nazareth. AP

APRIL 12—The March 30 general strike in the Galilee, initiated by the Communist Party of Israel (Rakah) to protest Zionist plans for the confiscation of 5,000 acres of Arab land for new Jewish settlements, was viciously repressed. Newspaper headlines around the world announced that six Arabs had been killed, while 50 others were seriously injured and 300 arrested.

One of those murdered was a 15-year-old boy, shot dead near Kfar Kana. For no other reason than malicious terrorizing, the home of Zayad Tewfik, the Rakah mayor of Nazareth, was ransacked by Israeli troops. (Nazareth is the largest Arab town in Israel.)

To the north, in the town of Sakhnin, three men were murdered. Some 10,000 mourners from 36 villages and towns attended their funeral the following day. With raised fists they chanted, "With spirit and blood, we shall free Galilee!" After ten years of supposed civilian administration, military occupation has now returned to Galilee. The whole world is reminded that Arab Galilee (part of Israel since its birth), just as the Arab West Bank (which was conquered in the 1967 "Six Day War"), is "occupied territory."

Israeli Settlements on the West Bank

A major cause of the protest in Galilee was Zionist confiscation of Arab land (see "Blow-up in the Near East," *WV* No. 102, 26 March 1976). In the West Bank this often takes the form of "spontaneous" settlements established by ultra-Orthodox Jews. With consummate hypocrisy—believed by no one—Israel formally disclaims annexationist appetites toward the West Bank and makes token protests about the settlements. However, once a settlement is established, the Israeli government is quite obliging with material and military aid.

The only real difference within the government is whether to absorb the entire West Bank—the position of the National Religious Party (NRP) and defense minister Peres—or simply to annex a strategic strip along the bank of the Jordan River (the 1967 Allon Plan, named after the current foreign minister). The self-proclaimed "left-wing" Zionists of Mapam, who on paper oppose all annexation, threaten to leave the government if the settlements are not removed. The ultra-Orthodox NRP, in turn, threatens to leave the government if the settlements are not fully supported. As usual, the main government party, Mapai, to which both Peres and Allon belong, gives in to the NRP, while the Mapam, also as usual, capitulates to the Mapai. Thus the fragile coalition government survives and the settlements multiply. Already there are a total of 55, with 8,000 inhabitants.

One of the earliest was Kiryat Arba near Hebron. In 1968 a rabbi rented rooms in the area, ostensibly for Passover services. But the rabbi and his followers remained after Passover, defying expulsion orders. After a phony "confrontation" with the Zionist government, they were "temporarily" housed in an army camp and then provided with building materials. Now Kiryat Arba is an established community which numbers 1,500 on the outskirts of Hebron.

Kiryat Arba settlers periodically go into the neighboring Arab town and terrorize its inhabitants, often with weapons supplied by the Israeli army and attack dogs. (To be attacked by dogs is a special humiliation for Muslims.) Consequently, Arab protests have been particularly bitter in Hebron. A recent account by the *Jerusalem Post* (23 March) highlights the collaboration between settlers and the Israeli army:

> "Kiryat Arba settlers went into Hebron, chased Arab stone throwers through alleys, beat them up and handed 50 over to the military government. Army and police commanders had put the settlers in charge of quarters and commanders gave them 3,000 bullets which they still had."

The same issue of the *Jerusalem Post* also reported that Kiryat Arba leader rabbi Moshe Levinger went on television to tell the settlers to "shoot to hit" if they were attacked by Arabs while patrolling Hebron.

Ironically, Hebron's mayor, Sheikh Mohammed Ali Jaabari, is often praised by the Zionists for his subservience to the Israeli military administration. The escalation of Israeli repression took place on the eve of elections for West Bank mayors and town councils on April 12. Even though Arabs are prohibited from forming political organizations or disseminating propaganda which can be given a pro-Communist or pro-nationalist interpretation, many candidates are identified with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or Rakah. Israeli authorities awarded Sheikh Jaabari for his collaboration by deporting his only opponent, Dr. Ahmad Hamzi, who is associated with pro-PLO and pro-Rakah intellectuals. Yet despite the Zionist terror, partially intended to manipulate the elections, many favorites of the military governors are expected to lose to left-wing candidates.

1929 Riots and 1936 General Strike

The recent rebellion in the West Bank is far from the first time that Arabs and Jews have clashed in this area. The ultra-Orthodox community at Kiryat Arba is motivated in large part by a desire for revenge for the brutal massacre of Jews during 1929 communal riots in Hebron. The fact that the current wave of struggles was set off by a dispute over the Aqsa mosque (which is also Temple Mount, and simultaneously considered a holy place by both Muslims and Jews) reinforces the importance of the 1929 riots in Palestine as an emotional factor in the present clashes.

The 1929 riots began with a conflict between Orthodox Jews and the British colonial administration over the "Wailing Wall," a Jewish religious monument allegedly built with stones from the Temple of Solomon and located at the base of the Temple Mount in the predominantly Arab "Old City" of Jerusalem. (The worshippers put up a screen to separate males and females, and the British commissioner, unfamiliar with Jewish custom, ordered troops to remove it.) The Muslim religious leader of Jerusalem, the notorious grand mufti al-Haj Amin al-Husseini, got wind of this tiff and proposed to the receptive British district commissioner that the area in front of the Wailing Wall be made into an open thoroughfare. The extreme right-wing Zionist group Betar then held a provocative march to the wall, where it raised the Zionist flag. The grand mufti, in turn, inflamed the Muslim community by accusing the Zionists of wanting to seize the entire Temple Mount and circulating pictures with the Zionist flag raised over the Aqsa mosque.

R. Shamuel/Sygma

Nazareth mayor Zayad Tewfik

Tension increased between the Muslim and Jewish communities in Jerusalem, and on 23 August 1929 Muslims poured down from Aqsa mosque, attacking Jewish quarters. The communal violence spread throughout Palestine, leaving 133 Jews and 119 Arabs murdered. The most brutal massacre occurred in Hebron:

> "There was a Jewish population of over 700 people, an ancient community centered on a Talmudical college. Armed bands intent on slaughter reached Hebron on the 24th [of August]. The police were Arab and they stood passively by while their fellow Moslems moved into town. There was an inn in town where some Jews had fled for their safety. The Arabs killed and dismembered 23 of them with daggers and axes in an upper room so that according to a witness, blood ran down the stairs and soaked through the ceiling and splashed onto the floor beneath.... In all the Moslems killed 60 Jews including children and wounded as many."
>
> —Christopher Sykes, *Crossroads to Israel*, 1973

Behind the 1929 riots was not simply inflamed religious fanaticism, but genuine grievances of the Arab peasantry, or *fellahin*. Land purchases by the Jewish National Fund dispossessed them and drove the landless Arabs into the cities, where they joined the ranks of the unemployed. The Shaw Commission, conducting an investigation of the causes of the 1929 riots, concluded that, "there is no alternative land to which persons evicted can remove. In consequence a landless and discontented class is being created.... Palestine cannot support a larger agricultural population than it at present carries unless methods of farming undergo radical change" (cited in Abu Lughod, *The Transformation of Palestine*, 1971).

Of course, in order for the "methods of farming to undergo radical change," feudalistic Palestinian Arab landlords like the Husseinis would have to be swept away through an agrarian revolu-

tion which would directly challenge British colonialism and capitalist property relations.

In 1929 the social discontent of the *fellahin* was manipulated by their direct oppressors, the Palestinian landlords who, like the grand mufti, were often religious leaders as well and distorted into pogroms and communal violence.

But the six-month-long 1936 general strike and subsequent rebellions and guerrilla warfare which lasted until the fall of 1938, while led by feudal families like the Husseinis, were genuinely anti-imperialist in character and akin to the recent demonstrations and strikes in the West Bank and Galilee. The 1936 strike was launched around three demands. 1) self-government, 2) prohibition of Arab land sales to Jews and 3) immediate cessation of Jewish immigration until the absorptive capacity of the country could be determined and immigration policies established. Since Jews were a minority in mandate Palestine, the Zionists always opposed any step away from British colonial administration toward self-government and independence.

U.S. "Tilts," Israel Isolated

The stage for the current wave of Arab protests in Israel and the occupied territories was set by the 1947-48 partition of Palestine. In a 27 November 1947 United Nations resolution, the British mandate territory of Palestine (the result of an earlier imperialist partition of the remains of the Ottoman empire, carried out by the UN's forerunner, the League of Nations) was carved into Jewish and Arab sections. Even though the 600,000 Jewish inhabitants constituted only one third of the population and owned only 6 percent of the land, they received 55 percent of the territory, including the best agricultural districts.

They were also left with a large Arab minority of 400,000. Arab Palestine had been located mainly in the Galilee and the West Bank, the same areas in which mass anti-Zionist demonstrations and strikes have recently taken place. A myth assiduously propagated by Israeli apologists holds that these Arabs have equal rights with Jews. Yet the Arab territory annexed by Israel in 1948 was ruled under a military administration until 1966.

Now once again the "Palestinian Question" has been raised in the United Nations for another impotent debate—this time in the "central committee" of that august den of thieves, the Security Council. This time the "debate" centers around Zionist repression in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. In the past, the Israeli delegate has traditionally relied on the United States to run interference for Israel against the "Third World" majority. In recent years, however, U.S. support for Israel has been far from automatic and unconditional.

The last Security Council debate on the Near East was boycotted by Israel because the PLO had been invited. Israel claimed it could not sit at the same table with the PLO because the latter calls for a "democratic, secular Palestine." This would entail the destruction of Israel, although denying the national rights of the Hebrew people; the Israeli state is neither democratic nor secular, and was created through the dispersal of the Palestinian people. This time, though, the Israeli delegates are present with the PLO.

In the Security Council debate on the West Bank the U.S. envoy condemned Israeli settlements in the occupied territories: "Indeed, the presence of these settlements is seen by my Government as an obstacle to the success of the negotiations for a just and final peace between Israel and its neighbors." Meanwhile, U.S. television networks have for once given generally accurate coverage of the behavior of the Israeli army during the Galilee general strike, coverage which was therefore highly unfavorable to Israel. Both the diplomats and the capitalist media are preparing U.S. public opinion for demanding concessions from Israel on the West Bank.

It is an important historical fact that the U.S. bourgeoisie did not unconditionally support the outcome of the 1967 war, nor is it now satisfied with the spoils of the Israeli victory: Zionist occupation of the Sinai, Golan Heights and the West Bank. While the United States is the principal patron of Israel, American imperialism is primarily interested in securing safe, cheap and preferably exclusive access to raw materials in general, and Near East oil in particular. The U.S. wants politically stable, pro-imperialist capitalist regimes in the Near East. It cares less whether that political stability is based on Koran-thumping sheiks or radical-sounding Arab nationalist colonels.

The political stability of *all* the reactionary Arab regimes is interdependent with the survival of a state of cold war with Israel and therefore with the survival of the Zionist state in order to deflect the discontent of the impoverished Arab masses into a *jihad* (holy war) against Zionism. Likewise, in order to maintain a state of siege mentality, treating any fundamental political opposition as treason, Israeli rulers are dependent upon the reactionary Arab regimes and their occasional threats to "drive the Jews into the sea."

By discrediting several Arab regimes and bringing more than one million embittered Palestinian Arabs under Israeli military administration, the Six Day War directly threatened this fragile political stability. For exampte, the large influx of Palestinian refugees following the 1967 war led to major civil wars in Jordan (1970-71) and currently in Lebanon. American policy toward

continued on page 11

Map of Israel: shaded areas were occupied during 1967 war.

Demos Defend Arab Rebellion in Israel, West Bank

San Francisco

WV Photo

Chicago

WV Photo

In the United States at least two demonstrations were held recently in solidarity with the March 30 general strike by Arabs in Israel and the wave of militant protests by Palestinian youth in the West Bank against Zionist terror.

On the day of the strike some 275-300 protesters rallied outside the Israeli consulate in **San Francisco**. Called by the Organization of Arab Students (OAS) and drawing support from the Arab community of the Bay Area, the spirited demonstration chanted "Hands Off Palestinian Youth" and "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories." The OAS also raised several nationalist slogans. Although representatives of several radical groups were present, the Spartacist League was the only one to carry its own signs, denouncing the Zionist terror and putting forward a perspective of united class struggle, for a socialist federation of the Near East. Meanwhile, across the street, a pathetic handful of Jewish Defense League members lurked in front of the consulate with an Israeli flag.

In **Chicago** on April 8, some 25 militants threw up a picket line outside the El Al Airlines office, demanding "West Bank and Gaza—Israeli troops out." The militant chanting caused many of the downtown rush-hour passers-by to stop and listen to the demonstrators call for "Return stolen Arab land, support Palestinian protests," "Down with the Zionists, down with the sheikhs—For workers revolution in the Near East," "Damascus to Jerusalem—For workers revolution" and other class-struggle slogans.

The demonstration was initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), which sent appeals to more than 30 ostensibly socialist and anti-Zionist organizations in the Chicago area, including Youth Against War and Fascism, the Iranian Students Association and Revolutionary Socialist League. Yet not even these coattail-hangers-on of a nationalist "Arab Revolution" bothered to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinian protestors in Israel and the West Bank. In addition to the SL/SYL contingent, the picket was attended by militants of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 and representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, whose signs demanded "Free the victims of Zionist repression" and "For an end to the emergency regulations."

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

with the encouragement of unscrupulous politicians.

The local bourgeoisie was so jolted by this highly publicized outrage that the mayor, governor, daily press, Chamber of Commerce and even "moderate" anti-busing office holders condemned the assault. The Massachusetts House voted unanimously to denounce "this senseless beating and express its growing impatience with the existing chaos and violent temper of the City of Boston." Yet the lynch mob spectre raised its brutish head even amidst the pious moralisms and bourgeois respectability of the legislative chambers.

Francis X. Coppinger, a West Roxbury representative and one of two lawmakers to abstain on the motion, whined that there was never "any sense of outrage" over white victims of racial violence. (The lie was put to Coppinger's shameless hypocrisy by the fleet of police patrol cars which immediately surrounded the predominantly black Mission Hill housing complex after enraged youths from the project took to the streets and stoned white motorists' cars the night after the attack on Landsmark.) In response to a black legislator's warning that the "demagoguery" of racist politicians could spark a "blood bath" Coppinger threatened that "thousands of white persons might be waiting for such a thing" (*Boston Herald American*, 7 April). Other legislators amended out any specific condemnation of the mayor, police and press who idly watched and did nothing while the beating took place.

The stench of a pogrom that hangs so heavily over the city has now forced even the most conservative black leaders to begin talking about self-defense. Reverend Dale Taylor of the Black Ecumenical Council told a noontime City Hall rally called by black politicians and churchmen, "War is being declared against black folks in Boston ... the question we must now ask is is it time we armed ourselves and started to protect our own rights?" (*Boston Herald American*, 7 April). Other speakers demanded the resignation of White, whose successor, ironically, would be Louise Day Hicks, ROAR leader and gracious host to the mob that nearly killed Landsmark.

Even the "respectable" mainstream of the anti-busing movement seems unimpressed by the momentary public censure. South Boston Home and School Association president James M. Kelly told a press conference at the South Boston Information Center that, while the attack was "unfortunate and ugly," he would nonetheless lend "legal and moral support" to the hooligans involved! As if taking a page from the anti-busing diatribes of the fake-leftist "Revolutionary Communist" Party, Kelley sermonized that "Because of forced busing, whites hate blacks and blacks hate whites" (*Boston Globe*, 8 April).

Meanwhile, the Charlestown Marshals have promised to "defend" their lily-white neighborhood against alleged threats of retaliation. The South Boston Marshals, who recently gained attention by beating up people who didn't applaud George Wallace at a campaign rally, announced the formation of a 25-car, 100-man "safety patrol force" to cruise South Boston at night, guard against "outside agitation" and drive "outsiders" with pro-busing literature away from local stores. This "safety patrol force" is the same vigilante gang responsible for repeated attacks on black people and anti-racist militants throughout the city.

The callous indifference of the cops to the attack on Landsmark, in contrast to their immediate siege of Mission Hill, once again demonstrates the bankruptcy of reliance on the racist enforcers of bourgeois "law and order" to protect black people. While Marxists favor

UPI

Theodore Landsmark after being hit in the face with flag pole.

prosecution of the cowardly punks guilty of these attacks, we point out that the capitalist state is the ultimate defender of a system which is built on racial oppression. The black liberal politicians and "community leaders" and their fake-socialist hangers-on, who tell oppressed minorities that a few more cops or the intervention of the imperialist army will protect them, leave black people isolated and defenseless in the face of mob violence. Even more criminally culpable are the treacherous labor bureaucrats who, when they are not actively aiding the reactionary forces, are hiding under their beds for fear of taking a stand that would not sit well with their friends in city hall.

In response to the attack on Landsmark, the Boston local of the Spartacist League issued a public statement on April 8, which read in part:

> "Black people and all who stand for black equality must not place the slightest confidence in the capitalist officials and their armed forces upholding racist 'law and order' the cops and the federal troops. On the contrary, we must only rely on our own independent strength and our own organizations to defend desegregation and to defeat the racist offensive.
>
> "We say that the democratic rights and lives of black people can be ensured only through the formation of a mass organized defense by the organizations of the working people and the black community."

From the beginning of the reactionary anti-busing mobilization in Boston in September 1974 the Spartacist League was the first and most insistent proponent of black/labor defense against racist terror, while reformist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party begged for federal troops. The brutal assault against Landsmark raises again, in the most vivid manner, the urgent need for organized defense guards to implement school integration and put down the dangerous racist vigilantes. As the March 8 Boston SL statement underlined: "The time to act is now!" ■

U.S. Harbors Ustashi Death Camp Butcher

Andrija Artukovič is alive and well and living in Orange County in southern California, under the protection of the U.S. State Department, the local cops, anti-communist emigrè groups and the Catholic Church. This fact should outrage all enemies of Nazi terror, who have good cause to remember Artukovič—founder of the Croatian Ustashi's cut-throat Gestapo secret police who ran the death camps in Yugoslavia during World War II. His dreaded stormtroopers and flesh-burning concentration camps earned him the epithet "the butcher of the Balkans."

From 1941 to 1944, Ustashi fascists ran Croatia as a puppet state for Hitler and Mussolini; among others, they operated the infamous camp at Jasenovac, just south of the Croatian capital of Zagreb. Today there is a memorial park at the place where during the war tens of thousands of Yugoslavs were slaughtered and the bodies dumped in the nearby Sava River. The government of Yugoslavia estimates the total number of those who died at the hands of the Ustashi at 800,000—mainly Serbs and Jews, but also thousands of gypsies and a considerable number of Croats.

The Ustashi were formed in 1929 with the dissolution of the right-wing nationalist Croatian States Rights Party. Its leader Ante Pavelič went to fascist Italy. Later he would make a deal with Mussolini to "give" Dalmatia to *Il Duce* in exchange for his own triumphant return to head up the Ustashi puppet government for the Axis. In 1941 Pavelič issued a decree "on the protection of Aryan blood and the honor of Croatian people," quickly followed by another on the "protection of national and Aryan culture" (Vladimir Dedijer, et al., *History of Yugoslavia*, 1974). Artukovič as minister of the interior issued the notorious order banning "Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and dogs" from

San Francisco Examiner

Andrija Artukovič

entering parks, restaurants and public transportation in Zagreb.

The Ustashi in murderous collaboration with the Nazis represented a nationalism that had found its reactionary extreme in the creation of Croatian versions of Auschwitz and Treblinka. Knowing what their fate would be if they remained after Hitler's defeat, the Ustashi fled before the advancing Yugoslav and Soviet troops. Many took refuge in Franco's Spain. But the butcher of the Balkans came to America via Switzerland on an illegal passport in 1948.

U.S. Government Protects Mass Murderer

According to a recent article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (4 April), Artukovič is wanted by the Yugoslav government, which in 1951 requested his extradition on "a warrant charging 1,293 documented counts of 'murder and participation in murder'." In 1952 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) ordered him deported as an "illegal alien." But Artukovič was no ordinary "illegal alien"—not some farm worker in Texas or California, some Haitian worker in New York City or "red agitator." Artukovič, after all, is a Nazi war criminal. For him the State Department intervened and stayed his deportation.

In 1959 the U.S. Immigration commissioner rejected extradition to Yugoslavia on the grounds that the request was "political in nature." The U.S. government, ever solicitous for the fate of right-wing exiles, was determined to protect Artukovič from "red terror" in Yugoslavia. For Peter Radielovič of the right-wing emigré Croatian Information Service, the attempt to extradite his friend is nothing other than the "pressure of Communist propaganda." He argues that Artukovič is a "symbol for independence" to Croatians. The Catholic Church, too, has supported the butcher of the Balkans, hailing the ruling to reject extradition. *The Tidings*, official newspaper of the Los Angeles archdiocese ran a triumphant headline, "Tito Can't Have Artukovič," and characterized the Nazi war criminal as "this leading Catholic layman and member of the Knights of Columbus."

The official protection of this mass murderer goes on, as local cops of Seal Beach, California, maintain a shield known as the "Artukovič Liaison Detail." A detective is assigned to keep watch on his daily routine to make certain that none of his more volatile enemies can get to him. One of those is the Jewish Defense League (JDL), itself a right-wing Zionist terrorist operation, which has made Artukovič its Number One target.

The Ustashi have maintained their counterrevolutionary terrorist activities since World War II. Tito's government has made a policy of playing down the role of their atrocities in the interest of "not stirring up old resentments." But when the Ustashi hijacked a Swedish airliner in September 1972, forcing the release of six of its gang imprisoned for terror attacks on Yugoslav diplomats, the Yugoslav government began to hit back. It was Tito himself who raised the question on everyone's mind: the probability of U.S./CIA financing of these Croatian black-shirts. But he refused to say it: "Today is not yet the proper time.... But the day when we have become fed up with all this, we will have to say who supplies the money" (*New York Times*, 1 October 1972).

The time to be "fed up with all this" has long since passed. U.S. aid and comfort to fascist terror must be ruthlessly exposed and fought. CIA backing for the fascist and iron-cross emigré groups keeps them going, just as U.S. government intervention in behalf of Artukovič keeps him safe in California with no visible means of financial support.

In the midst of the bourgeoisie's hue and cry over "illegal aliens," Andrija Artukovič remains the beneficiary of Washington's boundless anti-communism. To the Artukovičes, the General Kys and counterrevolutionary terrorists everywhere who can be "useful" in fighting communism, the imperialists extend their open arms. The napalmers of Vietnam understand that their fate is interlaced with that of the diggers of mass graves at Jasenovac. Their fate can be justly decided only by the tribunals of the victorious proletarian revolution. In the meantime, Artukovič should be handed over to the surviving relatives of the children he poisoned with caustic soda added to their food in the Ustashi's death camps.

Extradite Artukovič to Yugoslavia!

International Commission Formed

Varga Affair Inquiry Opens

The first official meeting of the Commission of Inquiry into the Varga affair took place in Paris on March 27 at the headquarters of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). The Commission, formed at the initiative of Lutte Ouvrière (LO), includes the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the British Workers Socialist League (WSL), in addition to LO and the LCR. The Italian Bolshevik-Leninist Group (GBL) has also announced its support for the Commission.

The formation of a principled Commission of Inquiry represents a vindication of the fight waged for over a year and a half by the iSt for an impartial, authoritative Commission based on the principles which governed the deliberations of the Dewey Commission, which was formed to investigate the slanderous charges made against Trotsky at the Moscow Trials.

The need for a Commission arose from the irresponsible fashion in which the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) leveled charges against Michel Varga—for over ten years a leading member of the OCI and now a leader of the International League Reconstructing the Fourth International (LIRQI)—of being simultaneously an "agent paid by the CIA" and a "GPU provocateur." Despite the OCI's criminally light-minded procedure, the partial documentation on Varga's political past which it supplied to back up its accusations did contain sufficient circumstantial evidence to require a serious, impartial investigation.

From the time that the OCI first raised its charges, in early 1974, the iSt has fought for the formation of a tribunal of the workers movement, counterposing our call for an authoritative body to the LIRQI's blatant efforts to create a captive "Commission" as a factional club against the OCI, with a composition that would guarantee in advance a "verdict" favorable to Varga. We refused to lend our authority to the LIRQI's game. The iSt statement of 3 November 1975 denounced the Vargaites' projection of a "Commission":

> "which proclaims Varga's innocence as the 'basis' for its deliberations and in which the accused sits in judgement of himself through the inclusion of his political friends among the judges.... We are equally against frame-ups and whitewashes."
>
> —*Workers Vanguard*, 14 November 1975

After the iSt had spent ten months in preliminary meetings arguing against both the LIRQI and the centrist vacillations of LO and the LCR—both of whom were prepared to participate in a commission on the LIRQI's terms—the Vargaites' maneuver finally exploded in their faces in November 1975 when LO and the LCR, for "tactical" reasons of "expediency," refused to go along. Shortly thereafter, the LIRQI formed its own "Commission"—composed virtually exclusively of its own national sections! Any "results" of the LIRQI "Commission" must be viewed in the light of its purely partisan character as the camouflaged mouthpiece of Varga and his own tendency.

Lutte Ouvrière, in a letter dated 17 November 1975, proposed creating an authentic and impartial Commission of Inquiry. In its 11 December 1975 reply, the iSt indicated its acceptance of the LO proposal while noting its weaknesses and loopholes—in particular, LO's continued failure to disclaim in principle the possibility of participating on a Commission of which the LIRQI would be a member.

The American SWP, which had avoided any involvement in the previous efforts by LO and the iSt to create a principled commission of inquiry, suddenly "discovered" its necessity and on 20 December 1975 sent LO a letter accepting the LO proposal "without entering into the history of attempts to organize such a Commission."

The LIRQI—which has now rebaptized itself the "Fourth International (Reconstructed)"—was so infuriated at the formation of an authentic Commission of Inquiry that it accused the LCR, LO, SWP, WSL and the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Italy of capitulating to the iSt position:

> "All these organizations made a shameless about-face, rallying to the thesis of the anti-Trotskyist group, the Spartacist League, which holds that we [the Vargaites] should be excluded from the commission 'since one cannot be both the judge and the accused'."
>
> —"Statement by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International," 10 March 1976, in *Quatrième Internationale*, 15 February-1 March 1976[sic]

Yet even at the preliminary meeting of this Commission, the iSt representative had to fight against the desire of LO, the LCR and the SWP to keep the Commission's proceedings and relations with the main interested parties (the OCI and the LIRQI) "informal," thereby undercutting the body's authority and vitiating much of its purpose. While most of the Commission members were indifferent as to whether or not it should keep a formal record of its proceedings, the SWP representative openly *opposed* taking minutes. His reasons: the Commission was not writing for history (for who then?) and he did not want to see anyone try to use minutes "in ten years" in order to prove "who was right and who was wrong"! The iSt's attempts to strengthen the Commission's basic statement (reprinted in this issue of *WV*) were also rejected.

Nevertheless, the creation of an impartial and potentially authoritative Commission is an important step forward in the struggle to reach a just resolution of the "Varga affair." The international Spartacist tendency has placed at the Commission's disposal the materials in its possession (furnished to it by the OCI) relating to the Varga affair. Basing itself on the principles which governed the Dewey Commission's deliberations, the iSt is participating actively in the Commission commensurate with the iSt's weight and resources relative to the other participants. The iSt's political struggle for a real Commission of Inquiry—a struggle vindicated by the centrists' eventual back-handed recognition of our principled insistence on rejecting the Vargaites' cynical attempts to pervert the purpose of such a body—has constituted a crucial contribution to this task. ■

Founding Text for the Commission of Inquiry

Some time ago, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) put forth certain accusations, asserting that Balasz Nagy, known as Michel Varga, was an "agent paid by the CIA" and "a GPU provocateur." The leaders of the LIRQI, the organization of which Michel Varga is a member, have called for a "workers commission of inquiry" to take a position on "the campaign of unfounded accusations launched by the OCI leadership" as well as on "the extension of these accusations to the International League [LIRQI] as such, going as far as repeated physical attacks upon militants of the OCI-LIRQI faction [the French LIRQI group], in particular during the joint demonstrations against Francoism and the leafletting outside the meeting to free Soviet mathematician Leonid Plyushch."

We consider that such accusations against a militant or an organization are sufficiently serious that it is incumbent upon the entire revolutionary movement to determine whether or not they are justified. That is why we have decided to constitute ourselves as a Commission of Inquiry for the purpose of inviting the OCI leadership to present all evidence it claims to possess, and in order to request all those who could furnish evidence concerning this matter to come and testify.

The Commission's goal is a scrupulous verification of the facts and documents, which it will make public. In order for this verification to take place with the greatest possible authority, it invites all organizations claiming adherence to the revolutionary workers movement to participate actively in its deliberations.

—signed by representatives of:

Lutte Ouvriere
Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire
Socialist Workers Party
international Spartacist tendency
Workers Socialist League

DOCUMENTS ON THE VARGA AFFAIR

SPARTACIST, édition française

No. 8. Pour une Commission d'Enquête
échange de lettres entre la SL-US et la LIRQI

No. 11: Une Commission d'Enquête est constituée
échange de lettres entre la TSI, LO, la LIRQI et le GBL
Déclaration a la Commission d'Enquête

ecrire a:

Bruno Porquier B.P. 57 95120 Ermont FRANCE	Spartacist Publishing Co Box 1377 G.P.O. New York, NY 10001 USA

MPLA Letter...

(continued from page 2)

> new republic is out of military danger from imperialist forces."

The RMG's undifferentiated "support" to the MPLA obscures the crucial distinction between military defense against imperialist-led attack and *political* support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists. Moreover, this is not simply a knee-jerk reaction to the South African offensive. Already early last fall the RMG announced that "revolutionaries must extend their critical support to the MPLA" against the rival nationalists of the FNLA (*Old Mole*, September 1975). The corollary is its position that revolutionary Marxists should work as an organic left wing *within* the MPLA:

> "In Angola today, virtually all of the radical urban elements, including the workers and the anti-imperialist youth, have joined the MPLA. Consequently, the possibility for the emergence of a revolutionary Marxist current rests on a political recomposition of forces within the MPLA and regroupment of an anti-capitalist tendency."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Like its USec mentors, who call for "all power to the MPLA," the RMG cannot conceive of swimming against the stream and fighting for an independent proletarian organization outside of and in political opposition to the MPLA. The RMG simply decides its policies on the basis of the masses' illusions; as long as the masses follow the banner of the MPLA so will the Mandelites, albeit as "left critics."

The writer may be confusing the RMG's position with that of the Quebec-based Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR), whose slogan of "Military Victory to the MPLA" represents a left wobble within the USec majority. Nevertheless, the GMR is only a slightly more critical supporter of the MPLA, as indicated in the 25 February issue of its newspaper, *Combat Socialiste*: "In the liberated zones, the victory of the MPLA is expressed in the form of a veritable mobilization of the masses of a character which is clearly anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist."

The multiplicity of widely different political positions within the USec rotten bloc is matched by its public factionalizing and organizational splintering, combined in this case with the anti-Leninist, Bundist practice of separate sections for Quebec and English-speaking Canada. The RMG and GMR, along with the minority-loyal League for Socialist Action and Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, make no less than *four* separate organizations, with three different political lines, speaking for the United Secretariat to the Canadian working class.

The writer states that he agrees with the Spartacist League's analysis of the Cuban Revolution. It is important to understand that the Cuban question has played an important role among those who claim to uphold the banner of Trotskyism. The Socialist Workers Party's shameless cheerleading, not for the social gains of the revolution but for its Castroite leadership, encapsulated the rapid political degeneration of the SWP and its convergence with the Pabloist International Secretariat led by Ernest Mandel in 1961-63. Central to our struggle over the Cuban question was our insistence on the primary role of the independent organization and programmatic intransigence of the proletarian vanguard. The Pablolists, in contrast, rely on an objectivist conception that non-proletarian formations (such as Castro's guerrillas or the MPLA) will be pushed to the left and "outline a revolutionary orientation" under pressure from the masses. Such an orientation is a fundamental denial of Trotsky's life-long struggle to build an international party of the socialist revolution to carry forward the gains of the October Revolution.

Steelworkers...

(continued from page 12)

following his election is naturally not mentioned in this material

Sadlowski, like Hubert Humphrey in the Democratic Party, poses as the poor man's non-candidate candidate for president of the Steelworkers in International elections scheduled for next year. For now, he is supporting several slates in the local elections and building for a special USWA convention around the single issue of rolling back union dues. Other major questions such as the ENA and, of course, government intervention are totally ignored.

Bosses' Government Out of the Unions!

Government intervention, which was highlighted with the Consent Decree, remains a key issue in the Steelworkers. The Communist Party (CP) is complaining, apparently with good reason, of widespread FBI/CIA interference in the local election campaigns for the purpose of witchhunting left-wing opponents of the Abel leadership. An article in the CP's *Daily World* (1 April) details several forms of police smears of oppositionists and speculates that Paul Feldman, a right-wing social democrat working as a "top-level publicist" in USWA headquarters in Pittsburgh, is coordinating an anti-communist red-scare in the union.

Several reports indicate that the FBI is indeed surreptitiously circulating "background reports" on candidates, information from which is being used by anti-communist opportunists to intimidate oppositionists and scare off their supporters. There is no doubt that red-baiting is playing a role in the USWA local elections. Last fall, Frank Mirocha, president of U.S. Steel Southworks Local 65 ran a front-page editorial in the local union paper (*65 News*, October 1975) railing against "Communism: A Legacy of Terror."

Government intervention takes other forms as well. A recent U.S. Court of Appeals ruling, stemming from a suit filed originally in Terre Haute, Indiana, against USWA Local 3489, orders the union to eliminate its undemocratic meeting-attendance requirement for candidates for union office. The constitutional requirement, which mandates attendance of at least one half of all union meetings in the three years prior to the election on the part of all candidates, makes most members formally ineligible to run. The requirement must be thrown out by steel workers. But, like police-agency interference in the elections, government dictation to the union, initiated under anti-labor laws (in this case, Robert Kennedy's Landrum-Griffin Act), can only serve to hamstring the ability of the ranks to take control of their own class organizations with a fighting, class-struggle program.

While rightly complaining about FBI harassment, in this case the reformist Communist Party *supports* government intervention. An article in the *Daily World* (24 March) backed efforts by the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC), which "plans to contest" any violation of the court order. Challenging this undemocratic rule within the union is an important task for militant oppositionists, but the NSWRFC's internal union tactics are geared not to mobilizing the ranks but to preparing a case for the courts. In the Lorain, Ohio, U.S. Steel Local 1104, NSWRFC head George Edwards is heading a slate including some candidates who do not meet the attendance requirement and is already openly preparing to go to the Labor Department if challenged.

Most of the oppositionists being attacked as "Communists" in furtive efforts by the FBI and USWA bureaucracy are actually quite far from raising the class-struggle program which corresponds to the revolutionary interests of the working class. Endorsement by the *Daily World* of the NSWRFC is about the only conceivable basis for red-baiting the pro-Sadlowski organization, which is much more interested in putting a Democrat in the White House and a liberal in USWA headquarters than in winning steel workers to a proletarian internationalist program.

East Chicago

At Inland Steel Local 1010 in East Chicago, one of the NSWRFC's biggest bases and the largest local in the union (with 18,000 members), results already in show a clean sweep for the Rank and File Slate (RFS), which got all but one

Village Voice

Ed Sadlowski

of its candidates elected. The slate was headed by Jim Ballanoff, who has come close to winning in two previous elections. District director Sadlowski had endorsed the Ballanoff slate.

The basis for the RFS victory was largely the behavior of the incumbent, "Babe" Lopez, an Abel supporter who has been utterly discredited by charges of corruption in his administration. Lopez called Ballanoff a "Communist," and failed to dissociate himself from the U.S. Labor Party/National Caucus of Labor Committees, the frenzied crazies of Lynn Marcus & Co., who accused Ballanoff of being a "Nazi" and a "CIA agent"! Lopez turned to the Marcusite mud-slingers because of their earlier anti-communist "mop-up" campaign against the CP.

For genuine union militants, rather than McCarthyite witchhunters, the criterion for voting in the elections is program, and on that score Ballanoff's campaign was thoroughly reformist. His "Twelve Point Program" promised Christmas activities and an improved sports program, but said nothing about fighting the ENA no-strike deal, providing jobs for all through shortening the workweek with no loss in pay or combatting company/union "productivity" schemes. He was even reported as accusing Lopez of raising issues that go beyond the bounds of local concern! While opposing government anti-communist witchhunting against himself, he does not defend the union against government snooping and prosecution in the guise of fighting corruption. For the Rank and File Slate, opposition to government intervention is a sometime thing.

Lorain

The NSWRFC has no real program for steel workers, since the demands it puts forward vary widely from local to local, as passing opportunity or personal whim of the leaders dictates. George Edwards' Rank and File Committee (RFC) in the Lorain local is only a little better than its East Chicago counterpart. Its program does mention the right to strike as well as an end to discrimination (which, for Edwards, means going to court to enforce the Consent Decree). It also calls for the right to membership contract ratification (which doesn't exist in the USWA) and an end to "productivity" speed-up. Edwards' RFC is just as reformist as Ballanoff's RFS, however, since neither addresses the hard class issues which wed the bureaucracy of I.W. Abel to the capitalists and their government. The RFC of Lorain, which backed Democrat George McGovern for U.S. president in 1972, makes no mention of the need for a workers party and a workers government. Nor does the Edwards group mention the need for expropriation of the giant corporations or a planned economy. These are the fundamental issues which a class-struggle opposition group, serious about exposing the capitalists' electoral shell game and attacking exploitation at its root, would address.

A leaflet circulated in the Lorain plant by a group of militants opposes the undemocratic attendance rule for candidates but denounces the NSWRFC strategy of using the Labor

Labor Today

George Edwards

Department and the courts to intervene in the union. Entitled "Will the Courts Rerun Our April 20th Election?" it calls for support to the RFC motion in the union to do away with the attendance requirement, but denounces "those who lack confidence in the rank and file and are quick to run to the Labor Department and the federal courts to redress their union grievances." On this basis, these militants denounce the Edwards slate as "no alternative to the Bartos [incumbent]—Pashkevich [challenger] contest."

Gary

Sadlowski has endorsed the "United Slate" at U.S. Steel's Gary Works, Local 1014, which is a coalition of the Independent Black Labor Movement (a broad black caucus) and the Rank and File Committee, an NSWRFC affiliate. Despite the inclusion of many supportable reforms in its program, the United Slate lacks any semblance of a real class-struggle program. The group is silent on the Consent Decree, and has no answer to layoffs! The slate also fails to deal with Abel's nationalist protectionism.

Chicago

At Southworks Local 65 in Chicago there is a plethora of choices offered to the membership, from Mirocha's hard-line anti-communism to the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), a small group which calls for a national strike to smash the ENA, a sliding scale of wages and hours, a labor party and a workers government. Sadlowski's choice is financial secretary John Chico, who joins the district director in opposing the dues increase mandated by the last convention.

Chico sees everything in terms of dues. "From the dues we pay we expect our union to protect us," he states, without mentioning how. In another leaflet, Chico calls the dues increase unnecessary "because our union has about 80 million dollars in its strike fund with no strike allowed under ENA"! This is a clear expression of the indifference of Sadlowski & Co. to the right to strike: given the ENA, they would give it up, and rob the strike fund to pay other expenses! Interestingly, Mirocha also opposes the dues increase, making for no choice whatsoever between the pro-Abel and pro-Sadlowski slates.

The NSWRFC candidates, in typical opportunist fashion, are running partly with Chico and partly independently of him. Joe Kransdorf, an NSWRFC candidate for griever with Chico's endorsement, has a narrow parochialist program; Roberta Woods, running for trustee independently of Chico, calls for opposing ENA, for "30 for 40" and restructuring the International executive board to include minority representation. The NSWRFC's Local 65 *Rank and File Voice*, furthermore, carries a program including "end all accommodation to company discrimination" which the NSWRFC candidates omit from their own material!

"Breakup," a small group in Local 65 politically endorsed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has no program other than a meaningless call to economist militancy: "fight back." The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, however, should receive the votes of class-struggle militants since it is campaigning on the basis of several critical demands. In addition to the points mentioned previously, it calls for abolition of the "red clause" from the union constitution and for "revolutionary leadership" of the union.

The RSC, although it supported the labor-black defense effort mounted by militants in Auto Workers Local 6 last year against racist fire-bombing attacks on the home of a black union member outside Chicago, seriously lacks a program to combat racial and sexual oppression. While paying lip service to opposing racism in its newsletter "Revolutionary Steelworker," its four-point electoral program fails to address the notorious oppression of minorities in the steel industry.

The RSC is likewise silent on the controversial issue of busing to achieve integration, a glaring deficiency given the approaching polarization of Chicago around a proposed desegregation plan. Even more frank is the RSC's uncritical supporter, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), which scandalously *opposes* busing, thereby lining up with the racists. By omitting demands that give revolutionary direction to the aspirations for racial equality of the oppressed minorities, the RSC shows itself to be incapable of uniting the U.S. working class in a victorious struggle for power. ■

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Defend 35 Arrested at Hostos College

CUNY Shut-Downs Spark Campus Occupations

APRIL 13—Last night New York City cops invaded Hostos Community College to arrest the students who for the last three weeks have occupied this south Bronx campus of the City University of New York (CUNY). Only hours earlier the police had descended on another CUNY campus, Lehman College, which has also been occupied by students protesting the devastating cutbacks and shutdowns ordered by the Board of Higher Education (BHE) on April 5.

The Board's action sparked a week of student actions against the decision to eliminate five different campuses through closure or merger. Previous Board decisions had already eliminated open admissions and numerous special programs which had enabled thousands of minority youth to attend the City University. On the day of the BHE vote there was a militant student protest in front of Board headquarters, as well as an unprecedented sit-down in the middle of FDR Drive by black students from Medgar Evers College. The following day squadrons of cops were deployed at strategic points on campuses throughout the CUNY system.

The BHE's cutback/shutdown plans have provoked a wave of large but often disorganized student actions, most notably the March 16 demonstration of 10,000 at the state capitol in Albany. But the occupation of Hostos, which serves the large NYC Puerto Rican community and is one of only two bi-lingual colleges in the entire country, had become the focal point of the campus militancy because the diffuse student outrage had been given a certain degree of tactical direction by the social-democratic Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and its student affiliate, the Puerto Rican Socialist University Federation (FUSP).

On the one hand, the PSP FUSP steering committee established a division of labor, set up a day care center, organized daily programs of political activities and provided effective security precautions. On the other hand, the leadership took no steps to organize support for the Hostos occupation on other CUNY campuses, not to mention seeking support from the labor movement.

During the last two weeks of the sit-in, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) on several occasions approached the Hostos leadership proposing that the PSP FUSP steering committee send representatives to other CUNY campuses to build city-wide support for the occupation. But even though the steering committee requested the SYL to send supporters to Hostos on the night the cops arrived, the PSP FUSP, in an act of consummate sectarianism, demanded that the SYLers leave before the police arrived. "We have our own people that we want to get arrested," was the justification offered.

The arrest of 35 demonstrators at Hostos was carried out without injuries, as the police, fearful of a riot in the volatile south Bronx, were careful to avoid obvious atrocities. But at the BHE demonstration the week before, the cops went on a rampage, indiscriminately clubbing demonstrating students. This display of wanton police brutality should serve to underline the role of the racist enforcers of bourgeois "law and order."

During the cutbacks controversy, the capitalist media raised a hue and cry to save the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, which was originally targetted for closure under the Kibbee Plan. The liberal *New York Times* (8 March) trumpeted the virtues of this cop-training institution, alleging that it had saved the city from the "unquenched fires" which had swept Newark and Watts during the 1960's.

Not surprisingly, the BHE *exempted* John Jay from the closures, instead stripping it of the liberal arts programs which had attracted minority students. Alone among the radical groups active on CUNY campuses, the SYL had demanded all cops and cop training off campus! Instead, the SYL demanded that the facilities of John Jay be used not to train the strikebreaking, trigger-happy, racist cops, but rather to provide education for the poor and working-class population of New York City.

Drop all charges against the 35 arrested at Hostos!

No cuts—No closures—No cops! ■

Young Worker

Hostos Community College students answered city decision to close the campus by occupying administration offices.

Arab Strikers...

(continued from page 7)

the occupied territories continues to be based on the 1967 Security Council Resolution 242, reaffirmed by the (U.S. secretary of state) Rogers Plan of 1970, which calls for Israel to give up most, if not all, of the occupied territories in exchange for Arab political recognition and a peace treaty.

Since the U.S. cannot simply force an immediate and unilateral Zionist withdrawal from the occupied territories without creating a major political crisis in Israel, Rogers' successor Henry Kissinger engages in what has become known as the "step by step approach," in which a "piece of land" is exchanged for a "piece of peace." Now, especially in the aftermath of major Palestinian Arab strikes and demonstrations, U.S. diplomatic interest has shifted to the West Bank.

Smash Zionist Terror!

Israel is increasingly isolated, but this has had a contradictory impact on Israeli workers. On the one hand, there is a genuine sense of demoralization; for the first time since the 1948 war, many Israelis now question whether the Zionist state can survive. Further, the working population is being subjected to economic pounding from every side: military appropriations continue to rise; in early March the government announced a 25 percent rise in bus fares and the price of many basic foods; taxes have been increased, and the Israeli pound was devalued again.

Economic struggles on the part of the Israeli working class have become frequent. Last month there was a major walkout of civil servants, for instance. Nonetheless, a growing sense of isolation combined with economic discontent will not automatically lead Israeli workers to challenge their Zionist rulers. In the absence of a revolutionary leadership the growing political isolation simply reinforces a besieged fortress mentality, of which the Kiryat Arba settlers are only the most pathological and extreme expression.

Israel has no future in the Near East. As a weak ally of U.S. imperialism it will be sacrificed if Israel's survival gets in the way of larger American capitalist interests. The U.S. is already busy arming *both sides* for the next Arab-Israeli war, which may rapidly escalate into a nuclear or even global confrontation.

The Israeli working class has a future only if it places at its head a revolutionary party which champions not only its economic and social grievances, which are many, but also links the economic struggles to the heroic Arab demonstrations and strikes in Galilee and on the West Bank. Such a Marxist party would champion the right to self-determination for the Palestinians, while not denying the national rights of the Hebrew people.

However, if the Israeli working class is to have a future it cannot exercise its national rights at the expense of the Palestinians; it cannot express them through the Zionist state of Israel, even such a Zionist state as would conform to the Rakah, Mapam/PLO dream and accept a Palestinian mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza strip. The right to self-determination for Palestinians and Hebrews can only be democratically resolved within the framework of a bi-national proletarian dictatorship on both sides of the Jordan River, as part of a socialist federation of the Near East ■

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For Labor-Black Defense!

Flag-Wielding Racist Assault in Boston

Herald American photos

Left, anti-busing racists recite pledge of allegiance in Boston city council meeting. Right, later outside meeting youths attacked black lawyer with flag.

BOSTON – A virtual lynch mob set upon locally prominent black lawyer Theodore Landsmark in City Hall Plaza last Monday, kicking and pummelling him to the ground in a vicious racist assault. Screaming racial epithets and "Kill him," the savage pack of white youths, who had boycotted classes at Charlestown and South Boston high schools, swarmed over Landsmark, beating him and ramming the steel shaft of an American flag into his face. Meanwhile police and reporters stood by watching and a battalion of cameramen filmed the assault. Not a single one of the racist thugs was arrested at the time. This brazen attack took place under the very eyes of liberal mayor Kevin White, looking down from his office window. Immediately afterwards, White did his characteristic disappearing act and left the building.

This atrocity was the bloody denouement of an anti-busing demonstration April 5. Several hundred white youths, among them Landsmark's assailants, had been welcomed into City Council chambers by council president Louise Day Hicks. The students read a list of demands, including an end to court-ordered busing and the resignation of School Superintendent Marion Fahey. This bunch of racist hoods were served tea and cookies and recited the pledge of allegiance to the same flag which was later wielded like a spear against their defenseless victim! The flag itself was picked up that morning at the South Boston Information Center, where it had been a trophy stolen from English High School when adult goons from ROAR broke up a pro-busing meeting of the Citywide Coordinating Council in February.

Landsmark, left with a broken nose, bruises over his entire body and requiring eight stitches in his gashed face, is not the usual ghetto victim of the lynch mob terror that has stalked Boston over the last 18 months. Formerly a board member of the Government Land Bank, he is now executive director of the Contractors Association of Boston. At the time of the attack, he was on his way to a meeting with city officials to discuss minority hiring on city construction jobs. The violence against this prominent establishment figure (once a member of the same law firm as Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis) graphically demonstrates that no black person is safe as long as racist paramilitary groups roam the streets

continued on page 8

For a Class-Struggle Opposition to Abel and Sadlowski

Local Elections in Steelworkers Union

U.S. Steel's Southworks plant, Chicago. WV Photo

APRIL 12– In this year of big contract struggles in trucking, rubber, auto and other industries, little is being heard from steel. Yet the worldwide capitalist depression which belatedly hit this key sector of heavy industry last year has created conditions for half a million steel workers that are at least as bad as those facing the rest of the U.S. proletariat. It is such issues which must be answered by candidates for local office in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) who are running in the current round of local elections.

• With production languishing below 80 percent of capacity, over 100,000 steel workers are still on layoff, despite government ballyhoo about the economic "upturn."

• The cost-of-living formula in the 1974 contract, one cent raise per 0.3 increase in the Consumer Price Index, does not keep up with inflation.

• With safety conditions in the steel plants uniformly abominable grievances continue to pile up and numerous locals have threatened to strike.

USWA president I.W. ("No-Strike") Abel, however, does nothing to eliminate these conditions. In fact, he agrees with the companies that the "answer" is speed-up, eliminating strikes and protectionism. Abel's notorious "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA), signed without consulting the membership in 1973, bans contract strikes until 1980, while his class-collaborationist company/union "productivity" committees cut jobs. As to the pervasive discrimination against blacks and other minorities in steel, the bureaucracy's response was simply to acquiesce in the pattern-setting company government "Consent Decree," which robs the union treasury to pay for management discrimination, accepts government intervention overturning the contract and fails to provide any but the most tokenistic remedy to the victims.

Meanwhile, Ed Sadlowski, the liberal reformer who was elected head of Chicago-Gary District 31 of the USWA last year running against an Abel flunkey in Labor Department-supervised voting—has since organized "Steel Workers Fight Back." This phantom organization is currently running a soft-sell "union reform" campaign complete with fundraising mailings to well-heeled liberals. Sadlowski's utter lack of any program for combatting the layoffs which swept District 31 (and other steel centers)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 106 | 23 April 1976

Stop the Stalling—Elect Strike Committees

SHUT DOWN S.F. NOW!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 20—The labor movement in San Francisco, traditionally the strongest "union town" in the country, stands before the brink. Each capitulation, each step backward by the weak-kneed bureaucrats heading the craft workers' 21-day-old walkout only emboldens the Board of Supervisors and further isolates the strikers. But at the same time, a vigorous drive by the angry ranks to pull out the rest of San Francisco labor and close S.F. down could quickly turn the tables on the bosses and open the road to victory.

The city's rulers are determined to implement the notorious Proposition B passed last November and force 30 percent pay cuts on 1,900 municipal craft workers. If this strike is defeated, the Board can confidently look forward to pushing through its Propositions O and E in June. These viciously anti-labor city charter amendments provide for immediate and mandatory firing of *any* city worker who strikes.

In a pathetic display of impotence, the craft union misleaders took down picket lines yesterday at the opera house, school bus yards and Laguna Honda Hospital "to show good faith" and back up their plea for federal mediation. Quentin Kopp, head of the Board of Supervisors, arrogantly responded that this concession was "not material" and that mediation was "not in the picture" unless all the strikers went back to work. The dwindling and largely ineffectual picket lines, like the craven call for federal intervention, underscores the vacuum of leadership in the strike, which now hangs in the balance.

The San Francisco labor brass is running scared. While the Central Labor Council (CLC) tops plaintively ask each other why there is so much scabbing, they provide no day-to-day direction of the strike. Pickets are mobilized and dispatched by an ad hoc group of strikers operating out of the Plumbers and Pipefitters' union hall. The bureaucracy apparently gave its tacit approval to the efforts of rank and filers to maintain some strike activity in the hopes that this would keep some minimal pressure on the supervisors (and allow militants to "blow off steam") while the labor fakers negotiate a sellout.

The possible shape of such a sellout was indicated this weekend when Laborers union chief George Evankovich told television news reporters that he had offered to take a 10 percent pay cut for the laborers, who are a majority of the striking city workers. In another particularly crass display of cynicism, Larry Martin, head of Transport Workers (TWU) Local 250A described reports that the Muni drivers had voted a 72-hour deadline for the CLC to carry out preparations for a general strike as based on a "misinterpretation." To protect himself from the predictable outrage which this brazen lie will cause among the membership, Martin also announced that there would be no TWU meetings held this week!

Demand Elected Strike Committees

This morning several hundred striking craft workers and supporters from the TWU and other unions blocked buses entering the AC Transit terminal for 45 minutes. State police maced several militants, and, after the police had threatened arrests, self-appointed picket captains dissolved the line and led the workers over to picket City Hall. This action demonstrates both the continuing militancy of many strikers and the lack of a competent and determined leadership on the lines.

While the CLC refuses to defend the lines from a position of strength, the handful of transit workers associated with the Concerned Muni Drivers, a group backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, offers the dead end of adventurist confrontations with the cops. On Monday a proposal that the fewer than 50 strikers assembled at strike central attempt to shut down AC Transit was defeated by cooler heads who argued that a mass picket line was necessary to carry out such a militant action.

The broad support for an elected strike committee evident at a meeting held today in strike headquarters demonstrates the rank and file's growing consciousness that, unless they take direction of the struggle out of the hands of the treacherous labor fakers, they face imminent defeat. Among those backing such a proposal was Howard Keylor, a longtime waterfront union activist and co-editor of "Longshore Militant," an oppositional newsletter in Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Keylor was roundly cheered when he urged that the ranks elect a picket committee, send a delegation to the Thursday night meeting of Local 10 and issue a call for a mass meeting of all San Francisco labor unions to plan an immediate city-wide general strike. He pointed out that his Local had approved a strike support motion last month, and that the strikers would have the longshoremen's backing in shutting down the waterfront if they threw up lines at the docks.

WV Photo

San Francisco city workers picket City Hall last Wednesday.

An April 5 leaflet issued by Keylor and other supporters of the "Longshore Militant" and the Local 6 "Warehouse Militant" pointed the way forward for the embattled city workers through a revival of the kind of active labor solidarity that turned the 1934 San Francisco general strike into an historic victory for the American working class:

> "With the warehouse contract coming up June 1, and a major Pay Guarantee Plan crisis facing longshoremen July 1, the time is ripe for the ILWU to call for a general strike. Such a call would find an immediate response from militant Muni drivers who once again to a man have honored the craft workers' picket lines and whose own contract expires July 1.
>
> "An ILWU-initiated general strike could not only assure an end to all cuts in city services and victory for the city workers; it could win 100% COLA, high wages, and a shorter work week at no loss in pay for the entire area labor movement. It would turn the tide against the bosses' offensive and keep San Francisco a strong union town."

Unionists backing the craftsmen's struggle had their first taste of arrests and police attacks at an April 14 strike support rally in front of City Hall. Although initial news reports described the rally as sponsored by the TWU and the Service Employees International Union, official endorsements were disavowed after several hundred militant workers took steps to "educate" scabs intent on crossing the lines.

Shattering the myth of cops as "fellow

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International Campaign Launched to Save Mario Muñoz 3

Muni Drivers Demand General Strike Now!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 17—Nearly 1,000 drivers of the S.F. Municipal Railway (Muni) met today at a special union meeting of Local 250A of the Transportation Workers Union (TWU) at the Marine Cooks and Stewards Hall. After a lengthy floor discussion, the membership voted overwhelmingly to continue respecting picket lines of striking craft workers and to demand that the Central Labor Council (CLC) implement a general strike within 72 hours.

The meeting occurred as the S.F. Board of Supervisors, Mayor Moscone and the Bay Area media intensified a back-to-work campaign pressuring Muni drivers to abandon their shutdown of the city's buses, trolleys and cable cars in support of the tradesmen. Unwilling to make good on their halfhearted call for a general strike, the bureaucrats of the CLC have spent the last week pleading for the intervention of a federal mediator.

The supervisors, knowing that the bureaucrats' sabotage of united strike action has given them a position of strength, have arrogantly demanded the return to work of Muni drivers as a precondition for any federal mediation! As the shutdown of Muni has been the only action to give the strike any social weight, a vote to cross the lines would have been a fatal blow to the craft workers.

The TWU bureaucrats have been carefully probing the militant ranks for signs of anti-strike sentiment in order to start a back-to-work movement. Larry Martin, president of Local 250A, issued a press statement prior to the meeting, announcing that the Local executive board would take a neutral stand on continuing the walkout. Martin lamented to the assembled press: "Our members have been holding out pretty well but their pockets are getting kind of light."

At the meeting, however, Martin briefly presented an executive board recommendation to continue respecting the picket lines. Nonetheless, Martin's subdued tone contrasted starkly with his flamboyant hour-long speech at the last local meeting of April 9. Martin made it clear at today's meeting that if the membership wanted to cross picket lines, he was ready to acquiesce.

During the subsequent floor discussion, the mood of the membership reflected the anger and frustration with Martin and the Central Labor Council's cowardly leadership of the strike. Almost twenty union members spoke, only one of whom advocated a return to work. Speaker after speaker insisted that Muni drivers should not be standing alone in support of the strike, and demanded increased labor solidarity.

Discussion became most heated when a speaker demanded to know whether Martin was being paid during the walkout, and why the International was not providing strike benefits. Martin at first ducked the question by saying that "Well, I didn't receive my check on Friday." But as virtually the entire crowd demanded to know the answer, Martin, to the hoots and jeering of the crowd, said that he was still being paid because he was still at work.

Roosevelt Watts, International secretary-treasurer of the TWU, told the members that no local of the TWU has strike funds and that the International has the responsibility for raising benefits. Asserting that the Muni drivers were only engaged in a walkout and not a strike, Watts claimed—to boisterous heckling—that the International cannot justify raising money from other locals!

Speaking first from the floor, Milton Chee enthusiastically put on the floor the executive board recommendation. Ignoring the genuine dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness of the strike, Chee asserted that the strike was effective, claiming a dip in sales and the projected layoffs of the Emporium, a downtown department store.

In a leaflet distributed before the meeting, Chee and his supporters conspicuously omitted any mention of a general strike or any criticism of the bureaucracy. Instead, the leaflet's sole demand was the call for a strike committee to "extend the impact of the strike" and to "publish a Strike Bulletin for the people of San Francisco to counter the lies and distortions put out by the company-owned news media." To Chee and his supporters, who have the backing of the Socialist Workers Party, the strategy to win the strike is an education campaign about the evils of the Board of Supervisors!

The next speaker proposed to amend the executive board resolution by calling on the TWU to issue a public statement demanding that the Central Labor Council implement its own motion for a general strike within 72 hours. The initiator of the amendment, Curt Schneider, had issued a leaflet calling for the strike to be intensified or called off, and calling on Muni drivers to return to work if the general strike wasn't implemented. Under pressure from the membership, he withdrew the threat to return to work. After initially denouncing the general strike call, Chee found himself isolated and reluctantly accepted the amendment.

This amendment does put more pressure on the CLC. However, it is a double-edged weapon, since it also takes the heat off the TWU bureaucracy. Martin & Co. will clearly use the failure of the CLC to act within 72 hours as a basis for motivating a back-to-work movement.

Supporters of the "Muni Defender," a

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ILWU Local 6 Workers Strike in Berkeley

Victory to the Victor Strike!

BERKELEY—Office workers belonging to Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have gone on strike against a vicious union-busting assault here by Victor California, a manufacturer and retailer of gas welding and cutting equipment. The workers, virtually all women, narrowly voted to join the union last July. Yet nine months later they are still without a contract and the company has made clear its determination to drive the union out.

Four pro-union workers have either been "laid off" or fired, while others have been subjected to continual threats of company discipline. In response to the strike, the company has hired scabs from "temporary" agencies in order to augment the strikebreakers from among those who originally voted against union certification. While most Teamsters are honoring the lines, the company has hired one of the Bay Area's many non-union truckers, Hydro Trucks Inc., to run scab cargo.

The viciousness of the company attack is fueled by the current wave of anti-strike reaction sweeping the Bay Area as a result of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce's massive propaganda barrage against the S.F. city craft workers strike. In this adverse climate, only determined action by the union, bringing its full resources to bear, will be able to win the strike.

Mass picketing to keep the scabs out and to defend the lines is an urgent necessity. Already there has been one incident of violence on the picket lines when a company salesman hauling a trailer deliberately grazed the union's chief steward. On April 19, ILWU members from the union hiring hall came down to picket Victor. With about 65 picketers on the line, 15 Berkeley cops were there to escort the scabs into work. One picket was arrested, although charges were apparently dropped. This incident clearly points out that unless mass picket lines are initiated and militantly defended by ILWU Local 6 against the scabherding, the strike will be smashed.

According to the chief steward, who was interviewed by *WV*, militants in the union are advocating measures to extend the strike. For instance, the "Warehouse Militant" (12 April) calls for picketing the eight other Victor retail outlets in northern California, and for a "major effort...to immediately bring office workers in these other outlets into Local 6." The newsletter also calls for picketing Teamster warehouses which supply gas cylinders to Victor customers.

Previous appeals to the Teamster ranks by the ILWU, such as during last year's KNC Glass strike in Union City, have met with success. "Warehouse Militant" editor Bob Mandel, a member of the Local 6 general executive board, played a key role in the organizing drive at Victor California and in retaliation was "laid off" by Victor from his warehouse job over ten months ago.

BERKELEY, April 20—Cops today again escorted scabs through picket lines at Victor. Angered by this blatant scabherding and the unwillingness of the Local 6 leadership to mobilize enough union members to stop the scabs, two dozen militant pickets marched to the Berkeley City Manager's office where they staged a sit-in. The pickets were informed by the liberal city administration that escorting scabs was their sworn duty!

The Victor strike is an important test case for Local 6, whose master contract (together with that of Teamster warehousemen) expires June 1. The other employers are watching Victor's tactics closely. The company is a subsidiary of Pacific Lumber Company, a notoriously anti-union outfit which runs one of the state's few remaining company towns (Scotia) with an iron fist. Pacific Lumber has also played a major role in the rape of California's redwood forests.

In the Victor strike, Pacific has made no pretense that it cannot afford to grant the strikers' demands. It has made it clear that it aims to keep unionism,

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WV Photo

ILWU Local 6 pickets at Victor California headquarters in Berkeley.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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International Campaign Launched to Save Mario Muñoz

NEW YORK, April 20—As Argentine police with orders to "shoot on sight" continue their pursuit of Chilean revolutionary workers leader Mario Muñoz, an international campaign of pressure and protest to save his life is quickly gathering momentum. Only days after the "Urgent Appeal for Solidarity to Save Mario Muñoz" was published (*WV* No. 105, 16 April), scores of trade unionists, socialist, labor and civil libertarian groups and prominent individuals have rallied to his cause.

In Chicago on Saturday, April 17, more than 125 people picketed the Argentine consulate, demanding asylum and safe conduct out of Argentina for Muñoz and his family. In New York, a united-front demonstration has been called for April 22 by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. This Committee is sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Europe-based Committee for the Defense of Imprisoned Workers and Sailors in Chile, who are jointly conducting the international defense campaign to save Muñoz.

WV Photo

CHICAGO—Chanting "Chilean Workers' Leader Must Not Die!" and "Videla/Pinochet—Hands off Mario Muñoz!" over 100 people picketed the Argentine consulate here April 17. Participating were contingents from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, Trotskyist League of Canada, International Socialists, Revolutionary Socialist League, International Workers Party, the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 and a representative from the Black Students Organizing Committee of the University of Illinois.

At a New York meeting tonight, called by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz to prepare for Thursday's demonstration, John Sharpe spoke for the international Spartacist tendency stressing the urgency of bringing world-wide attention to Muñoz' plight and that of thousands of other Latin American refugees now trapped in Argentina. Until the recent coup which overthrew the Peronist government, Argentina served as a last refuge for tens of thousands of South American trade unionists and left militants forced to flee brutal military dictatorships in their homelands. Now there is nowhere for them to go.

Muñoz, a Chilean miners' leader, fled to Argentina following the bloody coup in 1973 to escape capture and certain death at the hands of Pinochet's butchers. Founder and leader of the Interprovincial Union of Workers and Contract Miners of Aconcagua, Valparaíso and Santiago, he took the lead in forming *cordones industriales* (local councils) of workers and peasants in Aconcagua and Valparaíso to resist the rightist mobilization during the last months of the Allende popular-front government.

Muñoz is now being hunted by the Argentine national police as a living symbol of resistance to junta terror. His family has been brutally beaten by government forces in a vain attempt to force Muñoz' wife to reveal his whereabouts. The interior province of San Juan has been sealed off and interprovincial transport is being stopped and searched to track him down.

Generals Unleash Repression

The ruling Argentine military junta of General Jorge Videla is well aware that the mass murders, torture and atrocities in Chile continue to provoke world-wide outrage and have even forced several West European governments to refuse to renegotiate Pinochet's foreign debt. Anxious to avoid this image for themselves, the generals in Buenos Aires are demagogically posing as democrats. Mouthing words like "moderation" and "legality," they are at the same time assembling the apparatus to ruthlessly stamp out the slightest expression of independence by the workers.

Long before the March coup, the Argentine armed forces acted as a law unto themselves; in recent months tens of thousands of leftist and labor militants were detained on political charges. Several thousand were cut down in cold blood by the infamous Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), a cover for the secret police working together with a wing of the Peronist movement.

Though the apologists for the Argentine junta hypocritically deny it, this massive rightist repression has intensified. Detention centers are being set up around the country. The 4 April *New York Times* reported that the bullet-ridden bodies of 15 people were found in ditches and empty lots around the capital, the victims of right-wing death squads. According to *Le Monde* of 15 April, following the coup each of the three military services launched its own dragnet.

"The navy," reported *Le Monde*, "which has no need of lessons from anyone as far as witchhunts are concerned, no doubt led the army further than its commander would have liked. The latter was hard put to restrain his 'hawk' generals, Ramón Diaz Bessone and Luciano Menendez, who often do what they please as heads of the second and third military region (Córdoba and Santa Fe). Three weeks after the coup d'état...the general staffs even fight over certain prisoners such as Lorenzo Miguel, leader of the Metal Workers, one of the '62 Peronist organizations,' whom the navy 'stole' from the army."

Chileans in Exile

Among the first targets of the junta's repression are the worker and peasant refugees who earlier fled from the barbarous repression in Chile. Unlike deposed Latin American presidents who fly off to retreats on Spain's Costa Brava, the more than 100,000 Chileans in exile live a life of abject misery. Since Pinochet seized power on 11 September 1973, it is estimated that over 30,000 militants have been murdered by the junta. More than 2 percent of the country's entire adult population has passed through the torture centers and concentration camps that dot the countryside and cities of Chile, from the northern deserts to antarctic islands.

Even now, more than two years after the Allende regime was smashed, junta troops regularly sweep through the shanty towns of Santiago and Valparaíso, rounding up thousands of people at random and forcing them to stand for hours in the broiling sun while leftists and militant unionists are ferreted out for "questioning." Despite UN condemnation, the torture continues unabated. Accounts of how courageous residents of the slum communities protected their leaders from this witchhunt recall the heroic actions of those who hid Jews from the Nazi butchers in Axis-occupied Europe.

For those who escaped the grasp of Pinochet's secret police, only a few thousand could find refuge in the embassies. "People's China" immediately slammed shut the gates of its legation, and within a matter of weeks recognized the junta regime. The United States, which found room for thousands of landlords and pimps fleeing from the victorious North Vietnamese army, has to date accepted exactly 19 (!) Chilean refugees!

Some made their way to Mexico, Canada and Europe, where they now subsist on meagre government handouts and church aid. But the vast majority of those who reached the borders alive made the trek across the Andes mountains on foot. They kept to the high passes in order to avoid guards on the Chilean side who would arrest or shoot them on the spot, and guards on the Argentine side who would send them back to certain death or torture. Some died on the way from starvation and exposure; the survivors now live in the Argentine border provinces—most without work, all of them in fear of bloody repression by the new junta.

Many are housed in pitiful UN refugee camps which recall the post-World War II "displaced persons" camps, except that the material conditions here are far worse. Others migrated to the slums of Buenos Aires where they joined more than 500,000 Paraguayans escaping the horrors of the regime of Nazi-lover General Stroessner; the tens of thousands of Uruguayan leftists and unionists forced to flee "state of siege" conditions imposed by the thinly disguised military dictatorship of Bordaberry, and the numerous Brazilians escaping the feared *esquadras de morte* (death squads).

These are the flower of the Latin American proletariat, the nameless victims of the AAA and the Argentine generals. These are the masses Mario Muñoz sought to inspire and defend in their difficult years of exile. These are the militants he sought to infuse with a will not only to survive, but to struggle again, to sweep away the torturers and hangmen of the Pinochet dictatorship with a powerful workers movement.

These are the "crimes" of which Mario Muñoz is accused. Because he has become a symbol of the will to struggle of the persecuted Chilean worker and peasant refugees, he is now being hunted down by troops carrying machine guns and orders to shoot to kill. It is not only to save Mario Muñoz and his family that all socialists and militant trade unionists must take up his cause. It is the lives of tens of thousands of Argentine, Chilean, Uruguayan, Brazilian and other Latin American militants that are at stake!

Committee Plans Action

Today the Argentine generals pretend to be democrats; tomorrow they will try to assassinate thousands in their anti-communist crusade. Their victims are the potential leaders of socialist revolution in Latin America, whose fate is infinitely precious to socialists the world over.

This is the importance of the call by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, to "Free all victims of right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina," stressed Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Reuben Shiffman at the April 20 New York Committee meeting. Shiffman noted that a defense must be built not only for working-class leaders

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Mao Denounces Monster Peking Rally as "Counterrevolutionary"

Bureaucratic Brawl Convulses China

Gamma

Wreaths commemorating Chou En-lai at massive Peking demonstration condemned by Mao as "counterrevolutionary."

On April 5, a throng of 100,000 poured into Peking's vast Tien An Men Square singing the *Internationale*. They proceeded to storm the steps of the Great Hall of the People, turn over and burn three vehicles, and assault security forces in the area, all in the name of recently deceased Chou En-lai. It was the most turbulent demonstration in China since the days of the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

This mammoth outpouring marked a dramatic turn in the intra-bureaucratic power struggle unleashed by the death of Premier Chou, when his heir apparent, Teng Hsiao-ping, was suddenly eclipsed by the obscure Hua Kuo-feng. Until now the so-called "anti-rightist" campaign directed against Teng has been a one-sided tirade orchestrated from the Olympian summits of the Forbidden City. But during the day-long "fight-back" organized by Teng supporters, the crowd went so far as to ransack an office of the Ministry of Public Security. (Hua, then acting premier, is also minister of public security.)

According to all accounts, the riot was provoked by the mysterious removal of wreaths which had been placed in Tien An Men Square the day before to commemorate the late premier. Some of the wreaths reportedly carried tributes linking Chou with Teng. According to a 6 April UPI dispatch, during the stormy demonstration the following day the eulogy for Chou that Teng had delivered at a memorial service in January was read aloud.

The official response to the rioting was swift. As the protest raged, the chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee addressed the crowd over the loudspeakers ringing the square, appealing for calm and denouncing the "destructive activities" masterminded by unnamed "capitalist roaders." Two days later the Central Committee of the Communist Party, allegedly acting "on the proposal of our great leader, Chairman Mao," issued a statement condemning the riot and placing responsibility for the "counterrevolutionary incident" on Teng Hsiao-ping, who was thereupon purged from all party and state posts. However, surprisingly, the Hsinhua news agency account admitted that the crowd numbered "about 100,000." After denouncing the "handful of bad elements," it described a "majority" (not more?) as passers-by (*New York Times*, 8 April).

Following the unheard-of admission that "hooligans" could entice tens of thousands of demonstrators into a "counterrevolutionary incident," anti-Teng forces mustered counterdemonstrations in Tien An Men Square and throughout the city. These obviously stage-managed mobilizations were supposed to drum up—literally, with drums and gongs—support for the purge of Teng and the formal inauguration of Hua Kuo-feng as premier and first vice chairman of the party. Press accounts referred to the demonstrators in the square as "frequently sleepy looking" and consisting "largely of schoolchildren, who obediently repeated the chants raised by their monitors."

Through a Looking-Glass Darkly

Even though the "anti-rightist" campaign has now led to mass rioting and the purge of Teng, the titanic power struggle raging within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy remains just as subterranean, Byzantine and elaborately obscured as before. Even the basic issues involved remain a matter of often bizarre speculation.

The most well-informed "China watchers," including those stationed in Peking, have turned to cryptology in attempting to decipher the present factional feuding. Two republished poems by Mao have been analyzed over and over, as have his every trite homily and enigmatic historical allusion. Each rumored snub exchanged by Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, and Teng, not to mention whispers about a spat between Chiang and her husband, has been wildly inflated.

The last two weeks' events have provided Pekingologists with abundant grist for their almost depleted mills. The fact that Teng was not expelled from the party, and that the Central Committee declaration failed to brand him a "capitalist roader" or liken him to Khrushchev as usual has been the subject of endless speculation.

Most burlesque, however, was the exegesis applied to the epigram attributed to Mao as the watchword of the entire "anti-rightist" campaign: "It is contrary to the will of the people to reverse previous verdicts." This consummately ambiguous verdict could be equally directed against Teng, accused of reversing the policies of the Cultural Revolution; against Chou, who reversed the purge of Teng and rehabilitated him; or against Mao himself, whose personal authorization of the Teng purge on April 7 reversed Chou's verdict promoting him.

The fact is that to the question of what is happening in China today, applied to the specifics of the immediate factional/clique struggle the most honest answer must be: "Who knows?"

Stalinism and Enforced Ignorance

The lack of information is itself a key component of the Peking regime. Throughout two decades of shifting bureaucratic in-fighting, rigid secrecy about disputes among party leaders and a steady diet of political primitivism fed to the masses have been a constant in "People's China." Even in small empirical doses, the truth about political and economic life is a dangerous item to the brittle Stalinist caste, which can maintain its parasitic rule atop the proletarian property forms only by depriving the working masses of any possibility of autonomous political action.

Mao's sycophants in the West claim that the so-called "two-line struggle" now raging in China is a "mass debate." But what are the issues in this debate? Nobody outside the Forbidden City knows. And who are the protagonists? The Chinese masses have not been informed. Where are the soviets, through which the masses can democratically resolve political disputes and then implement their decision? The Chinese masses have only the "power" to fill Tien An Men in carefully orchestrated performances controlled by the leading clique or intended to obliquely shift the balance of bureaucratic power in favor of another clique.

The official "history" of the "two-line struggle" is presented as a medieval morality play in order to hide its real content and thereby prevent the masses from mobilizing to defend their interests. Yesterday's "closest comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao Tse-tung" suddenly becomes a renegade whose "revisionist ideas" would mean the destruction of "socialism" and restoration of capitalist rule.

Look at Teng: for years promoted as a selfless proletarian leader; then "unmasked" by Mao during the Cultural Revolution as the "Number Two man in the party following the capitalist road" and purged; then brought back into power along with legions of other "repentant" bureaucrats. "But," the Chinese press announced after the

second purge of Teng, "once he returned to work his old sickness re-occurred." Only the Thought of Man can exorcise the "devil" of revisionism it seems, and once again Teng Hsiao-ping joins the political ghosts Kao Kang, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen, Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta.

Let One Flower Bloom

Thus the latest demise of Teng is part of a continuing bureaucratic reshuffling, the seemingly continuous revolving door in the Forbidden Palace. In the long run, the answer to the question of what is happening in China is, "Stalinist business as usual." From 1949 on political power has been monopolized by a privileged bureaucratic stratum ruling over the masses. But lacking any working-class tradition and based on a much more backward economy than the Russian degenerated workers state, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is acutely sensitive to its inability to congeal a stable regime and the extreme brittleness of its stranglehold over the proletariat.

The current "anti-rightist campaign" and the earlier "Cultural Revolution" have become a pattern of periodic purgatives to dissipate pressure from the masses and smoke out potential oppositionists. Though cloaked with phony "anti-bureaucratic" rhetoric, Stalinist rule has not been challenged. All wings of the bureaucracy vividly recall the whirlwind of criticism reaped by their first exercise in "mass debate," the "Hundred Flowers" campaign in 1956, and the chaos at the high point of the

Hua Kuo-feng Sygma

Chiang Ch'ing Globe and Mail [Toronto]

"Cultural Revolution" before Mao abruptly called it off. This time, Peking Radio was quick to counsel against the formation of "struggle groups" and to urge instead a campaign of "study." The *Economist* (10 April) accurately caught the flavor of Maoist "democracy" with its headline summarizing the anti-Teng campaign, "Let one flower bloom."

Certainly there are sharp antagonisms and differences between various forces contending in China today. But the power struggle has nothing to do with "radical" as opposed to "moderate" policies. Instead, it is more likely that the "rehabilitated" bureaucrats, who like Teng were purged during the late 1960's, fear they will again become targets of the leading clique now that their patron, the ever-flexible Chou, is gone.

While their physiognomy remains veiled at present, the factional array and rhetoric recall the divisions of the "Cultural Revolution." At that time the "radical" Mao faction succeeded in coming out on top of the "moderates," yet the outcome was unrelieved bureaucratic domination domestically and an alliance with U.S. imperialism internationally. The triumph of "radical" Maoism meant sending tens of thousands of dissident youth to the peasant hinterlands for "re-education," Chinese troops smashing strikes in Kwangtung last year and Chinese military advisors training CIA-led forces in Angola.

Rather than lining up behind one or the other bureaucratic clique, the task of Marxists in China is to prepare the political revolution which will elevate the working class to direct political rule through the creation of soviets and under the leadership of a Trotskyist party. While ousting the anti-proletarian usurpers, the working class must defend tooth and nail the historic conquests represented by the collectivized property relations established as a result of the 1949 Chinese revolution that smashed the capitalist state.

Two-Line "Trotskyists"

In contrast, the fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) promotes illusions in the so-called "radical" Mao wing of the Chinese bureaucracy, just as these opportunists during the "Cultural Revolution" gave the Maoist Red Guards their "critical support"—bellowing their support and whispering the criticism. In a recent article (*Inprecor*, 18 March), the USec attempts to demonstrate that the Mao loyalists, while unfortunately not yet the "genuinely anti-bureaucratic forces active in 1966-68," nevertheless have fought for "radical slogans" and attacked "bureaucratic privileges." These opportunists take as good coin the Mao clique's slogans, and only a residue of Trotskyist plumage (quite sparse by now) prevents Livio Maitan and his acolytes from characterizing Mao's bureaucratic opponents as "freaks," "running dogs" and "Confucius mongers."

Nevertheless, without evidencing the slightest embarrassment, the USec article observes that the "radical" faction is "often rightist on foreign affairs." In the next breath it adds that despite "classical Maoist themes of equality and participation," the Great Helmsman is running a campaign with a "marked totalitarian bias," thus placing him "clearly to the right of his opponents, who despite their hostility to proletarian democracy favor a certain measure of liberalization...."

The "two-line" contradiction characterizes not the murky bureaucratic power struggle in China but the opportunist apologetics of these pseudo-Trotskyists. Here the "radicals" are radical, there they are conservative: here the Maoists are egalitarian and participatory, there they are totalitarian. Obviously tailing the popularity of Mao in the "broad vanguard" of leftist youth, the USec fails to draw the obvious conclusion that the entire bureaucracy in China must be toppled by a proletarian political revolution to establish soviet democracy.

It is true that during the misnamed "Cultural Revolution," the social turmoil set in motion by bureaucratic manipulation from above at times assumed considerable sweep and threatened to break into independent action. But at that time some of the most subjectively revolutionary Red Guards were among those who battled with the workers in Shanghai and other industrial centers where the proletariat was mobilized by Teng & Co. to defend its legitimate interests from Mao's attempts to drive the workers' living standards down to peasant levels.

Without the intervention of a conscious Trotskyist leadership, even the most subjectively anti-bureaucratic forces cannot develop into a party capable of rallying the working masses to storm the strongholds of the bureaucratic parasites who rule from the Forbidden City. ■

Local 600 Demo: UAW Tops' Protectionism Attacks All Workers

Strike Rouge to Save the Engine Plant!

DETROIT—The demonstration called for April 13 by leaders of River Rouge Local 600 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) to protest the impending shutdown of the engine plant was at best an uninspiring dud. Held in front of Ford World Headquarters in Dearborn, Michigan, over a mid-day span of four hours (to attract both first and second shift workers), the rally attracted at most 300 participants out of the 30,000 employed in the giant Rouge complex.

It was held only one day after auto baron Henry Ford turned down a request by a dozen Congressmen to reconsider the shutdown. Despite this haughty rebuff, the UAW conducted the demonstration in a hat-in-hand, bended-knee fashion. A week previously Local 600 bureaucrats had begun distributing buttons pleading, "Henry have a heart."

The officially endorsed slogans were in the same pathetic spirit. They included, "A factory without work is like a graveyard," "Loyal workers demand Ford Motor Co. loyalty" and "America is beautiful while people are working." The labor fakers also attempted to divert angry workers from attacking the real enemy into backstabbing against foreign workers. Placards with protectionist shibboleths such as "United we stand. Divided they send our jobs to Europe" were prominently displayed. Even other UAW members were under attack from Local 600 signs demanding "Ford work for Ford workers."

Disgusted with the tepid spirit of the demonstration, a group of protesters broke away from the official assembly point—on an immense lawn several hundred yards from the building—and rallied directly in front of Ford headquarters. The breakaway was eventually joined by a large majority of the workers present, and the action thereafter picked up somewhat in militancy.

With the failure of the Congressional appeal, the UAW tops' strategy is now to direct the whole issue into contract negotiations in the fall. "If Ford closes the engine plant, they'll pay in September," the bureaucrats bluster. This is nothing but a trap to disarm Rouge workers! The engine plant closure (costing anywhere from 1,500 to 5,000 jobs) is set for July. If nothing is done by then and the layoffs are allowed to go through, then nothing will be done later.

The rally was supported by a number of opposition groups in the UAW, but most lacked a clear program for a militant struggle to save the engine plant. "Ford Tribune," published by the Communist Labor Party, correctly denounced the protectionism of the UAW bureaucrats, yet failed to call for strike action against the layoffs. "Time to Unite," a newsletter and grouping supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, called for a strike of all Rouge workers, but limits its efforts to pressuring the Local 600 bureaucrats into leading such an action.

In contrast, a leaflet signed by Rouge workers Jerry Harris, Keith Dodds and Matt Prince pointed out:

> "We need a strike to prevent the layoffs from even occurring! And to insure the success of this strike, its leadership must not be left simply in the hands of those officials who have sold out before. A Rouge-wide Strike Committee, composed of trusted militants, must be elected to carry out this offensive."

The strategy put forward by these militants—of consistent struggle against the class collaborationism of the UAW misleaders—is the only way to defend Rouge workers from the company's attack.

—No layoffs—No plant closure!
—For a Rouge-wide strike to prevent the loss of a single job!
—For an elected strike committee!

WV Photo

Demonstration April 13 at Ford headquarters against threatened layoffs at River Rouge complex.

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The National Question in Yugoslavia

Yugoslav partisans during World War II. US Army

In 1944-45 the Yugoslav Stalinists swept into power in the wake of defeated and retreating Italian and German occupation troops. This victory came to the largely peasant-based guerrilla armies led by Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) leader Josip Broz Tito only after a prolonged, bitter and difficult struggle against not only the Axis occupiers, but also against native fascist collaborators and the anti-Communist Serbian nationalist-monarchist Chetniks, arm of the exiled pre-war Yugoslav government of King Peter.

Part 1 of 2

Crucial to the CPY's success in this struggle was its ability to forge a Yugoslavia-wide resistance movement. This was no easy task. In the period between the two imperialist world wars, Yugoslavia had been wracked by bloody national antagonisms among its peoples. Being acutely aware of this, the German and Italian occupiers had purposely dismembered the Yugoslav state and done everything in their power to fan national hatreds and encourage communal strife.

Overcoming these obstacles by advocating a policy of equality among nations and by smashing the old state apparatus (such as it was) in the territories it liberated, the CPY was able to lead the peasant masses of the various nationalities in a victorious guerrilla war against the Axis occupiers. The common endeavor of driving out the fascists and the experience of reconstructing the economy on a collectivist basis went a long way toward defusing the murderous nationalism which had plagued bourgeois Yugoslavia. The Tito regime quite justly points with pride to its success in putting an end to the internecine national conflicts which plagued Yugoslavia in the inter-war period.

Yet while the smashing of capitalist property relations and the destruction of the bourgeois state were necessary preconditions for the solution of the national question, enabling the victorious Stalinists to make great strides in that direction, these steps are not enough. The deformed workers state which issued out of the 1944-45 victory of the peasant-based guerrilla forces has been unable, despite its proclaimed intentions, to achieve a lasting solution to the national question in Yugoslavia: the conditions of bureaucratic rule constantly regenerate nationalist-inspired conflict, and thereby nurture dangerous capitalist-restorationist forces.

Origins of Yugoslavia

In the 19th-century, a pan-national movement to unite the South Slavs in an Illyrian (Yugoslav) state arose. Many drew inspiration from the revolutionary-democrat, Svetozar Marković, who held that the Serbs could not be liberated unless the neighboring peoples threw off the Hapsburg and Ottoman yoke and united in a federal framework. In Croatia and Dalmatia the National parties brought together Serbs and Croats around an Illyrian program.

While the three major nations (Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia) were all South Slav, there were enormous cultural and regional differences dividing them. Both the Croats and Slovenes had lived for centuries under Austrian and Hungarian rule, were Catholic in religion, used the Latin alphabet, and consequently were "Western" in outlook. The more numerous Serbs, meanwhile, who had been closely tied to Byzantium, remained under Ottoman occupation for five centuries and were less economically advanced than their neighbors to the west and north. The Serb religion was Eastern Orthodox, their alphabet Cyrillic. While a major achievement of the Illyrian movement was the creation of a common language from major Serbian and Croatian dialects in the 19th century, this was not enough to erase centuries of otherwise radically different cultural traditions.

Regional differences were also pronounced. The Croat inhabitants of the Dalmatian coast were a seafaring commercial people, heavily influenced by Italian culture. The Croats of the interior were largely peasants, beholden to the German and Hungarian nobility. Montenegro, whose people are ethnically very close to the Serbs, was populated by fiercely independent highland clans who successfully resisted Turkish occupation and had their own patriarchal/theocratic government. In the province of Bosnia-Hercegovina large numbers of Slavs had converted to Islam during the Ottoman rule and identified closely with the Turks.

The diversity of the South Slav peoples did not preclude a unification in this period of capitalist expansion; such a process occurred in the economically more advanced but equally heterogeneous Germanic regions. However, the confluence of imperial interests in the Danubian region—where Russian, Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires abutted, with both German and British interests at work—dictated that this should not occur. Moreover, when a Yugoslav state was finally born it immediately exploded in bitter national conflicts among its component parts.

The state of Yugoslavia was created by the events of the first imperialist world war. It was the product of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, where the victorious Allies carved up the booty won from defeated imperial Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire. Bent upon using the shattered fragments of the Hapsburgs' realm to create a belt of client states as a noose around a resurgent Germany and a *cordon sanitaire* to seal off the victorious October Revolution, the Allied imperialists with France in the lead decreed the formation of a set of new East European states including Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

A constitutional monarchy with a Serbian king, Yugoslavia brought together Serbia (the biggest component of the new state, which during the latter half of the 19th century had gained its independence from the Ottomans and been recognized as a sovereign state at the Congress of Berlin in 1878) with Montenegro (a tiny kingdom whose people are very closely related to the Serbs) and the South Slav lands from the Hapsburg empire: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina. When the borders of the new kingdom were finally drawn they contained no less than 15 different nationalities or ethnic groups, including (in addition to those already mentioned) large numbers of Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Turks and Rumanians.

There were several reasons why national liberty, equality and fraternity could not be realized within a bourgeois Yugoslavia. Most fundamentally, in the period of imperialist decay, with the productive forces declining, the Serb, Croat and Slovene bourgeoisies found their interests counterposed rather than compatible in the cause of building a greater nation. Like Europe as a whole, the South Slav nations could not unite except under proletarian rule (or through imperialist conquest).

But there were other factors as well. In addition to the core areas of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, the lands which became Yugoslavia contained numerous regions in which various peoples were heavily interpenetrated. Thus in the post-war carve-up of Austro-Hungary, Slovenia acquired areas with a sizable Germany minority. The Vojvodina (formerly attached to Hungary) was a district of intermingled Hungarian, Croat, Serb and ethnic German population; a large Serbian minority is settled in southern Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina has a checkerboard distribution of Croats, Serbs and Muslim Slavs.

In addition, Italy was awarded Trieste, Istria, the Dalmatian capital of Zadar and the "free state" of Rijeka—territories which contained several hundred thousand Slovenes and Croats—while many Macedonian districts were left in Greece and Bulgaria. The basis was thus established for bitter irredentist movements among the South Slavs in Yugoslavia and their neighbors, justified by arguments of ethnic composition and/or previous possession of the disputed territories. With such a conglomeration of nations compressed in a restricted area, the interpenetration of peoples frequent in border regions becomes far more than an incidental factor. In this case, a democratic solution to the national question would be found only in the context of proletarian, collectivist property relations which provide the basis for a federative solution free from national oppression.

Birth of the Yugoslav Communist Party

The hastily constructed "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the Union of South Slavs," was a tinderbox of social and national discontent. While the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian politicians were haggling over what form a bourgeois Yugoslavia should take, sharp struggles rocked the country. By the end of the war the Croatian peasantry was settling accounts with the Austrian and Magyar (Hungarian) aristocracy. A wave of mass desertions devastated the crumbling Hapsburg armies.

Meanwhile, in the cities unemployment was great. Those few who could find work received starvation wages. In July 1919, in response to revolutionary events in Bavaria and Hungary, a general strike swept the country and army units, many containing ex-prisoners of war from Russia, mutinied. King Alexander was thus prevented from sending troops to suppress the proletarian revolution in Hungary. In these circumstances the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was born shortly after the declaration of the new kingdom. It regrouped the Serbian social democracy in toto and large chunks of the Croatian and Slovenian Social Democratic parties.

The young party played an important role in the upheavals of 1919, but over the next year permitted an acutely pre-revolutionary situation to slip away

through passivity. Support for the CPY nevertheless remained widespread. In November 1920 the party came in third in voting for a constituent assembly, winning 59 seats. In the elections it was the only Yugoslavia-wide party.

While the party had gone on record as favoring the creation of a Yugoslav state as a progressive step, affording an opportunity for the South Slav proletariat to wage a united struggle against the bourgeoisies of the region, it paid almost no attention to the national question in the first years of its existence. The CPY leadership viewed national issues as purely bourgeois disputes which distracted the proletariat from the business at hand, the class struggle.

Early in 1923 the Communist International prodded the (by now illegal) CPY toward stressing the Leninist policy of recognizing the right to self-determination for the constituent nations of Yugoslavia. But by the Fifth World Congress the Comintern had gone a step further, and was urging the dissolution of the Yugoslav state. The motivation for this line was Stalin-Zinoviev's flirtation with the radical Croatian Republican Peasant Party (CRPP) of Stjepan Radić, which in 1924 stood for an independent Croatia. Radić, whose party had the following of the overwhelming majority of the Croatian peasantry, was assiduously courted by the Krestintern, the dubious "Peasant International."

John Phillips/Life

Draža Mikhailovich was tried in 1946.

During the Fifth World Congress, which put out a call for a Balkan federation of worker/peasant republics, Radić journeyed to Moscow to join the Krestintern. When he arrived, he told his hosts: "The Croats are not part of the Balkans either geographically, politically or culturally" (Fred Singleton, *Twentieth Century Yugoslavia*, 1976). But the epigones of Lenin were prepared to go to considerable lengths to recruit the leader of the most influential peasant party in Europe.

> "Radić submitted his application to the Krestintern with the following qualification: that 'the CRPP will continue to pursue its own program using its own tactics, more or less'; that the alliance of workers and peasants in Croatia be achieved by everyone simply joining the CRPP, and that there be no representative for Yugoslavia in the Krestintern, since his party did not recognize such a national unit. The Krestintern justified accepting these extraordinary conditions by explaining that the state sought by the CRPP was 'nearest of all democratic republics to our type of workers' and peasants' republic'"
>
> Helmut Gruber, *Soviet Russia Masters the Comintern*, 1974

Upon returning to Yugoslavia Radić found that all Krestintern membership won him was a jail sentence. Following the success of his party at the polls in 1925, he broke with the Krestintern and accommodated himself to a seat in the Belgrade parliament. In 1928 Radić was gunned down in parliament by a Montenegrin deputy associated with King Alexander. Alexander shortly afterwards proclaimed his dictatorship. Six years later the king, in turn, was gunned down by right-wing Croats (the Ustashi) and Macedonian nationalists on a state visit to Marseilles.

While the Krestintern sank into oblivion following Radić's departure, the CPY line calling for dissolution of the Yugoslav state remained with the party throughout the "Third Period." The slogan was not dropped until the Comintern switched to the strategy of the popular front against fascism, at which point CPY members suddenly became Yugoslav patriots. Yugoslavia, after all, was part of "democratic" France's Little Entente.

Tito and the Popular Front

From the late 1920's on, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was an obedient servant of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Like many of its sister parties in Central and East Europe, it saw large numbers of its cadre fall victims to Stalin's purges. At one point (in 1938), the Stalinized Comintern considered dissolving the CPY, as it did the Polish CP, branding it a "nest of imperialist spies."

Josip Broz Tito was to assume leadership of the CPY in late 1937 when he was appointed caretaker general secretary of a central committee completely vacated by Stalin's latest purge. Tito inherited the post partly by default (there were few potential rivals left free or alive), but chiefly because of his loyalty to Stalin (he was a protegé of Dimitrov) and his reputation as an extremely capable party organizer and underground worker unlikely to make political trouble.

The CPY center was transferred at this time from Paris back to Yugoslavia despite conditions of illegality, and Tito began assembling a new leadership and reorganizing the party. Heavy use was made of returning veterans of the Spanish Civil War (save those Tito purged at Moscow's behest because of alleged Trotskyism). The party youth organization was refurbished and was to be the source of many of Tito's cadre. New circles of workers were recruited and attempts were made to extend the party's influence among the peasantry, but with little success up to the war.

The CPY's policies were above all those of the popular front. But it had an abiding problem.

> "We did not found a Popular Front on the French model, because developments in our country followed a different pattern. We proposed to some parties that we should found a Popular Front... but some of the bourgeois parties had become too involved with the great powers.... Consequently, they rejected all suggestion of cooperation, even a Popular Front, fearing it would be dangerous to them."
>
> —Vladimir Dedijer, *Tito*, 1953

The CPY was acutely embarrassed by the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 but dutifully fell into line. Invasion of the USSR by Hitler's armies relieved it of the intense contradictions between popular-frontist impulses and its fealty to the Soviet Union, contradictions that had become trebly acute with the successful German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941. Upon receiving confirmation of the Nazi invasion of the USSR, the CPY immediately launched a call for a general uprising against the Axis occupation. This was to be its first step on the road to victory in 1944-45.

The Partisans and the National Question

During the war the Communist Party had to pay special attention to the national question. While from the outset adopting the position of Yugoslav patriots bent on expelling the invaders and restoring a united country, CPY propaganda took special care to denounce the old Belgrade government and its Serb chauvinism. The CPY demanded recognition of the national rights of all the peoples of Yugoslavia and called for a Balkan federation of all the South Slav peoples including the Bulgarians and Macedonians.

The Yugoslavia of the inter-war period had been a mini-prisonhouse of nations, dominated by a thinly disguised Serb government sitting in Belgrade. The constitution was strongly unitary (it had been passed with the Croat, Slovene and CPY delegates absent from the constituent assembly). Serbs comprised the bulk of the officer corps of the armed forces and a large proportion of the central government administrators. Their chauvinism was often extreme, and many acted as if Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia were merely colonies occupied by the Serbian army. The situation was intensified in 1928 when King Alexander abolished the historic provinces and suppressed all opposition. The stage was set for a spread of national conflagration.

Early in the Axis occupation there were murderous pogroms in which Croats and Muslims especially took revenge against the Serb oppression visited upon them by the Belgrade government during 1918-41, by slaughtering several hundred thousand Serb peasants living in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. At the same time, the Germans encouraged the Serb quisling government of Milan Nedić to launch its own pogroms against non-Serb peoples living in German-occupied Serbia.

John Phillips/Photo Researchers

From left: CPY partisan leaders Vladimir Bakarić, Edvard Kardelj and Marshal Tito in July 1944.

Tito's success in creating an all-Yugoslavia partisan movement is all the more remarkable considering that the uprising against the fascist occupiers began among the peasantry of western Serbia. Consequently, early in the war partisan units were composed chiefly of Serbs, the "oppressor nation," forced to operate in regions of mixed nationality where the anti-Serb pogroms had been particularly intense.

The mobilization of thousands of peasants who only a few weeks or months before had engaged in or been the victims of fratricidal pogroms was not without its difficulties. In Hercegovina, a center of the Ustashi-led massacres, victimized Serbs rose up "with fanatical determination to exact "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." The Serb masses attacked the Muslims—accused of joining the Croatian fascists in carrying out the bloodbaths—with appalling ferocity, also killing Communists who sought to stop the wave of blind revenge and protect endangered villages. Vladimir Dedijer, Tito's biographer, wrote of the early days of the partisan war in Hercegovina:

> "Communist workers from Drvar helped the rebellious peasants dispel this grave psychological trauma, but the greatest achievement along these lines was recorded by the Partisans at Kozara Mountain. On the very first day of the uprising there, 10 percent of the units were Muslims and Croats, their number rising to 35 percent by war's end. The fact that the insurgents did not perpetrate reprisals against the innocent Muslim and Croat population made it easier to persuade the people to join the Partisans."
>
> —V. Dedijer, *History of Yugoslavia*, 1974

In mid-1942, when the partisans were

continued on page 9

WV

Hands Off Union Seniority Rights!

Integrate Chicago Schools!

CHICAGO, April 13—In recent months the Chicago schools have been a battleground for conflicts raging between the city administration, the teachers union, federal and state agencies. School integration, educational programs, budget deficits and teachers' salaries have all been at issue in many-sided disputes reflecting the close association of economic and race questions in the current capitalist depression.

On March 31, the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) rejected a plan for faculty integration submitted by Chicago school superintendent Joseph Hannon, thus threatening the loss of $160 million in federal funds. Then on April 8 the Illinois Board of Education put the city school system on one-year "probation" for Hannon's arrogant refusal to even file a pupil integration plan by the April 1 deadline. After one year, if the situation is not corrected, state funds may also be cut off.

Meanwhile, on March 23 Hannon announced a plan for wiping out the Board of Education's $47 million deficit: reducing expenditures for supplies and services, eliminating spring vacation pay for all school employees and cutting the school year by 11 days. Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) president Robert Healey answered this 8.5 percent wage cut by threatening strike action if the loss of vacation pay were not reversed within a week.

Healey's militant play-acting soon ended, however. In a ten-hour negotiating session April 4, Hannon agreed to restore vacation pay in return for the union's acceptance of an additional five-day cut in the school year. Thus the CTU leadership traded away a week's pay at the end of the year... in order to get a week's pay now! And both the union and the Board, who regularly mouth pieties about "quality education" lopped more than three weeks off instructional time without batting an eyelash.

Shamelessly asserting that, "If a person has absolutely no money, you can't ask him to pay you" (*Chicago Tribune*, 6 April), Healey argued that the teachers should take their money before the Board goes completely "bankrupt." As for the future, he and Hannon are gambling that the Illinois legislature will bail out Chicago's schools by passing a special appropriations bill, and that cutback-happy Governor Walker, now a lame duck, will not veto it.

Forced Teacher Transfers

Several civil rights and black groups denounced the Hannon teacher integration plan as sheer tokenism. Its stated goals were to achieve a maximum 70 percent predominance of either white or non-white teachers at most (not all) of Chicago's 591 schools. This fell far short of HEW guidelines, which demanded faculty racial balance in every school corresponding (within a 5 percent leeway) to the city-wide 55/45 ratio of white to non-white teachers.

The Hannon plan was approved by the CTU house of delegates and then by a three-to-one margin in a referendum of the union membership. Many black and other minority teachers reportedly voted against the plan because of its tokenism, which no doubt induced some of the white teachers (and certainly the CTU leadership) to support it. Others, however, may have voted for it figuring that it was the biggest step toward integration they could get from the Daley machine. A large part of the union membership (10,000 out of 25,000) expressed its frustration by simply not voting.

But the Hannon plan is not only tokenistic; it should have been opposed by militant unionists because it throws teachers' contractually won transfer rights out the window. This opens the way to all sorts of employer victimization and favoritism, endangering the seniority system itself—the only form of union job protection CTU members have at present. Under the plan, transfer rights for certified teachers would be frozen for three years.

The main brunt of the plan, however, was to be borne by the substitute teachers. Up to 1,464 "full-time-basis" (FTB) substitutes—uncertified teachers who are regularly assigned to a particular school—would be transferred involuntarily in order to achieve faculty racial balance. Day-to-day substitutes, in turn, previously upgraded to FTB status after working 20 consecutive days in a given school, were declared ineligible for such promotion if it did not further integration.

A supporter of *Substance*, a newspaper published by a group of Chicago-area radical substitute teachers, told *WV* that the school board has already begun using the last ruling in a broader attack on job rights. By deliberately assigning only white substitutes to majority white schools, and only black substitutes to majority black schools, it foils integration and circumvents the requirement to upgrade steady substitutes to FTB status!

Moreover, the CTU tops' support for the Hannon plan accepts in principle state intervention overturning teachers' transfer rights; Healey & Co. only want to scheme to see if they can give up a little less. A class-struggle leadership, in contrast, would resolutely oppose all interference by the bosses' government in union affairs and defend union gains against attack by the state, whether the courts, HEW or other agencies.

HEW's Teacher Integration Campaign

The Chicago educational system has been notoriously segregated under the despotic reign of Mayor Richard Daley (and long before). Twelve years ago a panel of "notables" indicted the city's "neighborhood schools" policy as principally responsible for maintaining massive segregation. The Hauser Report contained some 13 recommendations, which have never been implemented. Yet 86 percent of all black students in Chicago still attend schools officially classified as segregated, and the patterns of racial separation are even worse in the schools than they are in housing!

More than a century of history has demonstrated conclusively that separate educational facilities for black and white students are inherently unequal; they also reinforce racial antagonisms which serve to divide the working class. The integration of student bodies is a necessary component in achieving equality in education for blacks and other oppressed minorities; it is key to any struggle for better education for all. Given the present population distribution in U.S. cities, a program for integrating the schools must include substantial student busing. Marxists not only support city-wide busing, but we also seek to extend it to the suburbs, thus breaking down class as well as ethnic lines in education.

While battles over busing in Boston and Louisville have grabbed the headlines in recent years, the government has not initiated *any* new actions to secure compliance with federal regulations for student desegregation. Instead it has retreated from this explosive social question to the "safe" issue of teacher integration. Teacher integration alone will not destroy the fundamentally racist and unequal character of the educational system; consequently, racists are much less likely to get stirred up over it.

But the focus on teacher integration has another great advantage for the bourgeoisie: by placing responsibility for racial imbalance on the teachers unions, it can drive a wedge between the labor movement and the increasingly non-white population of the urban centers. This is of crucial importance in the capitalist onslaught against the municipal unions, and is a principal reason why the federal government is pushing teacher integration schemes. Another current example is Los Angeles, where the school board reached agreement with HEW on a "compromise" plan for teacher integration while at the same time passing a motion precluding "compulsory busing of students" in the city's schools.

Communists are revolutionary integrationists. Fighting against teacher segregation is necessary also to combat racial divisions within the union. Teacher militants must put forward a class-struggle program that not only supports busing to achieve student integration (and labor/black defense guards to enforce it against racist attacks), but also indicates that the union would take necessary measures to eliminate racial discrimination in matters within its control. Thus they would demand prompt union action against teachers guilty of racist acts.

Such a program must call for union control of hiring, which would enable the teachers to take steps to rectify faculty segregation without endangering their job rights. This must, of course, be combined with a program demanding adequate funding for all schools, so that assignment to a ghetto school does not mean imprisonment in decaying facilities which make quality education impossible.

But union militants must vigilantly oppose all employer and government attempts to infringe upon union gains! Forced transfers of teachers are an invitation to arbitrary disciplinary action by school officials.

Oust the Bureaucrats—Break With the Democrats!

The response of several liberal black leaders to the controversy over teacher integration has been to write off the union and its membership as enemies of black rights. The *Chicago Defender* (18 February), an establishment black daily, simply dismissed the (45 percent non-white) CTU as "an arrogant, Mississippi-inspired teacher union." The NAACP, for its part, demanded a frontal assault on teachers' job rights by extending government-ordered forced transfers to the entire CTU membership.

"Black capitalist" PUSH operator

continued on page 10

Art Shay/Time

Striking Chicago teachers last fall.

Chicago Tribune

Left, Chicago Teachers Union president Robert Healey; right, Chicago school superintendent Joseph Hannon.

Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 7)

encircled by the German army in the Kozara Mountain liberated zone, it was above all their support for national equality that enabled the predominantly Serb CPY-led forces to successfully carry out a harrowing 300-kilometer march to the largely Croat and Muslim Bosnian March district. Tito admonished the shock troops as they prepared to break out to "carry the flag...of brotherhood and unity of our peoples through new regions of Yugoslavia..." (G. Prunkel and A. Rühle, *Tito*, 1973). This march led to the mobilization of tens of thousands of non-Serb partisans and made it possible for the first time to link up with the resistance units in Slovenia and Dalmatia, thereby giving the struggle a Yugoslavia-wide scope.

The Emergence of a Deformed Workers State

A major role in the fighting was played by special workers battalions. While the peasants often succumbed to lethargy once the Ustashi or occupation troops withdrew, the worker partisans were more disciplined, could be easily moved to new battlefields and were a powerful force in overcoming the narrow ethnic hatreds of the peasantry. Early in the fighting, a workers battalion at Užice, the center of the uprising in western Serbia, held out to the last man against a German surprise attack, enabling the partisan command to escape; and among those who withdrew, the majority were also workers.

Tito concluded from this experience the need for special Proletarian Brigades as mobile shock troops if the partisans were to survive the intensive onslaught by German, Italian, Ustashi, Chetnik and Serbian puppet troops. In the bulletin of the partisan command of February/March 1942, a directive establishing these units included among their aims: "3. The Proletarian Brigades are a guarantee for the successful struggle against the occupiers and their native servants, for the successful struggle against national enslavement and economic oppression."

As could be expected, Stalin reacted violently against the formation of the Proletarian Brigades. He complained in a peremptory telegram to Tito that this move gave credence to the Allied imperialists' claim that the partisan movement was "taking the road of sovietizing Yugoslavia." Instead, thundered the Great Organizer of Defeats, the present task was to "unite all anti-Hitler forces."

Throughout the war, Tito gave ample evidence of his willingness to limit the struggle to the bounds of capitalism. He tried to form a united command with the Chetniks—even offering the supreme command to Chetnik leader Draža Mihailović. When people's liberation committees were set up in Montenegro following early success against Italian occupation troops, these "soviets" were dissolved on orders from the CPY leadership. In response to pressure from Churchill and Stalin, as late as 1944 he agreed to add representatives of the exile Yugoslav monarchist government to the provisional government proclaimed in the liberated areas.

But in November 1941, in the middle of a large-scale German offensive, the Chetniks attacked partisan headquarters; later the royalists openly collaborated with the Italian army. Simply in order to survive, it was necessary for Tito to destroy the Chetniks. (This did not, however, stop Radio Moscow from proclaiming Mihailović leader of the Yugoslav resistance, nor the U.S. Communist Party from raising funds for the monarchists, which it presented to King Peter during his trip to America!) For the same reason, Tito had to maintain the Proletarian Brigades or perish.

The CPY found itself compelled to boot out the local representatives of the old state apparatus in liberated areas because of their ties to Mihailović or to the various quisling occupation regimes. In its place the Communist-dominated Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) was created. While Stalin was warning, "Do not raise, at this stage, the question of abolishing the monarchy; do not proclaim a republic," Tito wrote in September 1942 that people's liberation committees should no longer be considered provisional, but rather as "organs of power and as the nucleus and basis of the future people's power" (quoted in *Tito*).

By 1945, AVNOJ had decreed the nationalization of all property confiscated in the course of the war, all enemy property, all the property of collaborators, war profiteers and "absent persons." Together this included over 80 percent of all Yugoslav industry. The new regime constituted the de facto government throughout the country and commanded an army of over 300,000 men and women. Except for a token handful of bourgeois politicians who served for a few months as window dressing for the federative republic of Yugoslavia, the country's pre-war rulers remained in London. The local bourgeoisie, which had almost universally collaborated with the hated occupiers, had fled. Real power was in the hands of the Communist Party, and Tito had emerged from the war with his own deformed workers state.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Muni...

(continued from page 2)

newsletter put out by the Communist Labor Party, suggested that the Muni workers close down other local transportation service by picketing BART, AC Transit and the Southern Pacific Railway. Martin ruled these proposals out of order on the grounds that the recent court injunction prevented such picketing. This is the most incredible servile legalism! The picket lines which Muni workers are presently respecting are also "illegal," as would be the general strike Martin says he supports! However, the "Muni Defender" group did not protest this bureaucratic outrage and simply sat down.

Other rank-and-file opposition groups were critical of the do-nothing attitude of the TWU bureaucrats but were equally unable to counterpose an effective class-struggle strategy. Concerned Muni Drivers (CMD), which is supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, called vaguely for Muni drivers to take the strike into their own hands. However, a CMD leaflet distributed to the meeting advised that "in the meantime all drivers should know we are entitled to special unemployment assistance and food stamps." This petty social workerism only underlines the willingness of CMD to capitulate to the TWU bureaucracy.

Supporters of the Progressive Labor Party condemned Martin and the CLC brass for stalling around, but could only suggest that Muni workers volunteer for picket duty and circulated an "unofficial strike committee" sign up sheet. Isolated actions by a handful of workers attempting to substitute themselves for the membership are no solution.

Rather than capitulating to Martin's legalism and simply continuing to passively respect picket lines, union militants must demand that the TWU officially enter the strike. The presence of the 2,000-member TWU on the picket lines, presently maintained by a force of 1,900 craft workers, would have an important impact on the strike. Putting the TWU on the lines could force the CLC to implement the general strike call within 72 hours. TWU militants should also demand that the slogans of a general strike include no pay cuts, victory to the craft workers strike, abolish Proposition B; reopen all city workers' contracts: for a big pay boost with full cost-of-living protection and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; and for the right to strike, abolish all the anti-labor charter amendments.

Muni drivers have been the backbone of the present strike; without their support, it almost certainly would have collapsed by now. The San Francisco strike continues to hang in the balance. A decisive demonstration of militancy by the Muni workers could turn the tide. ■

Victor Strike...

(continued from page 2)

which found its way into Victor warehouses several years ago, out of the offices.

The attack on Victor California workers is part of an employer offensive probing the union's defenses on a series of key issues. In recent months, Local 6 members and even entire house steward committees have been fired for resisting open attacks on the seniority system and attempts to impose production quotas and mandatory overtime.

The ILWU leadership, tied by a thousand threads to the Democratic Party machine and committed to a program of conciliating the bosses, has done virtually nothing to defend the union from these attacks. Local 6 president McClain's response to police scabherding against the strike currently underway at Clinical Specialties in San Francisco was to plead (unsuccessfully) with S.F. mayor Moscone's new police chief to stop protection of scabs! Such reliance on the "good will" of the police or capitalist politicians can only lead ILWU members to defeat, whether at Victor or during the upcoming master contract dispute.

The union membership must rally to the defense of the Victor strikers! Organizing the unorganized is of vital importance to the entire labor movement. Organizing among women workers is particularly important since the social isolation of women often allows them to be used as a drag against working-class militancy. As the "Warehouse Militant" put it:

> "Organizing will prevent the employers from playing lower-paid workers off against higher-paid ones, inhibit runaways to lower-wage areas and greatly strengthen labor's general ability to fight."

Office workers are notoriously underpaid, and women workers on the average receive wages amounting to only 60 percent of men's salaries. Victor's is no exception. The workers have neither health nor vision care, nor do they have even the minimal job protection afforded by seniority. Starting wages run as low as $500 a month, and workers with over 20 years' employment make as little as $700 a month.

Current union demands would bring the office starting base pay to $655 per month, still a full $100 below the starting union scale for Local 6 office workers in other shops, and $300 below the scale for warehousemen. While union recognition is the key demand in this strike, a militant fight by the entire union could sharply raise wages for Victor office workers, striking a blow against the super-exploitation of women workers and setting an important precedent by winning parity with the warehouse section. ■

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Witness' Sworn Statement Tells Story of Bribery and Intimidation

How Desmond Trotter Was Framed

Free Trotter Now!

Desmond Trotter continues to rot in jail on the tiny, impoverished West Indian island of Dominica. The 23-year-old political activist was framed up and found guilty of the murder of a white tourist during the carnival season of 1974. But the story of his arrest and trial makes abundantly clear that Trotter's "crime" was to oppose Patrick John, the tinpot dictator who runs the island of 72,000 inhabitants with an iron fist.

Trotter was sentenced to death by "her majesty's court" in this "associated state" of Britain, and Britain's privy council refused his appeal. Nevertheless, due to a groundswell of international protest, earlier this month Trotter's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by John.

An important part of the defense activities to save the life of Desmond Trotter was the work of an international delegation that went to Dominica in an eleventh-hour attempt to save him from the hangman's noose. The problem was how to prove that a frame-up had been perpetrated. This meant exposing the political vendetta of the petty tyrant Patrick John and his plantation "Labour" Party against the young left-wing organizer.

The delegation was aware that the key prosecution witness at the trial, Camella Francis, had admitted to a lawyer that she testified under duress. The delegation went first to the neighboring island of Antigua, located Francis, and recorded her sworn testimony before the local Commissioner of Oaths. The delegation then traveled to Dominica with Francis' testimony; an embarrassed cabinet, faced with demonstrations, an avalanche of telegrams and the recantation of their main "witness," commuted the death sentence.

We publish below excerpts of Camella Francis' statement taken on March 31 in Antigua. We do so not only because the document clearly shows Trotter's innocence, but also for what it tells of the police methods of capitalist "justice." The tactics of course vary from the U.S. slums to the shanty towns of the West Indies, but the method will be immediately recognizable: bribery, intimidation, and the threat and use of torture to get witnesses for frame-up convictions.

[After the shooting incident at the end of February 1974, Camella Francis and her friend Hyacinth Francis were picked up and brought to police headquarters in Roseau, Dominica.]

14. I was asked if I knew anything about the shooting of a white man for which Desmond Trotter was eventually charged. I answered 'NO'!...

16. I was then told by C.I.D. Police Officer 'Toulon'. "Look I want you to do something for us"; I asked him, 'What! He said, 'I want you to make a statement saying that you heard Desmond say he shot a white man.' I asked him, 'how am I going to make such a statement when I did not hear him say so'.

17. Officer Toulon then said, 'I will write it, read it to you and then you will sign.' I said, 'I cannot do that as I do not know the man.' He said, "You can make some good money". I will show you the man on the day of identification; and if you do that you will be paid and sent home the following day.' I continued to protest. Officer Toulon then said to me, 'if you don't sign it, I will lock you up in the cell and pluck out your nails. I became very afraid for my life. The Officer Toulon then wrote the statement, read it and told me to sign it; I was trembling all over from fright when he continued to insist that I must sign; and I did sign the statement.

* * * * *

21. The following day at 9:00 o'clock a group of boys were brought into the Police Station accompanied by Police Officer 'Pestaina' and another Police Officer whose name I do not remember, they came to me and said, 'Desmond Trotter is the fourth person in the line.' Police Officer Pestaina then told me to go into the room. I went into the room where I saw some eight or nine young men: one Mr. Joseph the A.S.P. in charge of the C.I.D. said 'Miss Camella Francis you made a statement stating that you heard Desmond Trotter say on the night of the 24th February 1974 he shot a white man at the corner of Queen Mary and River Street; identify the one who said so.'

22. I then pointed on the fourth person in the line as I was told by Police Officer Pestaina and the other Police Officer. A.S.P. Joseph then told me 'ask Desmond to smile'. I then asked Desmond to smile. Desmond shook his head, then smiled.

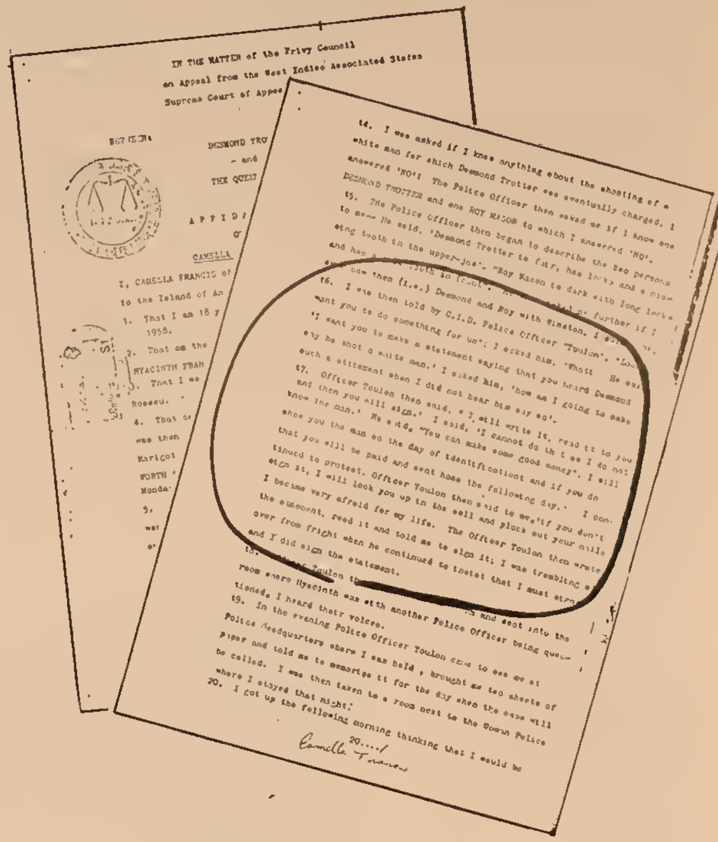
* * * * *

[Camella Francis and Hyacinth Francis gave a statement to a lawyer saying they had testified against Trotter under duress.]

49. I eventually left the next day—Monday. After another Policeman came for me around 5 a.m. I told him I was not going. He said 'What you mean by you not going, anywhere? you see them hot cells we have down there, if you don't go, I will arrest you and put you in the cell. He began to harass me and I became fearful, dressed and left with him for the Airport. I arrived in Dominica the morning.

50. Whilst in Dominica and before I appeared in court at the trial; I was called into one of the Police Offices and a group of policemen began to question me.

51. I was asked if it was true that Hyacinth Francis and I had given a statement to Lawyer Kendall. I replied, 'yes', I was then told, that I would be charged with perjury, so must tell the Court I did not give a statement to the Lawyer; It was Hyacinth who gave the statement.


IN THE MATTER of the Privy Council
on Appeal from the West Indies Associated States
Supreme Court of Appe...

14. I was asked if I knew anything about the shooting of a white man for which Desmond Trotter was eventually charged. I answered 'NO'!

52. I went into Court and I gave the statement which Police Toulon had told me to sign previously and I had repeated in the Preliminary Inquiry. I was then asked if I gave Lawyer Kendall a statement, to which I answered, 'I did not give him a statement but I went to Kendall's Office to follow Hyacinth.'

* * * * *

58. I was congratulated by the High Officials of the Police Force including A.S.P. Joseph, and the Deputy Commissioner of Police. Who stated that I had done a good job.

60. At the time of my departure I was given a cheque of $75.00 by A.S.P. JOSEPH of the CID and told that I would received a further cheque at the end of the case which I never received.

61. I make the above statements knowing the same to be true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Desmond Trotter remains behind bars. Only massive international protest can force his release. The Partisan Defense Committee urges that telegrams demanding the immediate, unconditional release of Trotter be sent to Premier Patrick John, Government Headquarters, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. (Copies should be mailed to: Committee in Defense of Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in Dominica, P.O. Box 231, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies.) The fight is not over—Desmond Trotter must be freed!

Chicago Schools

(continued from page 8)

Jesse Jackson injected a nationalist twist, opposing the stiffer HEW guidelines because they would do away with black faculty majorities in any school. Jackson said such a solution "would end black teacher self-determination and it would also be unworkable because white teachers don't want to be assigned to black schools" (*Chicago Tribune*, 30 March). Jackson suggested a scheme permitting a 65/35 predominance of either race, a proposal which differs only minimally from the Hannon plan! This is just one more example of Jackson's de facto alliance with Daley forces.

While the misleaders of Chicago's black community engage in virulent union-busting, the callous CTU bureaucracy refuses to champion the just cause of oppressed minorities. CTU officials confirmed to *WV* that the union has no position on busing or integration, and has no intention of taking one! The Healey leadership is concerned simply to preserve the positions of tenured teachers, its voting base in the union.

In the contract negotiations and strike last fall, for instance, Healey refused to defend substitutes' interests or fight for more teachers and reduced class sizes and teaching loads. He also "counseled" the Board of Education that it might finance the contract settlement by dropping a proposed $5 million increase in the city's bi-lingual education program. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that there is anti-CTU sentiment among the black and Spanish-speaking population, and that many substitutes were prepared to scab on a possible strike this spring.

The attacks on the Chicago Teachers Union are part of a nationwide government-sector "austerity" program aimed at unloading the burden of the capitalist depression on working people through massive layoffs, wage slashing and cutbacks in vital social services. Arguing over which section of the exploited and oppressed must sacrifice in order to jack up profits is a dead end. The fight for racial integration, better job conditions for teachers and quality education requires a militant struggle against capitalism by teachers in alliance with the rest of the labor movement and the masses of working and poor people. It is only by breaking with the bourgeois politicians such as Daley and ousting their labor lackeys like Healey that the road can be opened to united class struggle to put an end to the exploitation and social oppression of capitalist rule. ■

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

tion of their ranks around a program which could really enforce busing and stop racist attacks: labor black defense. Cops, courts and federal troops were the "answer" of the reformist SWP.

Putting forward the same program as black liberals, these fake-Trotskyists tailored their "independent" mass protests to the availability of big-name sponsors who could lend them the desired respectability. In 1974, its December 14 march was built around black Democrat Bill Owens, a Massachusetts state senator. Two months later it founded the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) with a keynote speech from Boston NAACP head Tom Atkins, who also highlighted a second pro-busing march in May 1975.

Already at the 14 December 1974 demonstration, the SWP's tailing after demagogic liberal "celebrities" had drawn it into dangerous situations beyond its control and in which it was unprepared to defend the marchers who had heeded its calls to demonstrate. At that march, Owens (who had earlier called for an adventurist march by blacks from Roxbury through South Boston, the hotbed of racist mobilization) deliberately sought a confrontation with the Boston police. Behind him several thousand marchers were bottled up in narrow streets and with no defense preparations had the cops decided to charge.

This time the SWP NSCAR have maneuvered themselves into a perilous situation by their belief that they could corral an NAACP endorsement through pressure tactics. Confident that they could extract support from community black organizations, the sponsors of the April 24 march scheduled a march route beginning at Franklin Park in Roxbury and winding for several miles through the black community before ending at city hall.

But as we go to press, the April 24 march has received no endorsements from any significant black organizations in Boston. Meanwhile, racial tensions in the city have escalated dramatically as a result of the vicious assault against black attorney Landsmark and Saturday's attack on the two MBTA drivers.

The Spartacist League Spartacus Youth League had announced intentions to form a contingent marching under the banner of extend the busing, no reliance on troops cops—for black labor defense to stop racist attacks. However, with the liberal politics of the march, and given the present extreme racial tension in Boston and lack of community support for the march, it would be irresponsible to urge militants to participate in the April 24 march.

The key to defense of the rights and safety of black people in Boston is not crawling after the liberals. It is, rather, a political struggle centered in the trade unions, to build working-class support for desegregation and racial equality, and to forge unbreakable links between the cause of labor and the struggles of oppressed minorities. This can only be done under banners which draw the class line between the battles of the oppressed and the armed fist of the oppressor. Support busing, extend it to the suburbs! Not cops or troops, but labor/black defense against racist terror! ■

Committee to Save Mario Munoz

In the United States, the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Munoz. Among the endorsers of the campaign in the U.S. and Canada are:

All-African People's Revolutionary Party
Antoine Andrien, member Haitian Fathers*
James Bond, City Council of Atlanta, Ga.*
Anne Braden**
Fred Branfman
Stokely Carmichael, All-African People's Revolutionary Party
Joe Carnegie, Dir., Brooklyn Fight Back*
John Carroll, Esq., Southern Poverty Law Center*
Chileans for Democracy
Noam Chomsky
Communist Cadre
Robert Cowan, Math Dept., Queens College*
Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana
Dave Dellinger
Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Frank Donner, Gen. Counsel, U.E., member ACLU*
Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action
Alexander Erlich, Prof., Russian Inst., Columbia U.*
Eugene Genovese, Prof. of History, Rochester U.*
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Pat Knight, Pres., SSEU Local 371* (verbal)
Labor Struggle Caucus, UAW Local 6*, Chicago
League for the Revolutionary Party
Gerald Lefcourt, Atty
John Leggett, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.*
Sidney Lens, labor leader and author
Ben Levy, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee*
Longshore Militant, ILWU Local 10*, S.F.
Conrad Lynn, Atty
Staughton Lynd, author
Militant Caucus, ILWU Local 6*, S.F.
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, NMU*
Militant Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906*
Mark Naison, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Society*
National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Chicago chapter
National Jury Project
National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter
Richard Newhouse, Dem., Ill. State Sen.
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union, District Council 8
Dr. Philip Oke, U.N. Rep., Christian Peace Conference*
Rank and File Coalition, UAW Local 6*, Chi.
Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
John Rodriguez, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party of Canada*
Norm Roth, former Pres., UAW Local 6*
Richard Rubenstein, Prof. of Pol. Sci., Roosevelt U.*
Jay Schulman, National Jury Project
Dennis Serrette, Pres., Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*
Martin Sostre
Spartacist League
Spartacus Youth League
Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
I. F. Stone
Walter Teague, Friends of Indochina
Studs Terkel, author
Rip Torn, Actor/Director
Women and Revolution
Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd.
Bernard Wiltshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Howard Zinn

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

**Demonstration only

Partial listing

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Munoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Earmark for "Committee to Save Mario Munoz."

- -

☐ I endorse*
☐ My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Munoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Munoz!
Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!
Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!
Stop the Manhunt!

Name ________________
Organization ________________
Address ________________

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Munoz
☐ I pledge $_____ to help save Mario Munoz (Make payable to Partisan Defense Comm.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Munoz

Munoz...

(continued from page 3)

and militants, but all those whose defense is in the workers' interest, including students, artists and even army officers who pledged to defend Allende's Popular Unity government against the *gorila* plotters. Shiffman rejected the call to "free all political prisoners," a bourgeois liberal demand which would encompass a defense of the likes of Adolph Eichmann or the aspiring Pinochet of Portugal, António de Spinola, who *should* be imprisoned.

Shiffman outlined plans for future demonstrations, delegations, press conferences and a telegram campaign. Among those who have endorsed the campaign to save Mario Muñoz are I.F. Stone, Dick Gregory, Martin Sostre, Stokely Carmichael, Noam Chomsky, Tom Hayden, John Rodriguez (New Democratic Party member of Canadian parliament), Richard Newhouse (Democratic state senator, Illinois), the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, District Council 8, and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (Chicago chapter).

All supporters of the campaign were urged to send telegrams to Congressmen calling on them to telegraph the Argentine government to demand the witch-hunt be called off and safe conduct out of the country be guaranteed to Muñoz. In addition, the Committee demands that Muñoz be granted UN refugee status and his life protected against the junta. ■

S.F....

(continued from page 1)

unionists," the notorious S.F. "TAC" squad lined the steps of City Hall and escorted the scabs inside. Also attempting to prevent pickets from blocking entrance to the building was Stanley Smith, head of the S.F. Building and Construction Trades Council. One righteously indignant militant shouted at Smith: "We've been laying down for two weeks. You see where it got us."

By ramming through last month's rotten sellout of the majority of city workers, the bureaucracy paved the way for the massive scabbing by lower-paid, unskilled city workers which is undermining the craftsmen's strike. Now the CLC's back-pedaling on its April 6 vote to prepare a general strike encourages the Board of Supervisors in its intransigent stance. Armed with a sweeping court injunction and backed by a frenzied petty-bourgeoisie who blame city workers' wages (not the bloated debt payments to the banks) for soaring taxes, the supervisors may soon attempt to deliver a death blow to the strike.

Salami Tactics

The local bourgeoisie is employing "salami tactics" to isolate the craft unions not only from other city workers but also from other local labor disputes.

While Muni workers have kept most public transportation shut down tight, the treachery of Teamster officials has kept taxi cabs on the streets. A dispute between the Yellow Cab Company and a thousand Teamster drivers was temporarily "settled" with the help of the bureaucracy and a federal mediator. For several months, the union has been attempting to collect $1.2 million in back payments owed to the pension and health and welfare funds. On April 5 the Teamsters obtained a legal order to collect out of the company's receipts, but when a sheriff's agent arrived, Yellow Cab responded with a lockout. Rather than fight on their own behalf and in solidarity with beleaguered city workers, last week the union brass accepted a "partial agreement" that forces drivers back to work with a pay cut.

Meanwhile, directors of the Golden Gate Bridge District have taken a hard line against the sudden strike of their bus drivers for a new contract. In the latest vote the Golden Gate directors decided to withdraw their last offer and start negotiations "from scratch." The link between this action and the city strike was made clear when it was revealed that S.F. supervisor John Molinari is also a Bridge director.

When asked if the directors were taking a new hard line, Molinari responded, "Absolutely." The cowardly leadership of the Amalgamated Transit Union responded by pushing through a motion to take down all their picket lines, which had halted ferry service for several days. Although the buses across the bridge will remain idle, well-organized car pools, encouraged by free tolls, have maintained the flow of commuters into the city.

Stop the Stalling!

Despite the apparent success of the capitalists' "divide and rule" scheme, the city workers strike can still be won. At every workplace strike committees must be elected to broaden the leadership of the strike, oversee its conduct and insure the mass participation necessary to win!

The cringing labor "leaders" have abdicated all responsibility except to plead for some face-saving device like mediation to allow them to call off the strike. Elected committees could lay the basis for a general strike by organizing militant mass picket lines at all major city workplaces and transportation centers, and building a mass meeting of the entire San Francisco labor movement by sending official delegations to all area trade union locals.

Muni drivers' TWU Local 250A, in particular, must vote to join the strike and take the lead in reviving the strike momentum. City workers saddled with last month's disastrous agreements must demand that their contracts be re-opened and that they be accorded substantial wage increases with full cost-of-living escalator clauses and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. The entire San Francisco labor movement must be mobilized in a general strike to defend the craft unions and to smash all anti-labor propositions! ■

SAN FRANCISCO

Public forum:
Bust the Union Busters!

Guest speaker:
Bob Mandel, editor of ***Warehouse Militant***

Time: Friday, April 23, 7:30 pm
Place: Buchanan YMCA, Geary and Buchanan Sts., San Francisco
For information and transportation, call (in San Francisco) (415) 922-1865 (in East Bay) (415) 835-1535

WORKERS VANGUARD

NSCAR March in Boston

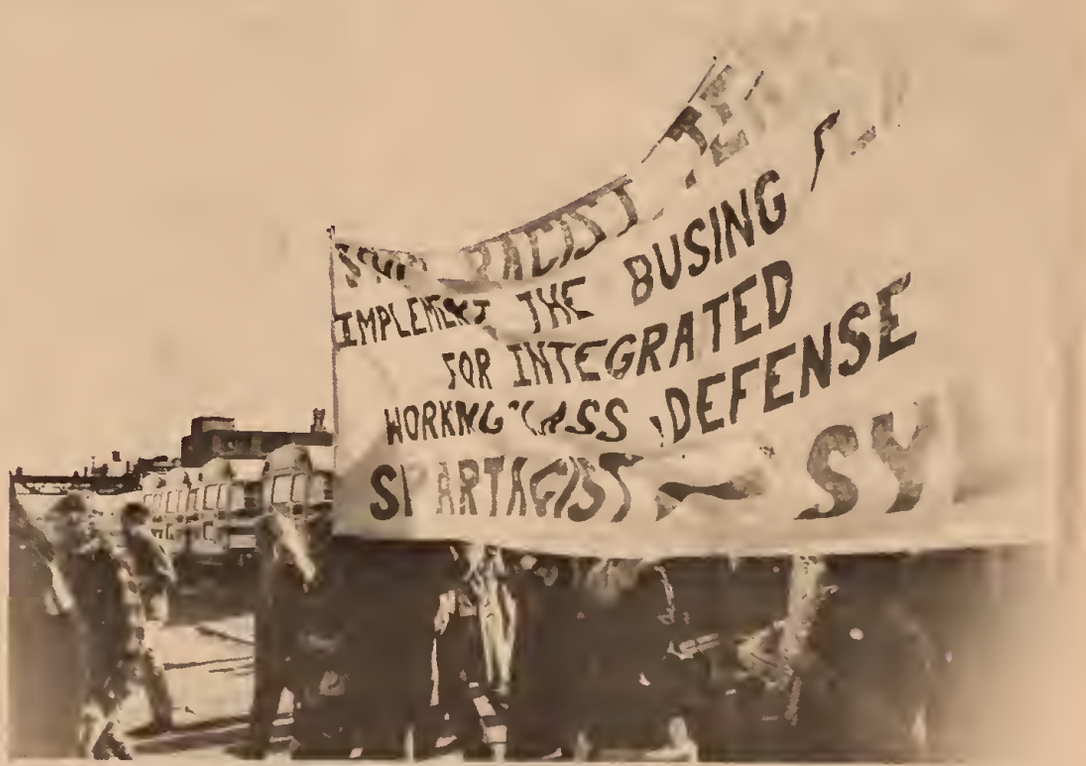
For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Attacks!

BOSTON—The April 24 march on Boston takes place in the context of a steady escalation of racist violence. The paramilitary wing of the anti-busing movement is growing bolder every day. On April 5 prominent black attorney Theodore Landsmark was brutally beaten by a white mob in City Hall Plaza under the very eyes of Mayor Kevin White. Then on April 17 two black bus drivers were set upon at a South Boston bus stop by a half-dozen thugs. Without warning, the racist pack attacked the drivers, screaming racial epithets, kicking them and beating them with a car antenna. Three white fellow workers bravely came to their defense and were also injured.

Such brazen assaults occur virtually every day; only the most outrageous are ever reported in the bourgeois press. One of the two black drivers beaten last Saturday told reporters: "Every day it's the same when I drive through South Boston. I get stoned in my bus and spat on" (*Boston Globe*, 18 April). Carloads of white hooligans have even driven through predominantly black Roxbury on several occasions, hurling rocks and smashing windows.

Since the commencement of court-ordered busing in Boston in September 1974, the Spartacist League has struggled for a mass mobilization of black and labor organizations to crystallize public outrage against the Klan-inspired vigilantes, to politically isolate them and muster the forces to stop them in their tracks. The Boston trade-union movement and black organizations such as the NAACP have the authority and resources to undertake such a mobilization, which could serve as the framework for organizing integrated defense guards to put an end to these racist atrocities.

Black people in Boston, although certainly capable of halting the brazen nightriding incursions into black neighborhoods, are a small minority of the population. They must seek to win powerful allies in the workers movement, without which they cannot put an end to the continued racist assaults on blacks throughout the city. The sizable reactionary anti-busing mobilizations, the pogrom-like atmosphere and the repeated complicity of the police demonstrate the burning necessity for anti-racist forces to organize independently of treacherous capitalist politicians and their racist thugs in blue.



Spartacist League marches in Boston, November 1974. WV Photo

Unfortunately, the leaders of Boston's trade unions, the only mass organizations of black and white workers, have criminally capitulated to the racists. Those, like the leadership of the Firefighters Union, who actively solidarize with the anti-busing movement are encouraged by the liberal bureaucrats who prefer to say and do nothing. The beating of black and white bus drivers, like the attacks last year on the Meatcutters' union hall in South Boston, shows how easily reactionary movements against the democratic rights of black people can grow over into a direct threat against labor. This points to the elementary duty of the trade unions to put all their strength on the line to beat down the racist frenzy.

While the labor bureaucrats hide their heads in the sand, the NAACP and local black community leaders have totally failed to organize the black community for even the most obvious forms of self-defense patrols. Instead they preach reliance on the racist cops, who continually demonstrate that they are among the worst enemies of black people, or on the imperialist army headed by busing foe Gerald Ford.

An independent broad-based, united-front demonstration to protest the wave of anti-black terror could be an important initial step toward building a black and labor defense force. But that is precisely what the April 24 march is not intended to be. The initial call for the march from the April 24 coalition, set up by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), raised the criminally dangerous demand for "city police, state police and federal troops" to "protect" the black community, kowtowed to the Bicentennial and the phony progressivism of the Kennedy family and bluntly offered itself as an election year vehicle for bourgeois politicians ("such a march can be an organizing vehicle to register voters").

A march of this kind, firmly tied to the coattails of the liberal bourgeoisie, far from intimidating the racists will only embolden them. The SWP/NAACP/liberal strategy of reliance on the armed forces of the class enemy for defense against the racist terror campaign can only be taken by the racists as an expression of impotence and helplessness by the pro-busing forces.

From the beginning of the anti-busing mobilization in Boston 18 months ago, the SWP has centered its campaign around the liberal perspective of simply "enforcing the law." At no time did it appeal to black, labor and socialist organizations to undertake a mobiliza-

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Keep the Buses Rolling!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 107 30 April 1976

Organize Soviets to Crush Reactionary Plotters!

Portugal Far Right Tests Waters in Elections

WV Photo

Ex-General Antônio Spinola, the aspiring Pinochet of Portugal.

Expresso

Chief of Staff General Antônio Ramalho Eanes

Alvaro Tavares/A Luta

Jaime Neves, rightist leader of elite "commando" unit.

Spínola Conspiracy Exposed

APRIL 27—Sunday's legislative elections in Portugal were generally interpreted as a draw by the imperialist media. While the most right-wing parties increased their percentage of the vote compared to last year's April 25 constituent assembly elections, the division between the reformist workers parties (Communist and Socialist) and the bourgeois parties remained virtually unchanged. The stage was set, liberal commentators agreed, for tough bargaining between military factions for the upcoming June presidential vote.

However, the indecisive results of the parliamentary elections actually amounted to a setback for rabidly anti-Communist forces of capitalist reaction, who had hoped to score major gains and achieve a rightist majority. From the defeat of the leftist paratrooper revolt November 25 until now, the right has been on the rampage. Discipline-minded generals arrested leftist officers and dissolved troop assemblies, former associates of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship resurfaced in large numbers and the clandestine Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) continued its campaign of terror bombing against the left.

Finding itself unable to use the cover of an electoral majority in their drive to wipe out the germs of dual power and put an end to the pre-revolutionary situation that has existed in Portugal since the fall of Caetano two years ago, counterrevolutionary forces will turn increasingly to less veiled methods. In this sense there is a parallel to the Chilean parliamentary elections of March 1973: unable to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority to impeach Allende, the CIA stepped up its "destabilization" program and military plotters began to lay plans in earnest which came to their bloody conclusion on September 11.

The Portuguese workers, under the treacherous misleadership of social democrats and Stalinists, have been on the retreat for several months. But despite the deep purge of the so-called "military left," the proletariat has not suffered a decisive and demoralizing defeat. There is still a chance to create soviet organs of workers power which can turn back the rightist onslaught and deal a death blow to reaction, through socialist revolution.

Yet the hour is late, and reformist illusions (along with their mirror image, adventurist putschism) still hold sway. Without a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership, the class-conscious Lisbon industrial workers and militant agricultural workers of "Red Alentejo" may face the fate of their Chilean class brothers and sisters. The vicious ELP bombing of the Cuban embassy on the eve of the election is handwriting on the wall.

Mobilization on the Right

Together, the right-wing capitalist parties had expected to gain 50 percent of the popular vote, basing themselves on their tight control of the towns and villages of the north, where local *caciques* (bosses) and priests call the shots. However, in the unofficial returns, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) received only 24 percent (down 2 percent from last year), and the rightist Social Democratic Center (CDS) received 15.6 percent (double its previous total but less than it expected). The arch-conservative Christian Democrats (PDC) received only a negligible vote.

The bourgeois parties all try to present themselves as bonafide anti-Salazarist democrats. However, the history of their leaders belies this claim. The head of the PPD, Franciso Sá Carneiro, describes his party as "social-democratic," but was himself a deputy in Salazar's puppet "national assembly." The leading spokesman for the CDS, General Galvão de Melo, talks of "driving the Communists into the sea," and PDC leader José Sanches Osorio was implicated in the attempted rightist putsch of General António de Spínola, the aspiring Pinochet of Portugal, in March 1975. CDS leaders have indicated that even though the nationalizations of the banks and industrial trusts are declared "permanent" by the "socialist" constitution adopted April 2, they would seek to reverse some of them.

But the right is far from limited to its parliamentary face. During recent months there have been reported at least 150 different attacks on Communist Party members and offices as well as other leftists; the election campaign itself left five dead. At the beginning of the month, a leftist priest, a candidate for the Maoist Popular Democratic Union (UDP), and a 19-year-old student were killed when a bomb exploded in their car in the town of Vila Real, northeast of Porto. In the southern town of Beja, one person was killed April 13 when troops fired on a crowd demanding release of leftists arrested in clashes with goons of the PPD.

A recent article in *Le Monde* (8 April) reports how many landowners have ties to both the CDS and Spínola's "Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal" (MDLP, closely linked to—if not identical with—the terrorist ELP), which is active across the border in Spain: "We have property that straddles the border, so there is no difficulty in slipping someone across from one side to the other," said one person interviewed by the reporter. Another had just returned from Angola where he had served as the right-hand man of Colonel Santos e Castro, the Portuguese mercenary commander of Holden Roberto's FNLA troops.

To the north, in the famous town of Rio Maior, which was the first place a Communist Party (CP) office was burned down last summer, the rightist mobilization is much stronger. The town voted Socialist (SP) in 1975, as did many other small towns, on orders from the *caciques* who felt that to vote openly

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Mario Muñoz Must Live to Lead Again

PAGES 7, 8

The End of Peronist Rule in Argentina

by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile

PAGE 6

Editorial Notes

I.S. Holds Tail of Teamster Wildcat

In line with its major activity in recent months cheerleading for Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) –the International Socialists (I.S.) have just published a four-page foldout in the April 12 issue of *Workers' Power*, hallyhooing the role of the TDC in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) contract fight.

The I.S. admits in this "Teamster Special" that the final settlement the Teamsters got was a sellout. It says: "With the exception of the wage package and a few relatively minor points, the proposed Master Freight Agreement is a pure and simple sellout." As to the wage and cost-of-living provisions, they are labeled "inadequate" and "less than the employers were prepared to pay."

The real contribution of the TDC, claims the I.S., was apparent not at the bargaining table (there is no argument about that), but in the fine model of rank-and-file solidarity it presented, particularly during the recent Detroit wildcat. But as we pointed out in a recent issue ("Detroit Teamster Wildcat: An Autopsy," *WV* No. 105, 16 April) the TDC, which found itself in a position of leadership after the temporary abdication of the Teamster bureaucracy following a chaotic union meeting on April 5, capitulated to that bureaucracy within 24 hours. The TDC thus helped to bring the wildcat to an ignominious end only three days after it had begun.

What was missing in Detroit was a leadership with a class-struggle program to focus and take forward the ranks' anger. The TDC, which in the months before the strike established itself as the only organized opposition to Fitzsimmons, failed to put forward such a program. Instead it counseled reliance on the capitalist state: e.g., taking union opponents to court and sending telegrams appealing to President Ford in the hope of averting a Taft-Hartley injunction.

The *Workers' Power* "Teamster Special" features an article by TDC organizer and I.S. supporter Steve Kindred which passes off the TDC's failure to set up an authoritative strike leadership at the April 5 meeting as a mere "lost opportunity" due to the size of the

WV Photo

TDC meeting in Cleveland last month.

meeting, the absence of sound equipment and the exhaustion of the "hard core" militants. These are lame excuses, indeed. In fact, the failure to elect a strike committee flowed directly from the strategy of the TDC, which viewed itself as a pressure group on the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy.

Throughout several months of pre-strike activity, the TDC never once raised the call for an elected strike committee, which represents the very core of workers democracy. An elected strike committee not only makes it possible to coordinate effective actions against the class enemy, but it enables the rank and file to democratically determine strike policy. Such a democratic procedure, however, is incompatible with the TDC's own appetites for bureaucratic wheeling and dealing, so the ranks were not consulted.

Kindred and the I.S. find it difficult to criticize the TDC, because they share the same political methodology. The TDC capitulates to red-baiting, brings its opponents in the IBT to court and runs a strike without an elected leadership. The I.S., in turn, regularly purges members with political differences and refuses to call on speakers from opponent socialist tendencies at its "public" meetings. And if the TDC thinks that Gerald Ford can be argued out of "becoming a strikebreaking president," the International Socialists support the intervention of the same Nixon-Ford government into the labor movement in the guise of affirmative action programs and Labor Department-run trade-union elections (e.g., Mine Workers).

Writing about the red-baiting campaign directed at the TDC by company and union officials, Kindred asserts: "It failed because everyone could see that the charge that the TDC is a 'socialist movement' is a lie." Nothing, alas, could be truer, for the TDC in no way challenged capitalist rule. But this fact by no means stopped the witchhunting. The TDC capitulated over and over to red-baiting, while the I.S. remained silent. *Workers' Power* neglected to even report that leaders of a Bay Area TDC rally flatly refused to defend newspaper salesmen of left groups including the I.S. who were being assaulted by right-wing Teamsters. The I.S. was also silent about an anti-communist motion passed by a TDC steering committee meeting which stated the group's opposition to "political change by any means other than by lawful, constitutional procedures."

The TDC is an unstable bloc around a reformist trade-union program. It is made up of fake-socialists and simple careerists, with the latter aspiring to integrate themselves into the anti-communist Teamster bureaucracy. Having attracted the attention of the IBT bureaucracy, these elements have no further use for their "leftist" partners and stand to gain by denouncing them. Just last week prominent Detroit TDC leader Gene Fleszar, gloating over the new respect with which he is treated by local Teamster officials after the wildcat, said: "We are not radicals. The only problem we've had is a lot of political groups trying to use us to their own advantage."

Fleszar may well prefigure a new, slicker brand of anti-communist Teamster bureaucrat, better able to contain rank-and-file militancy than the aging and out-of-touch leadership presently running the IBT. By providing a left cover to the likes of Fleszar, the I.S. has only created one more obstacle to the building of a class-struggle opposition in the trade unions.

Closet Racist Candidates Come Out for "Ethnic Purity"

Recently Jimmy Carter, apparent frontrunner for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, broke with the bourgeois politicians' standard code of veiled racist insinuation. On the campaign trail in the Midwest, he openly came out in favor of maintaining "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods against "black intrusion" and "alien elements."

What is significant in these statements is not merely that this closet racist candidate, who presents himself as the respectable opposition to George Wallace, has afforded the American people a peek at the sinister politics behind his bible-quoting style and Cheshire cat smile. The really threatening sign in this cavalcade of segregationist demagogy is the indication that the overt expression of such sentiments has become more respectable.

Ominously, while Carter was issuing phony apologies for his "choice of words" (talking about how much he approved of "low-status neighborhoods"!), Gerald Ford seized the opportunity to proclaim that he was as much for preserving "ethnic heritage" as the next Aryan candidate. Clearly Ford did not view Carter's remarks as a "slip" so much as a challenge, a bid for the backlash vote just as Wallace is pulling out of the race. Even the liberals' darling, Morris Udall, while

UPI

Jimmy Carter with Martin Luther King, Sr.

clucking his tongue over the phraseology, was at pains to note that he and Carter had the same "technical" positions on open housing.

Two weeks before the Supreme Court's April 20 decision permitting the courts to order low-cost public housing in white suburbs to relieve segregation in the inner city, Carter had already injected the open housing issue into the presidential campaign. Having courted the black vote with some success (e.g., his only two delegates from New York City come from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto), the Georgia governor is obviously eager to reassure middle America that he is still a "good old boy." And lest that message not come through loud and clear, he noted in apologizing for his brazen language that "I would not arbitrarily use Federal force to move people of a different ethnic background into a neighborhood just to change its character."

Carter's tirade was a major embarrassment to the black Democrats who have supported his campaign. Nevertheless, these cynical ward heelers attempted to cover themselves and their double-talking candidate as best they could. "This doesn't mean to me he's a racist," said Georgia representative Andrew Young. "It means he made a terrible blunder that he's got to recover from. I just think it's an awful phrase. I don't think he understood how loaded it is with Hitlerian connotations." No sir, nobody from Georgia ever heard of "ethnic purity"!

The rash of racist slurs by leading presidential candidates indicates a further rightward political drift and erosion not only of the concrete gains but even of the rhetoric of the civil rights movement. Since the days of the freedom rides, overt bigotry has not been generally popular in national electoral campaigns. Such blatant statements do not fall within the norms of cultural probity and are not considered good campaign talk by respectable candidates. Consequently politicians generally use a coded language, whipping up anti-black hysteria in order to get the racist vote. Wallace talks about nailing "welfare cheats in New York City," an expression which is synonymous with black people in the racist fantasies of the right wing. His crocodile tears for "the safety of the little bused school children" are understood by all to mean advocacy of the most savage Jim Crow policies.

The twin parties of capital compete more and more openly for the support of the racists. For bourgeois politicians faced with a ravaged economy and no answers except further attacks on the working class, scapegoating black people is on the order of the day. The struggle for racial equality demands the independent political mobilization of the proletariat in a workers party based on the trade unions that will fight for a workers government to smash capitalist exploitation and racial oppression.

CORRECTION

Dear Editor,

Workers Vanguard has consistently provided the most thoughtful and accurate coverage of events inside the ILWU. Therefore we thought it was important to correct two errors which appeared in the *WV* No. 106 [23 April] story on the Victor strike. While there is considerable dissatisfaction with the manner in which the strike has been run, this was not a factor in spurring the march to the city manager's office. The marchers went simply to demand an end to police scabherding.

Also the city manager did not, as you reported, state that escorting scabs was their sworn duty. He simply said that legally the pickets could not block the driveway. Of course, what this means in practice is that the cops can continue to escort scabs. Vigorous action by the union can still bring victory to the courageous sisters at Victor.

Fraternally yours,
Bob Mandel for the Militant Caucus

WORKERS VANGUARD

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SWP Reliance on Cops at Dangerous Dead End

Racist Hysteria Sweeps Boston

BOSTON – The racist offensive in Boston has geared up the official bourgeois press in a mobilization of anti-black hysteria that threatens to plunge the city into open race war. After nearly two years of unrelenting terror against the blacks of Boston's ghettos, the racists have been able to focus attention on a case of indiscriminate black retaliation in which a white auto mechanic was dragged from his car and brutally beaten in Roxbury. The responsibility for this threatening holocaust lies squarely with the liberals and their camp followers who encourage the ultra-rightist terrorist scum by preaching their helpless and treacherous policy of reliance on the racist cops, courts and troops.

For month after month the media had managed to overlook the savage reality of the daily terrorization of blacks. White racist violence has been treated like bad weather—ugly, regrettable of course, but unavoidable and somehow "natural." Black children have been menaced daily—surrounded in school; pelted by rocks, fists and clubs in school buses, public transportation and on beaches. Night riders have taken to the streets in broad daylight in ever more brazen attempts to intimidate blacks, culminating in the most recent attacks: prominent black attorney Theodore Landsmark lanced with the pole of the American flag in the middle of City Hall Plaza in mid-afternoon; two black bus drivers severely beaten by Klan-inspired hoodlums while on the job in South Boston. Then on April 21 a black woman driving through white Roslindale with her five-year-old son was attacked by two dozen youths carrying baseball bats, rocks and bricks.

After the most constant and savage white racist violence experienced in any U.S. city since the civil rights movement in the South, only now with the beating of a white motorist has the Boston press discovered "racial violence." Now that some frustrated black youth – their community politically disarmed and misled by the most masochistic liberals and reformists – have struck out in self-defeating retaliation against an innocuous white man, the mayor organized a "march against violence" while Louise Day Hicks calls for federal troops to put down Roxbury's blacks.

The mounting campaign to create a tidal wave of racist hysteria was marked by the cancellation of the pro-busing march called by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). The real purpose of the march was to call upon government troops and city cops to protect blacks from racist attack. It is precisely this sort of reformism which has left Boston's black people defenseless and has emboldened the hooligans in their anti-black onslaughts. Those who have preached confidence in the protection of the racist cops have left Boston's blacks without any protection, and dangerously isolated by the flight of the fair-weather liberals.

The only adequate and effective response to the pervasive racist terror is the organization of labor/black defense guards based on the trade unions and black organizations, to defend blacks not only in the ghettos but throughout the city. Those who have counterposed to this strategy the chimera of protection by the cops ultimately bear responsibility not only for the escalating white racist brutality but also for the indiscriminate retaliatory violence by blacks, which can have only tragic consequences for the black masses themselves.

Anti-busing leaders have reacted with bloodthirsty threats, and nightriding white vigilante gangs have stepped up their campaign of terror. South Boston Home and School Association president James Kelly, who has emerged as the leading spokesman for the racist terrorist wing of ROAR, bluntly warned at an April 20 press conference that blacks had better stay out of South Boston. He threatened that, "If a resident of South Boston is killed in a racial incident, there will be a race war."

Meanwhile, the Charlestown Marshals announced a May 2 city-wide "Men's March Against Forced Busing" that threatens to become a focal point for a paramilitary anti-black mobilization. Random, unprovoked attacks on black people have spread out from the tightly knit white neighborhoods that have been the bastions of the reactionary anti-busing movement. Blacks have been assaulted on the downtown Boston Commons, and a coordinator of the Metco program of voluntary suburban busing, Joseph Henry, was hit on the head with an iron bar while sitting in a downtown subway station.

The very idea that whites might be subject to violent attacks sent waves of hysteria through the local bourgeois rulers. The outcry drove Mayor Kevin White, renowned for his tendency to hide under tables in times of crisis, to call a phony "procession against violence" April 12.

Altogether, some 30,000 marchers turned out in an overwhelmingly white, middle-class and suburban crowd Friday. All signs, banners and speeches were banned from the parade which finished up with invocations by prominent clergymen pleading for divine assistance. With the approval of union bureaucrats, city and state workers were granted extended lunch hours to attend the event, as were employees at some downtown banks and insurance companies. Several colleges urged students and faculty to attend the march.

Also among the participants was local NAACP executive secretary, Edward Redd, and an array of black community leaders. However, despite impassioned pleas from Mayor White and the bourgeois media, prominent anti-busing leaders were conspicuously absent. Joining the boycott was the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association, which seized this opportunity to demonstrate once again their benign tolerance of the racist violence of the anti-busing movement.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the SWP-led NSCAR had earlier called a liberal pro-busing march for the next day. The initial coalition statement called for "city police, state police and federal troops" to "protect" the black community, and appealed to "the religious and academic communities, elected officials, labor leaders, officials of the public school system, brothers and sisters of suburbia to join us on April 24." Ironically, that was, to the letter, the composition of the bourgeoisie's prayerful Friday "procession."

Under the impact of the racist hysteria, the SWP's much ballyhooed march died an inglorious death. With the already tenuous support for the protest march by local black politicians evaporating, the SWP's *Militant* (30 April) reported that "leaders of the Black community in Boston have decided to postpone the national pro-busing march scheduled for April 24." Unable to obtain police protection for its march to demand police protection, the SWP was forced to recognize that in a serious crisis its star-studded list of liberal endorsements did not amount to a hill of beans.

In our last issue (*WV* No. 106, 23 April) we wrote that "with the liberal politics of the march, and given the present extreme racial tension in Boston and the lack of community support for the march, it would be irresponsible to urge militants to participate in the April 24 march." While canceling the event, NSCAR leader Maceo Dixon made clear at an April 21 press conference that the impotent liberal politics remain: "it's not possible to hold a peaceful, legal activity at this time," he announced in the presence of several black liberals. Dixon moaned that the "anti-violence" parade was a "sham" and a "ruse," but just two days later many of the same black leaders joined the mayor's march.

Dixon ended the press conference with a demand to "city, state and federal governments to provide large deployments of police, state troopers and federal troops...to South Boston, Charlestown, East Boston, Hyde Park and other racist strongholds and *not*, I repeat, and *not* into our community." After countless months of calling for troops to protect ghetto blacks, NSCAR must back-handedly recognize that when blacks really need protection, the call upon the imperialist army is revealed as treachery. As Dixon's statement reveals, even the SWP is well aware that cops and troops will be sent to Boston, just as they were to Birmingham and Little Rock, not to protect blacks but to suppress them. Instead of the cynical betrayal of preaching confidence in the armed fist of the racist capitalist state, militants must demand: Cops out of the ghetto!

To call on the imperialist army of Gerald Ford or the racist cops of Kevin White to protect black people is criminal and irresponsible. It is not surprising that arch-racist Louise Day Hicks began talking about calling for federal troops *to put down Roxbury*. She at least understands, if the SWP does not, that the capitalist state is on the side of the racist terrorists against the oppressed black minority.

The ignominious fate of the April 24 coalition march is a graphic illustration of the SWP's political bankruptcy. Fake leftists and their liberal friends, who peddle the illusion that the black masses can rely on a supposedly benevolent (or at least neutral) bourgeois state to protect them from racist vigilantes, only embolden the reactionary white gangs through such obvious displays of impotence. The events of the last two weeks once again confirm that only the organization of a mass labor/black defense can crush the racist thug attacks and put an end to the racist hysteria sweeping Boston. ■

CORRECTIONS

There have been several factual errors in recent issues of *Workers Vanguard* that have come to our attention. In *WV* No. 106 (23 April), the article "For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Attacks" states that the Socialist Workers Party-initiated April 24 march had "received no endorsements from any significant black organizations in Boston." Although the march did not get the backing of the Boston NAACP, it apparently had at least paper support from individuals associated with black community institutions such as the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, Freedom House and Lena Park Development Center, and was initially endorsed by members of the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus. However, by the time our article was written, checks with Roxbury groups revealed that the April 24 march had no solid backing in the black community. This was confirmed shortly after *WV* No. 106 came out, when the march was abruptly cancelled.

A photo caption in *WV* No. 104 (9 April) states, "Teamster pickets confront scab trucker" in Cleveland. The pickets had actually stopped the truck to check for one of the "red stickers" issued by the union bureaucracy to companies who had agreed to interim contracts until a national pact was signed. The article "For Workers Revolution to Smash Apartheid!" in *WV* No. 99 (5 March) cites an incorrect date for a quotation from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. It should be 29 February, not 29 November as published.

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"Friend of Labor" Humphrey Crosses

The Picket—Battle Line in the Class War

The tradition of respect for picket lines is deeply ingrained in the collective memory of the American working class. Millions have walked the lines, tens of thousands have had their blood shed defending them, hundreds have died picketing. More than a century of unionism, from Homestead to Gastonia and the great organizing battles of the 1930's, has established the picket line as a battle line of the class struggle. Even after decades of relative "class peace" enforced by the sellout union bureaucracy, which seeks to undermine and stifle every impulse of working-class militancy and solidarity, a lone picket in the coalfields of West Virginia or on the San Francisco docks can still shut down an entire work site.

The principle of the picket line is simple. It means, "don't cross." Even bourgeois politicians are forced to pay lip service to the picket line if they expect to capture the votes of union members and other workers. Earlier this month four Democratic presidential contenders found themselves faced with a picket line set up by the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) at a Washington, D.C., hotel where they were scheduled to appear before the Society of Newspaper Editors. NABET is striking NBC, and the union had hoped to keep a scab television crew from broadcasting the event.

Three of the candidates, Udall, Jackson and Carter, decided against appearing in person for fear of having their pictures published crossing a picket line. Instead, they sneaked around the lines by participating in the interview over a telephone hookup from separate locations.

But one presidential hopeful, the non-candidate candidate and George Meany's choice as the "best friend of labor," Hubert Humphrey, found a simpler way to cross the lines. A federal court had that morning issued an injunction against picketing at the main entrance of the hotel, limiting pickets to a service entrance only, on the grounds that the picketing had constituted an "illegal secondary boycott." So, Humphrey simply waltzed in the main entrance!

Admitting that when he had checked with the union its answer had been, "don't go," Humphrey justified his despicable action with lies. "There's no picket line," he croaked. "I'm a strong union person. I don't cross picket lines. But I saw no reason not to come here, and here I am" (*New York Times*, 15 April).

The other three candidates, it turned out, had just been unaware of the union-busting court order. When asked whether they would have crossed the lines if they had had more information, Udall responded that he "would have cleared it with the union"; Jackson unambiguously proclaimed that he "would have been there"; and Jimmy "Open Shop" Carter, who has learned that every position taken is a position lost, ventured a discreet "I don't know."

All the Picket Lines Fit to Cross

Railing against "Picket Line Tyranny," the *New York Times* (16 April) cheered Humphrey and denounced the other candidates for "surrendering mindlessly this week to the keep-out tyranny of pickets involved in a labor-management dispute that had nothing whatever to do with the group all three had promised to address...." "The day is long past," said the *Times*, "when Americans automatically accept a picket line as an uncrossable blockade without concern for its merits or legitimacy. Even among lifelong unionists working in a struck enterprise, the picket line is not always viewed as sacrosanct."

WV Photo

Two pickets were enough to close down Pier 80 in S.F. this month.

There was nothing "illegitimate" about the NABET picket line. It was an attempt to shut down a scab operation of NBC, which is operating only because of the weakness of the picket lines, a weakness which the *Times* wants to encourage. Itself a big business and leading mouthpiece for the liberal bourgeoisie, the *Times* (for which picket lines are certainly not "sacrosanct," precisely because profits are) has good reason to fear the strike weapons which built the unions in this country.

The bourgeoisie and its government, abetted by the misleaders within the labor movement, have pulled out all the stops in attempting to defuse these weapons. Following the great strike wave of 1946-47, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, which among other things outlawed "secondary boycotts," or the extension of a strike to employers not directly a party to the original dispute. This outlawed "hot-cargoing" (the refusal to handle struck goods) and resulted in an abomination called the "informational picket line," a line which is supposed to be crossed by some workers and not others.

The strike weapons outlawed were precisely those which encourage labor solidarity across the boundaries of different unions, and which have been the difference between victory and defeat for many strikes. The bourgeois "friends of labor" collaborated with the passage of this attack on the unions, and the defeatist labor bureaucracy refused to oppose the law with anything more than perfunctory protest. The bureaucrats daily continue their betrayal through cooperation with the government and its courts in the enforcement of this anti-union law.

So it is that the *Times* can wishfully think of picket lines as "long past" and note the "lifelong unionists" who cross them. No doubt the *Times* has in mind such examples as Harry Bridges, who crossed the picket lines of his own striking office workers. The *Times* is perhaps thinking also of the *Washington Post* strike, in which George Meany (who boasts that he has never been on strike and never walked a picket line) betrayed the striking pressmen by allowing other unions to settle while the weak-kneed leadership of the Newspaper Guild hesitated to expel Guild members who scabbed.

"Nothing Lower than a Scab"

The "informational picket line" is a betrayal; it is a picket line organized by labor traitors to let the scabs in and destroy labor solidarity. It is part and parcel of their narrow business-unionist policies, which include regularly organizing their members to scab on other unions. Class-collaborationist subservience to capitalism is what motivates these fakers, preventing any substantial growth of the unions since the 1940's. It will take a revolutionary leadership to put the teeth back in the picket line through labor solidarity in defiance of the anti-labor courts and laws.

The *Times* is vexed because 30 years of "informational picket lines" have failed to wash away the memory of what a picket line is, because capitalist politicians must still squirm before the traditions of solidarity of the organized working class. It is not what is "long past" that worries the *Times*, but what still lives today in the workers movement. The bosses are worried that in San Francisco, where they are trying to cut the wages of city workers and reinstitute the "yellow dog contract," solidarity and respect for picket lines could bring about the general strike that the quisling Central Labor Council called but refuses to organize.

The *Times*, the bourgeois politicians and the labor bureaucracy all try to bury the fact, but they know that a picket line still means, "don't cross." Those who cross picket lines are scabs. The workers remember who breaks their strikes. Let the Sulzbergers and the Humphreys and the Woodcocks, Meanys and Bridges take note: a scab still has no right to exist, in the words of an old Jack London poem, "so long as there is rope enough to hang him"■

Free Gary Tyler!

Black Youth Sentenced to Electric Chair

An innocent black youth is scheduled to die in the electric chair May 5 in Louisiana. Even though the death penalty is currently under review by the U.S. Supreme Court, Louisiana officials are still pushing to put the irrevocable executioner's seal on their judicial frame-up of Gary Tyler. Socialists, unionists, defenders of democratic rights of black people must urgently demand that Tyler be unconditionally freed and the death penalty abolished.

Here is the story behind this racist atrocity: On 7 October 1974 the students of Destrehan High School in the KKK-infested plantation town of Destrehan, Louisiana, were dismissed early. However, when black students boarded the school bus to leave the area, they were surrounded and attacked by a mob of

Gary Tyler

rock-throwing white students and parents. During the ensuing melee, a shot was fired, killing a 14-year-old white student, Timothy Webster.

The police had done nothing to protect the trapped black students from attack. Yet immediately after the shooting, the cops forced all passengers to get out of the bus and kneel on the concrete for over two hours while menacing them with drawn revolvers. When 17-year-old Gary Tyler protested this harassment, he was arrested for "interfering with the law." The charge was subsequently changed to murder in the first degree, and the black youth was found guilty by an all-white jury and sentenced to die in the electric chair. (Louisiana's capital punishment law is one of five such state laws on which a Supreme Court ruling is awaited.)

On April 23, despite overwhelming evidence of Tyler's innocence, a motion for a new trial was denied by Judge Ruche J. Marino—the same judge who had presided at his frame-up trial.

Tyler's defense attorney, Jack Peebles, brought out the fact that although police had searched both the black students and the bus for two hours following the shooting, they had been unable to find any weapons. The alleged murder weapon—a .45 calibre police automatic which had never been reported stolen—was "discovered" hours

later. Conveniently enough, the bullet that killed the white student was never "discovered," making a positive identification of the murder weapon impossible. In addition, the driver of the school bus, a 20-year veteran of the army, testified that he was absolutely certain that Tyler had not fired a gun.

The key witness for the prosecution, Natalie Blanks, described by her lawyer as having a "nervous mental condition," was the only one to have claimed to see Tyler fire a gun. She has since signed an affidavit that she had lied when so testifying earlier. Blanks, a black student and a mother, swore in a 31-page affidavit that after being taken into custody by the police she was stripped in front of two white deputies and threatened with being charged with accessory to murder and perjury if she refused to testify against Tyler. "Do you want to be put in jail," she was asked. "Don't you want to stay here and raise your baby?"

At the April 23 hearing, Blanks testified that she had in fact seen no one firing a gun on the day of the shooting. This testimony was corroborated by another student on the bus, Donald Files. Files asserts that when Tyler's cousin, Ike Randall, who had seen a man aiming a rifle *at* the bus just before the shot was fired, warned the students to get down, Files pushed Natalie Blanks to the floor of the bus, making it impossible for her to see who was shooting.

Blanks has sworn that the police tried "to put words into my mouth" and that she had read her entire testimony at the Tyler trial from a piece of paper which had been placed on the floor of the witness stand.

Not one to allow such details to interfere with the swift dispensation of lynch law "justice," Judge Marino ruled that Natalie Blanks' assertion that she had read her testimony was "preposterous." No medical evidence had been introduced at the hearing to disqualify her previous testimony on psychiatric grounds, he said, and there was no proof that she had been coerced.

The Ku Klux Klan has used the Tyler case to revive its terroristic activities in this rural area. David Duke, a national spokesman for the KKK, tore himself away from anti-busing activities in Boston to fly to Destrehan and preside over the racist hate campaign. In addition, following a fundraising benefit for Gary Tyler in late March, a 19-year-old black youth, Richard Dunn, was shotgunned and killed by two white men in a passing car.

While certainly far from exceptional in the history of bourgeois class "justice," the frame-up of Gary Tyler exposes in a particularly outrageous manner several of the grotesque practices which have always been part and parcel of racist American "law and order": lynch terror, blackmail and the barbaric death penalty. These atrocities will have no place in the judicial system of a revolutionary workers state, where the law will serve the masses and not a handful of ruling-class dictators and their flunkies.

Gary Tyler is the victim of a vicious, racist cop court frame-up. His life is at stake! Militants must demand that the execution be called off and Gary Tyler be immediately freed. The Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of *WV* to send telegrams demanding freedom for Tyler to: Governor Edwin Edwards, State Capitol Building, Baton Rouge, LA 70804. Contributions for legal defense may be sent to Jack Peebles, 305 Baronne Street, Suite 1006, New Orleans, LA 70112. Make payable to "Gary Tyler Defense Fund."■

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

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For Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Attacks and to Smash Fascist Threats

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No to "Preferential Layoffs"! Jobs for All!

Court Orders "Retroactive Seniority"

The Supreme Court ruled late last month that plaintiffs found to be victims of discrimination in hiring were entitled to seniority retroactive to the date of their original job application. This "landmark" interpretation of Title 7 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was handed down in a class action suit brought on behalf of two New Orleans black truck drivers by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Some liberal commentators have claimed that the Supreme Court decision in this case (Franks vs. Bowman Transportation Co.) is strangely at variance with its recent, virtually unbroken string of reactionary, anti-democratic rulings (upholding state anti-homosexual laws and bans on political activity at military bases, severely limiting protection against defamation by government officials, authorizing police to make routine arrests without warrants, etc.). In fact, the real axis of the ruling is not concern for the victims of special oppression, but the desire to weaken organized labor through government intervention into the unions and placing the onus for overcoming discrimination not on the corporations but on white workers.

The majority opinion, authored by Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., piously urges that "A sharing of the burden of past discrimination... is necessary" (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 March). The court insists that other workers not the employers who perpetrated these injustices should share the "burden" by losing their seniority. In other words, employed workers should face the prospect of layoffs to atone for racist and sexist practices of the capitalists!

Making explicit the connection between job discrimination and the mass unemployment inherent in the capitalist system, the Supreme Court held that "conflicting interests of other employees will of course always be present in instances where some scarce employment benefit is distributed among employees on the basis of their seniority status hierarchy" (*United States Law Week*, 23 March). While dividing on "super-seniority," the justices were unanimous in upholding the "right" of the bourgeois state to overturn negotiated contracts.

The justices pointedly refused to order such measures as stiff compensatory payments and the equalization of fringe benefits. The reason is obvious: they would not have the desired effect of pitting white against black workers, and would instead deplete profit-swollen corporate coffers.

The seniority system, which the NAACP and the court are eager to dismantle, represents a hard-won, if limited, gain of the workers movement. As a clearly defined basis for job advancement and vested job rights, it was bitterly opposed by the companies as an encroachment of their prerogative to arbitrarily victimize militants with threats of firing or down-grading.

WV Photo

Local 1364 Committee for a Militant UAW spokesman denounces "preferential layoffs" at January 1975 rally in front of S.F. Federal Building.

In some cases specific seniority agreements, like the departmental seniority system in steel, do discriminate against female or non-white workers. It is the duty of labor militants to fight *within the unions* to change such systems to more equitable plant-wide seniority, and for a full program to guarantee job security (union control of hiring, strikes against layoffs, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to provide jobs for all, and a planned economy under a workers government).

But, in all cases, the corrosive effect of government intervention into the labor movement whether in the form of wage controls, compulsory arbitration or abrogations of seniority and other contractual rights must be vigorously resisted. Whatever the incidental gains individual minority and women workers obtain by the government's opening up a few jobs or extending preferential seniority, in the long run this will be more than offset by losses suffered by the entire working class as a result of state control of the labor movement.

This recent court ruling underscores the purely tokenistic character of the few crumbs offered to black and women workers in the guise of overcoming discrimination while the bourgeoisie pursues its union-busting schemes. To win retroactive seniority, a plaintiff must prove in federal court that he was denied a job, for which he applied and was qualified, because of unlawful discrimination after Title 7 went into effect. The burden of proof, not to mention time and legal expenses, is on the individual worker. Thus, few victims of discrimination will actually benefit, but the legal precedent for government tampering with seniority rights has been firmly established.

In the seeming absence of a class-struggle alternative—a union leadership committed to challenging discrimination and fighting for jobs for all—black and women workers in a number of industries have turned to the no-win course of reliance on court suits and governmental pressure. The drawn-out court battles against sexist and racist discrimination by the steel bosses have resulted only in token payments of several hundred dollars each to a tiny fraction of the thousands of victims of discrimination in the industry.

Under terms of the 1974 "Consent Decree"—signed by nine major steel companies, the United Steel Workers (USW) and the Departments of Labor and Justice—workers who take the checks waive all legal rights to pursue their cases any further. The theoretical granting of plant-wide seniority was essentially gutted by acceptance of company "lines of progression," which force blacks who transfer out of the hellish coke ovens and blast furnaces to take pay cuts and begin at the bottom in new departments, regardless of their plant-wide seniority standing.

The earlier "Fairfield decision," which was largely superseded by the "Consent Decree," was somewhat broader in scope yet never transcended the basic framework of tokenism. Hailed by reformist outfits like the Communist Party and the Maoist October League (OL) as a great victory, the decision awarded back pay to only 61 out of 3,000 affected black steel workers in Alabama.

"Women's Lawsuit" at Fremont

In the auto industry much attention has been focused on a "women's lawsuit" at the General Motors plant in Fremont, California. This lawsuit, brought by several members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 and supported by the OL, attempted to reduce the number of layoffs of women workers in early 1975, not by stopping all layoffs but by laying off male workers in their place! This was made clear in the plaintiffs' brief, which stated that "such affirmative action plan shall have as its goal permanent population parity for female employees at GMAD Fremont..., that is population parity

continued on page 10

Break with Peronism, Stalinism, Guerrillaism –For a Trotskyist Party!

The End of Peronist Rule in Argentina

by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile

D. Goldberg/Sygma

General Rafael Videla

D. Goldberg/Sygma

Isabel Peron saluting

Lotta Continua

U.S.-trained Argentine riot police

The coup d'état in Argentina, carried out by a junta composed of the three branches of the armed forces, marked the tragic and logical unfolding of a bourgeois crisis which had grown increasingly acute with the Peronist government's total incapacity to resolve it. It is important to note that the takeover had already begun Tuesday the 23rd [of March] and not Wednesday the 24th as was officially reported.

President Isabel Perón had attempted to ignore social tensions caused by the economic disaster, instead abusing the demagogic prestige that *justicialismo* had won through its *líder máximo*, General Juan Perón. Furthermore, the control over the working class which Peronism had exercised through a veritable bureaucratic mafia in the main Argentine trade-union federation, the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], was no longer viable. The Argentine proletariat was trying to break its dependence on these pimping misleaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie. The most obvious proof of this was the recent general strike just before the coup.

Since the bourgeoisie found its efforts at economic and social planning stymied, it withdrew all support from the government of Perón's widow. The working class will certainly not be duped by bourgeois moral arguments concerning the squandering of public funds by the president and her friend, López Rega. The real reasons for the bourgeoisie's withdrawal of support from the government are of a political order, i.e., the raging economic crisis and the rise of working-class struggle.

When the bourgeoisie can no longer depend upon the services of the government, it falls back upon the state apparatus, and of course upon the armed forces as its enforcers. From its point of view, the moment chosen to shatter the democratic institutions was dramatically correct, since there was no forceful opposition. The Argentine working class has no mass parties capable of putting up any substantial class resistance (thus the counterrevolutionary class-collaborationist policies of the Communist Party, for example, have led it to sell out to Peronism). In Chile an important part of the proletariat was organized in the two mass workers parties, the Socialist Party (SP) and the Communist Party (CP), which in spite of their reformist strategies were nearly destroyed by Pinochet (above all the SP). The guerrillas of the Argentine PRT/ERP (Revolutionary Workers Party/Revolutionary People's Army) and Montoneros had neither the physical nor political capacity necessary [to resist the coup]: their war with the bourgeois army was irreversibly lost from the beginning, no matter how heroic individual militants may have been.

The Argentine armed forces, who have a great deal of experience in carrying out coups, wanted to avoid the unfavorable international image which its neighbor, Chile, has received. Important economic interests involving large foreign investments are at stake, and could not simply be thrown overboard. There are even very good economic relations with the USSR. For these reasons the dominant sectors of the Argentine armed forces were opposed to the Air Force-led coup attempt [last December].

In this fashion the military takeover in Argentina appeared to the world as almost "peaceful" and without bloodshed. The only purpose of the CGT's call for a general strike was in order to be able to bargain over the positions which the bureaucracy had earlier obtained. But these are only the appearances, behind which is hidden a silent repression no less bloody than that of similar coups on the continent, most obviously Chile. This repression vents its fury primarily against the Argentine working class and likewise against its class brothers from other parts of Latin America who have been forced to emigrate to Argentina, whether for political or economic reasons (assuming that one could speak of pure politics or economics). In particular, hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have crossed the Andean *cordillera* from Chile; the brutal repression against them has already begun. By common agreement, the representatives of capital open their borders in order to communicate in the language of death and destruction of the proletariat. Before March Perón had already handed over hundreds of Chileans to the Chilean bourgeoisie; now this deadly traffic in human beings is increasing.

The demagogic populism of Peronism has been exposed. The illusions which it fostered among the Argentine working masses may well have received a death blow. Despite the brief duration of the Peronist government, this period was sufficient to demonstrate that the bourgeoisie (even those of its parties which have working-class support) necessarily bases its system on the exploitation of the proletariat and of the lowest social strata, that there is no such thing as a progressive "anti-imperialist" national bourgeoisie. Capitalism is an international system of domination based on the exploitation of man by man. Anti-imperialism, progress and the liberation of humanity can only be brought about through the violent destruction of the capitalist system of private property and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class, thus laying the bases of the future socialist society.

The Argentine Frente Justicialista [Frejuli, the official Peronist party] is a bourgeois populist party, created by the bourgeoisie itself in order to dominate the rising workers movement in the 1940's. This is how the present CGT arose as a trade-union organization built and supported by the bourgeoisie in order to destroy proletarian militancy. When General Perón proved incapable of fulfilling his class function, he was violently removed and obliged to take an extended vacation in Spain. However, the military governments which followed Perón's fall were also unable to attain social peace. Thus the bourgeoisie was forced to recall the exile from Iberia and once more offer him governmental control.

The illusions in Peronism which had been preserved within the working class gave the general an overwhelming electoral triumph. The "critical" support by so-called "Marxists," such as the PST (Socialist Workers Party), to the Peronist government of Hector Cámpora objectively contributed to the working-class defeat which resulted from the military coup.

It is interesting to observe the positions of the different left organizations on the question of Peronist populism. On the one hand the petty-bourgeois guerrillaist groups -the Montoneros and the PRT/ERP both put forward the same strategy of "national liberation," thus playing the role of left face of Stalinism, under the leadership of Fidel Castro. For them the principal contradiction is between the imperialists and the nation, not between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Therefore, the revolution is to occur in two stages: the first is bourgeois-democratic, naturally in alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, and the second will never be realized. Even in the best case, this strategy leads only to the constitution of bureaucratic anti-working-class regimes, such as the Cuban deformed workers state.

Thousands of valiant young militants have been led to their death by their belief in the Castroite Mandelite strategy of betrayal. The other groups which have joined with the ERP in the Revolutionary Coordinating Council – the Bolivian ELN (National Liberation Army), the Uruguayan MLN (Tupamaros) and the Chilean MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) – have all been virtually destroyed in their respective countries of origin. The Montoneros handed over their arms when Perón took office, only to have to pick them up again later against the repression unleashed by their own patrons. For its part, the PRT/ERP has nothing in common with genuine Trotskyism. It carries out its own war with the bourgeois army behind the back of the working class, which usually suffers the repercussions of the desperado operations of these latter-day "Robin Hoods."

Also present are the representatives of the United Secretariat (USec) of the self-proclaimed Fourth International an unprincipled federation of the *foco*ist [Guevarist] majority, which had built the Castroite PRT/ERP, and the reformist minority of Moreno/Coral's PST. Consistent with its class-collaborationist politics the same as those displayed by its American older brother, the Socialist Workers Party (e.g., in the movement against the war in Vietnam) the PST gave support to the bourgeois Peronist government, claiming that "the Peronist party ...since 1946 has been the organization and the ideology of the working class" (*Revista de América*, March 1976).

Furthermore, Politica Obrera affiliated to the Organizing Commitee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, led by the French OCI has abandoned the basic principles of the Transitional Program by calling for a Latin American anti-imperialist united front to force the bourgeoisie to fulfill the program of national liberation; that is, the creation of a Latin American Kuomintang.

Thus the advent of a bourgeois bonapartist military junta in Argentina is the result of the crisis of the bourgeoisie which, unable to halt the workers' advances and to reduce social and economic tensions through traditional democratic methods, falls back upon its instrument of class exploitation and oppression: the state. The armed forces therefore take on their true role as guardian of capitalist interests, not that of "defense of the fatherland", temporarily raising themselves above the social classes.

Another chapter in the history of betrayal, reformist illusions and class collaboration in Latin America has been brought to a close. This must be added to the lessons of the Chilean popular front, where the bourgeois solution to the crisis, Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, failed completely during Frei's Christian Democratic government. Counterrevolutionary Stalinism built the Popular Unity with the bourgeoisie the Radical Party, the Social-Democratic Party, API and the mass workers parties (SP and CP), the MIR acting as their left appendage, and then led the proletariat to bloody defeat and destruction of its class organizations.

We are experiencing the crisis of capitalism, its death agony. Only the proletariat led by an authentic Trotskyist party armed with the revolutionary program can deliver the final blow. This must be a party of irreconcilable opposition to the bourgeoisie and its popular-frontist representatives. The principal obstacles to the construction of a revolutionary workers leadership in Argentina today are those deserters from the camp of Trotskyism who will try to raise anew the putrified corpse of Peronism. These are the centrist and reformist renegades from the Transitional Program, the destroyers of the Fourth International: the USec Pablo-ism and the Organizing Committee of the OCI. The bourgeoisie and its system of oppression will not be defeated by anti-imperialist or anti-fascist fronts, or any other bombastic name which the betrayers may use to cover up their capitulation to the bourgeois program.

The crisis of humanity is the crisis of revolutionary leadership of the working class, and this will only be overcome by the rebirth of the Fourth International. Exploitation recognizes no national borders; only under a revolutionary leadership centralized on a world wide scale will socialism replace capitalist barbarism.

Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile
15 April 1976

Telegram from Martin Sostre

21 April 1976

As a recently released class war prisoner I wholeheartedly support the struggle to free all class war prisoners in Argentina and Chile as well as the struggle to save Mario Muñoz. Hasta la victoria.

Martin Sostre

Mario Muñoz: Miner, Working-Class Leader, Hunted Refugee

by the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile

Mario Muñoz Salas was born 8 June 1939. He began working in the mines at the age of 14. At that time the "pirquineros" (contract miners) were being exploited by Chile's mining barons with the complicity of judges, lawyers, politicians and presidents of the republic. Yankee imperialism intervened directly in the mineral-buying agencies to deprive the miners of the fruits of their years of labor.

Mario Muñoz was among the first to rebel, pushing forward the organization and consolidation of unions to defend the workers' rights. This was no easy task, for 90 percent of the miners were illiterate, many afflicted with silicosis and dying by the thousands in the most abject poverty.

In 1968 the Interprovincial Union of Contract Miners of the provinces of Valparaiso, Aconcagua and Santiago was established. Its founder and leader was Mario Muñoz. The union sought to qualitatively change the traditional struggles over basically economist demands in order to give them a political thrust. Its program envisioned a thorough reform of the Mining Codes to end private ownership of the mines and make them exclusively state property.

For many years Mario Muñoz belonged to the Chilean Communist Party (CP) of which he became a regional leader. Despite his party's opposition he led mine seizures, beginning with those not being worked by their owners. The first mine in the hands of the workers was the "Los Maquis de Pedernales," which they then renamed "La Rebelión." This was followed by many others.

The government attempted to repress the first seizure of a foreign-owned mine, but the troops were forced to retreat in the face of the resoluteness of the miners and consistent support from the peasants. Under the leadership of Muñoz, an authentic worker-peasant alliance was created in these provinces, as the miners also supported the seizures of "fundos" (large estates) carried out by local peasants.

As a result of the widely publicized union mobilizations Muñoz participated in a Channel 4 television interview. In an effort to intimidate Muñoz, the angered Minister of Mines threatened to use police force if such activities continued. Muñoz answered that if the minister were to carry out his threat it would result in the first massacre of "pacos" (cops) in Chile.

After the CP's refusal to support his trade-union policies, Muñoz quit the party and tore up his membership card in front of a mass meeting of miners, at which all present followed his example.

The September 1970 electoral victory of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) coalition did not halt the revolutionary activities of the miners. From public platforms Muñoz forced the leaders of the popular front to not oppose the mine seizures.

In 1971 Muñoz entered the Chilean Socialist Party (SP). He was immediately impelled to lead a left opposition in the party against Allende and his cohorts in high posts.

A march of miners from Cahildo to Valparaiso took place in March of the same year. The CP, which opposed the march, closed the union hall of the Melón cement workers in the town of Calera where the marchers were supposed to eat and rest. The slogans of the march, led by Muñoz, were expropriation without compensation of the mineral deposits and armed defense of the government against possible imperialist attack. The workers' demonstration ended with a rally at the office of the Valparaiso provincial governor, where Muñoz denounced class conciliation, calling the provincial governor at his side (a member of the Radical Party) a representative of the bourgeoisie.

El Mercurio

March by "pirquineros" (contract miners) union in Valparaiso, 22 March 1971 in support of nationalization of copper mines. Mario Muñoz led the march.

Subsequently the UP came out against the mine seizures. The first important confrontation took place with the miners' occupation of the Bella Vista plant, whose owners were in the Radical Party. Mr. Cantuarias, a Radical and the minister of mines, tried to speak to the miners, but Muñoz took the floor to denounce the government deals, calling Cantuarias a thief in the service of the bosses. As could be expected, this meeting ended in disorder.

In the face of firm and resolute opposition from the miners and their leader, the parties of the UP sponsored a conference of miners at the University of Federico Santa Maria in Valparaiso. Through a campaign of slander they tried to undermine Muñoz' rising influence in the Chilean proletariat. Of 152 delegates who attended the conference, 25 were from the contract miners' union. Also invited were the principal leaders of the Central Unico de Trabajadores (CUT) [the Chilean labor federation, dissolved by Pinochet in September 1973], the CP and the SP. However, neither these nor even the presence of Allende himself could silence the voice of Mario Muñoz. The resolutions passed at this conference, which remained in the hands of the UP leaders, were never published.

In this tense climate the Allende government attempted toward the end of 1972 to create the Regional Miners Councils as an organization for bureaucratically asphyxiating the working class. The first congress took place in Copiapó, a province of Atacama. Four days before the opening the miners, with Muñoz at their head, inaugurated the congress by occupying a mine in Salado. The mine was owned by the vice-president of the state National Mining Enterprise (ENAMI), Eduardo Matta. Again Muñoz' speech hailing the mine occupation received an ovation by the workers and in a unanimous vote they elected him president of the Regional Miners Councils.

With this new victory of the mining proletariat, another campaign of calumny was unleashed against Muñoz, accusing him of misappropriating funds, union property, etc. Economic measures were taken to undermine the support of different sectors of miners. The workers did not wait long to react. At the Bronca de Petorca cooperative, the workers decided to detain the head of the Department of Mines in the Pedro de Valdivia mine and put him to work pushing the ore carts. Faced with the government's refusal to grant [the workers] deeds to the mine, Muñoz marched at the head of the miners to Santiago where they seized the central building of ENAMI and the Ministry of Mines. What had not been gained in nine months was now obtained in less than an hour.

Shortly before the coup a mass meeting of miners took place in the building of the UNCTAD workers in downtown Santiago, where Muñoz met with Allende. In addition to assuring him of the unconditional support of the miners to defend the government against the impending reactionary coup, Muñoz asked how long he (Allende) would continue betraying the workers' interests in open conciliation with the bourgeoisie. Some parties of the UP, principally the CP, tried to prevent Muñoz' speech with goons in the service of their treacherous politics. The miners forcefully defended workers democracy and their leader, and marched afterward to the center of Santiago shouting "Break with the Bourgeoisie!" and "Stop the Fascist Coup!" As a result Muñoz broke with the social-patriotism of the SP, demanding freedom for workers and peasants (of Pangal, etc.) imprisoned by the UP government.

Because of the violent persecution against him—he was ordered shot on sight—at the time of Pinochet's coup d'état, Muñoz was forced to cross the Andean *cordillera* to seek refuge in Argentina. One of his brothers was murdered, beaten to death by the forces of reaction.

In Argentina he dedicated himself to defending the thousands of Chilean workers and peasants who were also forced to leave the country. The Peronist government issued a decree for his expulsion from Argentina. As a result he had to remain underground until the birth of a new son, which opened the possibility of meeting the conditions for legal immigration. This was bureaucratically postponed up until the coup. Within a few hours of assuming power, the Argentine military began to search high and low for Mario Muñoz in order to shoot him. They stopped at nothing, pursuing his entire family and venting their fury on his *compañera* and their children. The UN has taken no responsibility for his life, which hangs by a thread. Only international working-class solidarity can save him! ■

Mario Muñoz Campaign Gathers International Support

WV Photo

NEW YORK—Chanting "Mario Muñoz, Workers Leader Must Live to Lead Again" and "Stop Videla's Witchhunt, Free Class War Prisoners," approximately 175 demonstrators gathered outside the Argentine Consulate here Thursday demanding safe conduct out of Argentina for Mario Muñoz and his family. Also last week, the campaign to save the life of the Chilean revolutionary trade-union leader took on significant international dimensions. Labor Party and trade-union leaders from Australia and Canada came forward to support the case. The Canadian Labor Congress has now endorsed the campaign, along with leaders of the New Democratic Party (NDP). From its London headquarters Amnesty International issued an Urgent Action memorandum, and in Paris Jiri Pelikan, former Central Committee member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and now editor of the opposition journal *Listy*, agreed to endorse the campaign.

Muñoz, the Chilean mine workers leader who fled Pinochet's terror in 1973, is presently being pursued by the Argentine police with orders to "shoot on sight." The province of San Juan has been sealed off for the hunt. For Muñoz, as for thousands of other South American trade unionists and leftists forced to flee brutal military dictatorships in their homelands, Argentina was the last refuge. Now there is nowhere for them to go to escape the unleashing of a bloody repression by Videla's junta.

An international campaign of protest and pressure to focus attention on the plight of these refugees has been organized by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, jointly sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the European-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile.

Written endorsements to the Committee's International Appeal were received this week from several members of the Australian Labor Party, including former Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Jim Cairns; in Canada Ed Broadbent, federal leader of the New Democratic Party, and Gordon Vichert, provincial secretary of the Ontario NDP, came forward to endorse the campaign. New endorsements received in the United States included the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; University of Chicago student government; John Mitchell, International Representative of the Amalgamated Meatcutters; Herbert Marcuse; Nobel laureate Salvador Luria; Daniel Berrigan, and Dick Gregory.

New York Demonstration

By 5 p.m. on April 22, the announced time of the New York demonstration, the Argentine consulate had been locked up tight, its staff sent home by the back door. Undeterred, the spirited demonstrators picketed and chanted their slogans. Participants in the united-front demonstration included contingents from the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League, Partisan Defense Committee, Revolutionary Socialist League, League for a Revolutionary Party, Communist Cadre, International Workers Party, Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee and Purchase College Cuthacks Coalition. Also marching were supporters of militant rank-and-file caucuses from the UAW and National Maritime Union.

Picketing continued while the demonstrators heard speakers from all the participating groups. Applause broke out when a telegram of solidarity was read from Martin Sostre, the black militant recently released after serving years in prison on a frame-up charge.

Mario Muñoz is a symbol of the tens of thousands of Chilean and other exiles now in Argentina. Among these refugees from rightist terror are the cadres who embody the history and living memory of the earlier struggles and have seen the bloody cost of popular-frontist illusions. They must be a crucial component of the fight to wrest power in Chile from the unstable and increasingly isolated junta. But now their lives hang by a thread. Only a massive campaign of international solidarity can save them. Save Mario Muñoz! Defend the victims of right-wing terror in Chile and Argentina! ■

Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Munoz. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

ENDORSERS:
Raymond Lee Abraham, Jr. B S O C
Eqbal Ahmad
All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party
Argentinian Support Movement, London
Associated Student Government, Northwestern University*
Daniel Berrigan
James Bond, City Council of Atlanta Ga.*
Fred Branfman
Laurie Brereton, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, Australia*
Andrew Brewin, Member of Parliament New Democratic Party* (NDP), Canada
Ed Broadbent, Leader, NDP*
Hon. Dr. Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party*
Canadian Labor Congress
Joe Carnegie, Dir., Brooklyn Fight Back*
John Carroll, Esq., Southern Povarty Law Center*
Hon. Dr. Moss Cass, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party*
Noam Chomsky
Coalicion de Latinoamericanos
Communist Cadre
Fred Cohn, Atty.
Senator Ruth Coleman, Australian Labor Party*
Comandos de la Resistancia de la Republica Dominicana
Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana
Committee Against Friedman/Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta
Community Action on Latin America, Madison
Robert H. Cowen, Math Dept., Queens College*
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Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
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Frank Donner, Gen. Counsel, U.E., member ACLU*
Rosie Douglas
Jan Dukaszcta, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party, Canada*
Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action
Alexander Erlich, Prof., Russian Inst., Columbia U.*
Thomas I. Emerson, Prof. of Law, Yale*
Federated Engine Drivers and Firemens Association of Australia, Victoria and New South Wales branches
Mario Felmer, Chilean Young Socialists*
Friends of Indochina
Barbara Garson, author
Eugene Genovese, Prof. of History, Rochester U.*
Arthur Gietzelt, Senator, Australian Labor Party*
Jorgen Goderstad, Chairman, S. Central Wisconsin local, Socialist Party*
Harvey Goldberg, Prof. of History, U. of Wisconsin*
Dick Gregory
Will Haasch, pres., Local 507 GAIU, Madison*
Burton Hall, Atty.
Frank Hardy, novelist
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Tom Hayden
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Independent Caucus, FFT, New Jersey State College*
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International Socialists, Chicago local
International Student Defense Committee, U. of Chicago*
International Workers Party
Dale Johnson, Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.**
E. Roy John, M.D.
Sanford Katz, Atty.
Florynce Kennedy, Atty.
Ronald Kent, Field Rep., Wisconsin State Employees Union, AFSCME*
Noah Kimarling
Rose Kirk, Chief Steward, OCAW Local 7507*
Pat Knight, Pres., SSEU Local 371* (verbal)
Labor Struggle Caucus, UAW Local 6*, Chicago
Lavender and Red Union
League for the Revolutionary Party
Gerald Lefcourt, Atty.
John Leggett, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology Rutgers U.*
Stu Leggett, Member of Parliament, NDP*
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Staughton Lynd, author
Herbert Marcuse
Militant Caucus, S.F.
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, NMU*
Militant Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906*
John Mitchell, International Rep., Meatcutters Union*
Ian Mueller, Dir. of Grad. Studies in Philo., U. of Chicago
Mark Naison, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Society*
National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Chicago chapter
National Jury Project
National Lawyers Guild, Massachusatts chapter
Ira Katz Nelson, Assoc. Prof., Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
New American Movement, U. of Chicago*
David Newby, State V.P., Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFT*
New York Unemployed Council
Richard Newhouse, Dem., Ill., State Sen.
Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union, District Council 8
Dr. Philip Oke, U.N. Rep., Christian Peace Conference*
Dean Peerman, *Christian Century**
James Petras
Jiri Pelikan
Adam Przeworski, Assoc. Prof., Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago*
Rank and File Coalition, UAW Local 6*, Chi
Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
Bill Robinson, Exec. Brd., Local 634, AFSCME
John Rodriguez, Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party of Canada*
Norm Roth, former Pres., UAW Local 6*, Chicago
Richard Rubenstein, Prof. of Pol. Sci., Roosevelt U.*
Jay Schulman, National Jury Project
Search for Justice and Equality in Pelestine
Dennis Serrette, Pres., Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*
James J. Sheehan
Sylvia Sherman, Sec'y, Local 171 AFSCME
Ship Painters and Dockers Union, Victoria, Australia
Socialist Party, S. Centrel Wisconsin local
Roney L. Sorenson, Alderman Dist. 5, Madison, Wisconsin*
Martin Sostre
Spartacist League
Spartacus Youth League
Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
I. F. Stone
Doris E. Stricter, Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile*
Walter Teague, Friends of Indochina
Studs Terkel, author
Rip Torn, actor/director
University of Chicago Student Government
United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)
Gordon Vichert, Prov. Sec'y, Ontario New Democratic Party, Ontario, Canada*
Richard and Cristine Whitecross
Sidney E. William, Youth Vision Integrity*
Women and Revolution
Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd.
Bernard Willshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Howard Zinn
Marvin Zonis, Prof., U. of Chicago*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Partial listing

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Munoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Munoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Munoz!
Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!
Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!
Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Munoz

☐ I pledge $_____ to help save Mario Munoz. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee. Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Munoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be usad to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Munoz

First Battle of 1976 Auto Contract Fight

All Labor Must Back Rubber Strikers!

Ott Ganji/Beacon Journal (Akron)

Picket at gate of Firestone plant 1.

CLEVELAND/AKRON, April 25 — More than 60,000 rubber workers in 47 plants and 21 states across the country downed tools Wednesday and began what could turn into a long and bitter strike against the "Big Four" tire and rubber manufacturers. The chief issue in the strike is the drastic loss of real wages under previous contracts which lacked any protection against inflation. In the three years since the last agreement was signed, rubber workers have lost a full 10 percent of their real income to increases in the cost of living.

The United Rubber Workers (URW) leadership under Peter Bommarito is currently putting on a show of militancy by calling an industry-wide shutdown for the first time since 1967. It is also insisting on a cost-of-living (c-o-l) clause for the first time ever, and declaring a worldwide boycott of all Firestone products. The membership immediately demonstrated its determination to "catch up" on wages by vigorously backing the strike.

In addition to "unlimited" c-o-l protection, the URW demands of a $1.65-per-hour raise for production workers and $2.00 per hour for skilled tradesmen are designed to restore rubber workers' traditional parity with auto workers' wages, a standard which has been steadily eroded over the past ten years. By limiting the official demands to recouping past losses, however, Bommarito & Co. have guaranteed in advance that no new gains will be made and that some of the "catch-up" will be sacrificed in yet another bargaining table betrayal.

Rubber workers are in a good position to go on the offensive against the companies since the industry is still in a conjunctural upswing. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (16 April) noted that the strike takes place in the context of the "strong upturn in tire company fortunes in the past six months or so." However, following a report by the Wall Street brokerage house of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith predicting that the URW would win an unlimited c-o-l allowance and pay increases worth $1.19 per hour, the union leadership quickly began whittling down its "rock bottom" wage demand in order to "frame an agreement" along the lines of the market analysts' report.

The companies are taking a tough stand in defense of the multi-million-dollar profits afforded them by the rubber workers' losses. Even Bommarito was forced to declare Firestone's final pre-strike offer of $1.15 per hour and a limited escalator clause "a slap in the face." In fact, the companies are on a provocative offensive which could turn into an outright union-busting campaign. They are well aware that the URW's meager strike fund is expected to pay no more than $35 per week to the strikers for at most three weeks after payments begin May 5.

Already the local papers in rubber industry centers are speculating that "The longer the strike...the greater the likelihood of violence, as hungry workers may try to cross the picket lines to get back to work" (*Akron Beacon Journal*, 21 April). This weekend Goodyear and Firestone spokesmen made an unprecedented announcement designed to sap the strikers' morale: they were halting the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) which were due by contractual agreement to more than 1,400 laid-off workers of the two companies. A candid Goodyear official openly admitted that this was "a pressure tactic."

Already the big business press is singling out rubber workers for scapegoating, figuring that the URW's relatively small size makes it a prime candidate for a strikebreaking drive. The *New York Times* (24 April) labeled the strike a "roadblock to resurgence of American economy" in one headline. A concerted attempt by the rubber monopolies would be no surprise considering their vicious anti-labor record. In 1967, the five industry giants formed an "unholy alliance" for mutual protection and provoked a long strike. Moreover, many rubber plants (particularly in the South, where they have migrated in search of low-wage labor) remain unorganized; the present walkout closes only 10 of Firestone's 15 domestic tire plants, and but a tiny fraction of its non-tire operations.

Militancy in Akron

As soon as the midnight, April 20, deadline passed, Akron workers

Beacon Journal (Akron)

URW president Peter Bommarito

launched into the strike with determination and militancy. Mass picketing prevented salaried workers from entering the plants, while rocks and bottles sailed onto Firestone property during the first night of the strike. Six B.F. Goodrich strikers were arrested by Akron police amid reports that the cops had beaten some of them. At Firestone, company cops were much in evidence to help the police do their dirty work.

The companies immediately obtained a court injunction limiting pickets and requiring open access to the plants. Defiance of the injunction was reported at Goodyear Plant 2 on the second day of the strike, when a large group of pickets stopped coal trucks from entering the plant until they were ordered aside by sheriff's deputies. Subsequently attempts were again made to block access to the plant.

Bommarito's reputation climbed a few notches with his initial show of militancy, although strikers on the lines were generally very guarded and suspicious. "Bommarito's got his nose to the stone," one rubber worker told *WV* on the first day of the strike. "He's got to produce this time. '73 wasn't good enough." Others were less optimistic, saying "there's going to be a sellout" and "Bommarito's a crook." There was also criticism of the URW leadership for its total blackout of information on the bargaining agreed to jointly with the companies—and for poor organization of the strike.

Support for the industry-wide shutdown was solid, with many strikers vowing to smash the "unholy alliance." Even though this anti-strike pact has been known to the union leadership at least since 1967, strikes since then have been run on a "target company" basis. In 1973 Bommarito concluded a sellout agreement with Goodyear prior to the deadline, then called a token strike at B.F. Goodrich for essentially the same terms!

Make "30 for 40" a Strike Demand!

Totally ignored by the leadership in the present strike is the key question of unemployment and the shorter workweek. Rubber workers have lost 9,000 jobs since 1973. For many of those without work, SUB funds are already exhausted, as at Uniroyal, or are dangerously low. In Ohio, where much of the industry is centered, the state recently cancelled extended unemployment benefits.

A shorter workweek has in the past been a key union demand. The six-day, 36-hour week was instituted by the companies in 1930 in order to protect their workforce from dispersal through unemployment during the depression, since trained tire builders were among the most highly skilled workers of any mass production industry. Later the companies sought to restore the 40-hour week, and this became one of the critical issues in the historic Goodyear sit-down strike of 1936 which built the union and paved the way for the auto plant seizures a year later.

The URW succeeded in retaining the short workweek and halting layoffs which the company had begun by lengthening hours. In 1945, the union made the 30-hour week one of its goals, and Canadian rubber workers fought in the late 1940's to shorten their workweek to 40 hours. At present in the U.S., only Goodyear and General Tire workers retain the 36-hour week, while the rest work 40 and the union leadership has totally abandoned its earlier demands. The present industry-wide strike must have "30 for 40" as one of its chief goals.

International Solidarity Key

The international implications of the strike cannot be ignored even by narrow business unionists like Bommarito. Goodyear has plants in at least 23 countries, Firestone in 16, Uniroyal in 13 and Goodrich in 7. Bommarito is going to Geneva to get support for the strike from the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Unions (ICF), and the head of the Japanese rubber workers union has promised an "unlimited walkout" by April 26 if the URW is still out.

But Bommarito's "internationalism" is hypocritical at best. While the union strikes in the U.S., Canadian URW members continue to work. A four-month Canadian strike in 1946 was sabotaged by U.S. companies shipping tires and other products to their Canadian subsidiaries. Many union-busting assaults have been mounted against Canadian rubber workers. URW leaders betrayed Quebec Firestone workers who were the victims of vicious scab-herding during a 7-month strike in 1973-74. The close links of Canadian and U.S. industry require joint strikes, and URW militants must demand full parity for Canadian rubber workers.

Bommarito's chief excuse for his 1973 betrayal was that the contract occurred under Nixon's wage controls. The Goodrich strike was the first confrontation with a major industrial giant under Nixon's "New Economic Policy," yet the URW had already settled at Goodyear on terms which could be hailed in a joint company-union statement as falling within the 5.5 percent guideline. At the time, we predicted (*WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973) that the Goodyear terms would mean a loss of real wages by 1976, and called for an internationally extended, industry-wide strike to smash Nixon's wage controls and for a campaign to organize the South and Puerto Rico as well as for eliminating the substantial differential between tire and non-tire wages.

AFL-CIO, Teamsters, UAW Must Aid Rubber Strikers

Today, as the court injunctions and federal government intervention in the negotiations demonstrate, the need to resist the bosses' government is essential. Government "mediation" must be rejected and the anti-picketing injunctions smashed! The strike must be

continued on page 10

Rubber...

(continued from page 9)

extended to Canada and the toothless consumer boycott of Firestone turned into a labor boycott of all struck products, particularly tires coming from non-union shops. The opportunity of the industry-wide strike must be seized to complete the union organization of the rubber industry.

Relations between rubber workers and auto workers have always been close, as in 1937 when URW members streamed to Flint to defend the General Motors sit-down strikers. The utmost solidarity is needed now this is the first battle of the 1976 auto contract fight. Stocks of tires held by the auto companies, purposely built up prior to the strike, will run out in two to three weeks in most cases. Auto workers must refuse to handle new supplies of tires, no matter what the source! Teamsters must refuse to handle tires during the strike. In addition, strike fund contributions are urgently needed from the AFL-CIO and other unions, as well as support for URW picket lines to prevent scabbing, defy injunctions and keep the struck plants closed.

The rubber workers' plight underlines the need for a sliding scale of wages and hours for all workers in all industries. URW members have suffered acutely from simultaneously rising unemployment and inflation. SUB funds have been wholly inadequate and subject to capricious company attack during the strike, while cost-of-living protection has been non-existent. Rubber workers must insist on a full, uncapped c-o-l escalator and on a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, with sharp restrictions on overtime. The SUB funds must be extended indefinitely, guaranteed by the company and the federal government, and the companies penalized for cutting off funds during the strike.

Yet cost-of-living formulas in contracts are never adequate. Even under the most liberal formulas workers only recoup a part of their wages lost to inflation. Delays in computation and implementation, the bias of government price statistics, counting increases as part of basic wages for figuring pension and other fringe benefits are some of the many ways the capitalists subvert them.

Only a sliding scale of wages and hours, extended over all industries, can adequately deal with these problems. But for this a general assault on the capitalist system is required. Industry must be expropriated without compensation and state economic planning instituted by a workers government.

From adequate c-o-l protection to a workers government, the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie who presently mislead the union movement remain the most important roadblock to success. The bureaucracy is as committed to maintaining capitalism as it is subservient to government wage controls. Rubber workers must begin now the fight for a class-struggle program which alone can ensure that Bommarito & Co. are replaced with a militant leadership capable of leading all labor to victory against the class enemy. ■

Seniority...

(continued from page 5)

without regard to workforce size at any time."

As the court and all participants well understood, such "population parity" (presumably 51 percent women) could only mean preferential seniority for women and layoffs for men. When the UAW International tried to enter a legal opinion as a "friend of the court," the judge ruled that the union's only possible standing would be as a defendant in the case.

At Fremont GM an alternative to the bureaucrats' callous indifference to racial sexual oppression and the reformists' divisive and ineffectual ploy of "preferential seniority" court cases was put forward by a class-struggle opposition called the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW). The committee denounced the suit as an open invitation to the government to "rewrite our contract and break the seniority system" and counterposed a nationwide UAW campaign against layoffs and plant closures through the use of sit-down strikes to win a shorter workweek at full pay.

The CMUAW circulated a petition in the plant demanding that the suit be dropped by its initiators and that "the union fight all forms of discrimination and mount a campaign to end layoffs." This petition was signed by some 750 workers, over half of them female or non-white, causing great embarrassment to the handful of women backing the reactionary suit. Supporters of the suit subsequently started issuing a plant newsletter called "Stand Up," flaunting their opposition to the militant tactic of the sit-down strike in favor of trusting the bosses' courts.

Now that the second shift has been recalled at Fremont, the Stand Up caucus has tried to hide the decisive repudiation of its court suit among workers in the plant by pretending that although "At first our suit got a bad response from the men in the plant ...a lot has changed over the past year..." Referring vaguely to "a copy of the local union newspaper" (no title, no date), an article in the March issue of the OL's *Call* implies that workers who (correctly) support "the right of women to be in the plants" therefore support the anti-union "women's lawsuit."

In response to this duplicity, a spokesman for the CMUAW described to WV the real situation in the plant:

> "The Stand Up caucus has escalated their cover-up operation on the women's court suit against the union to overturn our seniority provisions. Last year they called it 'modifying seniority'; this year they call it 'strengthening seniority.' The workers at Fremont call it 'breaking seniority.'
>
> "Stand Up raised their disingenuous slogan as a resolution at the February 27 union meeting and our committee exposed this as underhanded support to the suit. Unfortunately, it was ruled out of order by the union officials before the workers were able to vote it down.
>
> "The latest issue of *The Call* claims widespread support to the suit by the workers at Fremont. But anti-suit sentiment is so prevalent that in order to get any votes at all in the recent special elections, Stand Up hastily pulled together an opportunist slate of aspiring bureaucrats on a platform of 'strengthening seniority.'
>
> "Their slate evaporated when the polls closed. They continue to lie outside the plant about imaginary mass pro-suit support, while inside the plant all they talk about is 'strengthening seniority.' Ill-will against women in the plant has been generated by the divisive anti-union suit. However, the workers at Fremont still stand with the 'Drop the Suit' petition, representing a pole of unity between women and men: defense of the union against government interference."

Long on phony schemes and short on principles, reformist groupings like the Stand Up caucus and the OL represent nothing more than variations on the labor lakers' policies of class collaboration. The entrenched bureaucratic misleaders of the UAW, Steelworkers, etc., appeal to backward social attitudes and narrow parochialism among white male workers as they counsel reliance on labor's so-called "friends" in congress and the courts. The phony militants and would-be bureaucrats, in turn, try to win support from black and women workers by pitting them against the rest of the working class and preaching that the bosses' government can be pressured into overcoming racial and sexual oppression nurtured by the capitalist system. The real answer is that the working class must rely only on its own strength to liberate itself and all the oppressed. ■

S.F...

(continued from page 12)

contract must be the starting point for new talks.

ATU Local 1225 drivers used to rank in the top five on the wage scale of transit drivers. Now they have dropped to 22nd place nationally and get a lower wage than Bay Area Rapid Transit, AC Transit, San Francisco Muni drivers and the Santa Clara County system drivers. They are required to work about 30 percent longer than the standard 40-hour week with many drivers driving 10 to 14 hours a day.

Furthermore, lower seniority drivers are threatened by unemployment because of the Bridge District's policy of licensing and subsidizing private charter "clubhuses." The number of such "clubhuses" is growing rapidly and Bridge Directors adamantly defend the practice. Referring to the "clubhuses" San Rafael mayor and Bridge Director Paul Bettini says "It's the District's privilege to run its business. But we need public support if we're to stay tough" (*Pacific Sun*, 23-29 April). *Workers Vanguard* reporters who showed up at a bus barn of Golden Gate Transit the first day of the strike were met by ATU pickets who told them their union was fining them for throwing up picket lines before they had received union authorization! Since then, as a conciliatory gesture, ATU pickets have been withdrawn from the Bridge District's Sausalito ferry lines.

No Friends in City Hall

The trade-union bureaucracy is prostrate before this anti-labor onslaught. Until the strike began, Labor Council secretary John Crowley and the leaderships of the craft unions were on cordial terms with the "friends of labor" they helped elect to city hall last fall. Now most of these politicians, including Moscone and the bulk of the Democrats (who have a 9 to 2 majority) on the Board of Supervisors, are spitting in the Central Labor Council's face.

Many of the bureaucrats in the leadership of the strike are frightened and confused. For years they have collaborated with and appeased the bosses and their Democratic Party politicians. For years they have sacrificed the interests of working people in order to feather their nests as big-shot "power brokers" delivering the labor vote to the latest Democratic Party "friend of labor."

Such collaboration had its returns. Labor Council secretary John Crowley sat on former mayor Joseph Alioto's bond-screening committee. Machinist union head Stan Jensen holds a seat on the Redevelopment Agency. Laborers union head George Evankovich sits on the Housing Authority, and Plumbers union head Joe Mazzola is still a member of the Airport Commission, placing himself in the exquisite position of representing both the bosses and the craft workers striking city airport facilities.

But the "rules" of this treacherous game are changing. The bourgeoisie has decided it can dispense with the services of Crowley, Evankovich, Jensen, Mazzola & Co. The bureaucrats discover that they have run out of "friends" at City Hall. They can not figure out whether they should bluster a bit or just grovel.

Bureaucrats in a Quandary

Certainly, if the bureaucrats had been able to get away with it, they would have sold out the current strike long ago. Following the initial general strike threat they have done less than nothing. Laborers' leader George Evankovich, under great pressure from his international, reportedly tried to "negotiate" a 10 percent wage cut for his union. Under pressure from his outraged membership, he is now holding out for a wage freeze with a cost-of-living allowance.

Meanwhile Evankovich ended the strike by 150 janitors and groundskeepers against the San Francisco Housing Authority. Housing Authority wages are not set by the Board of Supervisors but normally follow city patterns, and the craft unions usually strike the Housing Authority anyway as a pressure tactic.

As if this weren't bad enough, Evankovich is chairman of the Housing Authority's Board of Directors! While he blasted the Authority's use of tenants as scab labor, he claimed his members were so intimidated by the scabbing that they "were willing to go back to work even without pay if it was necessary to save their jobs" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 April). With leadership like this, who needs enemies?!

The Central Labor Council held a meeting on Monday night, April 26. It was an incredible spectacle of paralysis. A significant portion of the meeting was taken up with business as usual. The Muni general strike deadline was not even discussed, and those few delegates who spoke in favor of a general strike received no support from the main-line bureaucrats.

Instead Crowley & Co. are still banking on Democratic Party "friends of labor" to pull their chestnuts from the fire. State AFL-CIO leader John Henning tearfully beseeched Democratic Party leaders to pressure the nine Democrats on the Board of Supervisors to negotiate. "The refusal of the Board to negotiate violates all the principles that Franklin Roosevelt held essential in relationships between labor and management," whined Henning in a telegram addressed to California governor Jerry Brown and other state Democratic notables (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 April).

Moscone and Kopp were definitely not impressed. "It's a misunderstanding of the problems to believe this is a Democrat vs. Republican struggle or even a liberal vs. conservative struggle," intoned Moscone. Kopp replied that "this is not a partisan affair. It would be unfortunate," he continued, "...if some kind of Big Brother influence was sought to be exercised on the free will of the voters of San Francisco" (*Chronicle*, 24 April).

Kopp and Moscone are, in their own way, quite right. What the craft strike poses is the class struggle—certainly not a "partisan" issue dividing the Republicans from the Democrats, both of which represent the interests of capital.

Red Bailing

Fearful of a repetition on a larger scale of the events of the April 20 Strike

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Center meeting and aware of the widespread disgust with their conduct of the strike, the bureaucrats have moved to tighten their control of the strike. They have reasserted command over the Strike Center and are attempting to isolate militants by red baiting.

Bureaucrats who haven't run a strike in 30 years are complaining about "Spartacus" (sic!) leaflets urging labor solidarity and a general strike. They are joined by the bourgeois press and the scab-herding cops. The Hearst-owned *Examiner* characterized the militant April 14 City Hall picket line as peppered with Progressive Labor Party and Spartacist agitators. Renegades from the labor movement, such as ex-longshore bureaucrat Joe Johnson, are sent to the picket lines by the Mayor's office to ferret out "reds."

So far the bureaucrats' red baiting has gotten them nowhere. The striking workers are very much aware that it is Crowley, Jensen, Mazzola, Glen and Evankovich who are running the strike into the ground – not "reds."

Sentiment for General Strike Grows

As the strike continues, the motivation for the vicious anti-strike propaganda of the city government becomes clear. Many workers who had first bought the anti-labor lies of Kopp and Moscone are opening their eyes.

This was demonstrated by the warm reception accorded to city workers who spoke at a meeting of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 (longshore). Supporters of the oppositional group *Longshore Militant* told *Workers Vanguard* reporters that they and other ILWU members had submitted the following motion to a meeting of ILWU Local 10 held the evening of April 22:

> "1) To immediately join the picket lines. 2) To implement president Harry Bridges' pledge of support by shutting down all San Francisco port facilities and calling on all other San Francisco ILWU locals to shut down their facilities. 3) To call for an emergency mass meeting of city labor to launch an immediate general strike to defend the city workers."

While Local president Larry Wing was able to rule sections one and two of the motion out-of-order, the third section reached the floor. According to a spokesman for *Longshore Militant*, a prominent Communist Party (CP) supporter moved to amend the motion by calling upon the leadership of Local 10 to contact the leaderships of the concerned city unions to arrange a meeting to discuss labor action in support of the city strikers. This amendment's clear intent was to strangle the original motion with bureaucratic red tape tacked onto the motion. This brazen CP sabotage is not surprising. All along the CP has done next to nothing in support of the striking city workers. Its sole leaflet to the San Francisco working class simply urges workers not to scab and advises them to send messages from union and community groups to Kopp (!) and to "convey messages of support to the Muni drivers for their solidarity with the strike of the craft workers."

Win the Strike!

By such policies and maneuvers, both the bureaucrats and their reformist hangers-on hope to buy time and a chance to negotiate a sellout. Since the beginning their gutlessness and inaction have left San Francisco workers without any real leadership. The bureaucrats' policies are aimed only at undermining the workers' militancy, stilling every impulse toward solidarity and extension of the strike. Only the arrogant union-busting conduct of the city, not the half-hearted efforts of the strike leadership, has goaded the working people into fighting back in simple self-defense. The bourgeoisie has made it clear that it will not be satisfied with a simple sellout – it demands a total rout that will destroy the striking unions, rendering them completely unable to protect their memberships.

This must not be allowed to happen! This strike can be won! But it will be won only in spite of, not because of, the present strike leadership. The last three weeks have proved that these fakers can't even defend the most basic rights of the trade unions. They must be thrown out of office and replaced by a leadership which will fight for the interests of all working people.

If the strike is to succeed, it is necessary that the union memberships—including Muni—take concrete action to deepen and extend the strike: strike committees must be elected at every work place to broaden the leadership of the strike, oversee its conduct and prepare its defense: delegations of strikers must appeal for support directly to the memberships of the major San Francisco unions (AFL-CIO, Teamsters and especially ILWU longshoremen). It must be driven home to other unionists that, if the city workers are defeated, then their heads will be on the block next; their own union leaderships are cut from the same cloth as Crowley & Co.

These delegations must raise the demand for a mass meeting of all San Francisco unions to support the city workers and organize a general strike. But the preparation for a general strike must begin now, and no opportunity must be overlooked to bring about immediate labor action to show solidarity for a general strike call. Direct action by longshoremen resulting in the closing of the port of San Francisco would be a powerful first step. For a militant city-wide general strike to beat back the city bosses' union-busting offensive! Shut down San Francisco! ■

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Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

for the CDS was politically unwise at that time. Today the local SP leader has his bags packed, ready to flee to England at a moment's notice. On the window of the principal town cafe is a telegram to "the valiant people of Rio Maior" thanking them for the way "you have given a lesson to the Communists.... If the government cannot eliminate them as it should, let us pray to Salazar to call them to him right away." Next to this is a second telegram, from Colonel Jaime Neves, the leader of the elite "commando" unit that crushed the November 25 military revolt, thanking the town for an invitation to a dinner in his honor (*Le Monde*, 3 April).

Spinola Plots

During the election campaign, General Morais da Silva, the reactionary head of the air force whose removal was the number one demand of the paratroops last November, warned against "forces which are opposed to the installation of a democratic regime and who have no intention of calmly awaiting their electoral defeat." On the contrary, it is Silva himself and his cohorts who are already now hatching their plans for a counterrevolutionary putsch to smash the workers movement and democratic liberties.

This was made clear earlier this month by a sensational article in the German magazine *Stern* (7 April) by journalist Günter Wallraff. Doing research in the northern Portugal region of Braga, Wallraff made contact with members of the MDLP under the guise of representing an extreme-right group of German businessmen. Learning of plans for a coup by Spinola and his "friends," the journalist disguised as a businessman set up a meeting in Düsseldorf with a certain "General Walter." In the meeting on March 25, however, "Walter" turned out to be none other than ex-General Spinola himself.

The former commander of Portuguese forces in Guinea-Bissau and first president of Portugal after the 1974 "revolution of the carnations"—thanks to the Stalinists and their supporters in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), now defunct—presented an expensive shopping list: 6,000 automatic rifles and pistols, 11 million cartridges, 10,000 grenades, 350 mortars, to be brought to the south of Portugal by boat. Spinola also asked for 10 million German marks, payable to a Swiss account. For all this, he would supply "100,000 men" who, he said, "are not debutants."

Spinola is not the world's most adroit plotter, as the fiasco of his attempted putsches on 28 September 1974 and 11 March 1975 indicates. But he is not without "friends." A sizeable number of trained soldiers could indeed be raised from among small farmers of the north who have been whipped into a frenzy by rightist leaders who tell them the Communists are coming to take away their land. And in the conversation with Wallraff, Spinola announced his trump card: three men on the Council of the Revolution who, he said, were "his." He named Morais da Silva, northern region commander General Pires Veloso and army chief of staff General Ramalho Eanes. This claim is not impossible.

Parliamentary Cretinism

Despite innumerable proofs that the MFA from the beginning contained within it many officers who were prepared to act as a fifth column for Salazarist forces, the Stalinists and social democrats continue to pledge their loyalty to the "democratic" officer corps. Both the CP's Alvaro Cunhal and SP leader Mario Soares have indicated support for a military leader as president in the June elections. They also support the present constitution and signed a pact last year guaranteeing the capitalist army a veto power on all major questions for a "transitional period" of several years. Together the two main reformist parties polled nearly half the vote (35 percent for the SP and 14.6 percent for the CP).

During the campaign, Soares centered his propaganda on the promise to either "govern alone" or go into opposition. Since the six different coalition governments in the last two years had proven manifestly unstable, the SP leader argued, a minority Socialist government would increase stability and therefore win over the middle class from the right. To make sure that his message was well understood, Soares also proposed to correct "errors" and "excesses" of the agrarian reform—i.e., send the army to expel agricultural workers from estates they had occupied. And again for emphasis: "the first thing that must be said to the Portuguese people, and we Socialists say it, is that there will be no more nationalizations" (quoted in *New York Times*, 3 April).

The Communist Party also played the "stability" and "moderation" theme. Its call was for a "left government" of the CP and SP, excluding the bourgeois PPD, whose leader Sá Carneiro had clearly shown his bloodthirsty anti-Communism in the last few months. While such a "left government" would consist solely of the two leading workers parties, Cunhal & Co. were at pains to demonstrate their acceptance of the capitalist framework and commitment to work in alliance with (or, more accurately, under the command of) the generals. For the electoral period, the CP announced a "social truce," i.e., called off strikes.

During last summer and fall, the SP lined up with the right wing of the MFA in order to stamp out all workers militias, workers commissions, soldiers committees, etc., that did not subordinate themselves to the bourgeois state. The CP attempted to rein in militant strikes and unrest in left-wing military units, calling for a return to the "Fifth Government" headed by General Vasco Gonçalves. Now, with the right on the offensive, the SP and CP have moved closer together.

Yet an SP government supported by the CP, or even an SP-CP government, has nothing to do with revolutionary unity of the proletariat around a *class* program; in no way would this indicate a break from their policies of class collaboration. In fact, both parties continue to be part of a popular-front government headed by Pinheiro and swear to continue these policies in the future.

These *bourgeois* workers parties represent the major roadblock to a successful defense against the rightist offensive; their parliamentarist illusions and submission to the "democratic" officers disarm the workers politically before a class enemy that will stop at nothing. Only by uniting the numerous workers commissions, neighborhood commissions, soldiers commissions and other mass organizations of the working people in a representative soviet body, with representatives democratically elected and recallable at any time, and by forging a Trotskyist party to lead the soviets can the Portuguese proletariat provide itself with an organizational weapon capable of crushing reaction. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bureaucrats Stall General Strike Momentum

For Immediate Election of Strike Committees in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27– The strike by 1,900 city craft workers, still solidly backed by the 2,000 Muni drivers of Transport Workers (TWU) Local 250A, is entering its fourth week. With every day that this strike continues, it becomes clear to more and more workers that this is no longer an ordinary struggle over wages.

The issue of the strike is union busting. At stake is the future of the trade unions in the strongest "union town" in the country. Defeat for this strike would give the bosses the green light to attack pay and job conditions of working people in San Francisco and throughout the country.

That this strike is still hanging in the balance is a tribute to the solidarity of the Muni drivers and the militancy of the striking craft workers despite the treachery and incompetency of the official strike leadership. The strike could have been won quickly if the union tops had organized a solid city-wide strike of the entire San Francisco labor movement. Instead, they tried to bluff the city government by threatening a general strike which they had no intention of organizing.

The militant craft workers and Muni drivers have had to bear the full brunt of the strike. At every step of the way they have had to contend with the sabotage of the Central Labor Council tops, who have consistently opposed every attempt to expand the strike despite a demonstrated willingness by members of other unions, particularly the longshoremen, to honor the city workers' picket lines.

This strike can and must be won! But its present groveling misleaders have amply demonstrated that they fear militant action by the union memberships more than they fear defeat at the hands of the capitalists' city government. Their cowardice has only emboldened the bourgeoisie in its union-busting drive.

Union-Busting Frenzy

Driven to a blood-lust frenzy by the flabby response of the strike leadership, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors demands of the unions only one thing—unconditional surrender. Leading the charge are Board of Supervisors' president Quentin Kopp and supervisor John Barbagelata, San Francisco's answer to Louise Day Hicks. The racist Barbagelata has made his career in San Francisco politics by opposing busing and catering to the most reactionary anti-labor sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie.

Playing the "hard cop" role, supervisors have been unyielding in demanding that the strikers accept 25-30 percent pay cuts, drastic worsening of working conditions and "yellow-dog" contracts that will force their unions to scab on other striking workers.

Barbagelata, Kopp and the rest of the board claim only to be carrying out the "will of the people" expressed in the notorious Proposition B, an amendment to the City Charter which repealed a provision pegging the wages of craft workers to the hourly scale prevailing in private industry. Its passage by a 2-to-1 margin in last fall's elections, prepared by an orgy of anti-labor propaganda, reflected the spineless response of the trade-union leadership.

The anti-union propaganda barrage, orchestrated by the Chamber of Commerce, continues unabated. The capitalist press, radio and television stations have joined together in a shrill chorus. Artfully making use of the labor tops' low-wage sellout of 18,000 non-craft city workers and the history of job-trusting and racism in the building-trades unions the bourgeoisie has been able to encourage widespread scabbing on the strike.

The $40,000-a-year supervisors hypocritically weep crocodile tears about the "little guy" getting ripped off by the allegedly "greedy" craft workers (in fact, 60 percent of the striking craft workers are unskilled or semi-skilled laborers), painted as responsible for everything from rising property taxes to the victimization of the poor, elderly and racial minorities.

With impunity the Board of Supervisors organizes "civic-minded scabs." Under the disingenuous headline "Street Debris Sparks Action by Citizenry," a local paper reports:

> "Bring-Your-Own-Broom session in front of the main library on Larkin Street yesterday.
> "About 75 concerned citizens gathered to sweep up the mess left since the street sweepers and other craft-union members went on strike.
> "Among the participants were Quentin Kopp, president of the Board of Supervisors and Robert Mendelsohn, a supervisor hobbling around on a cane with an ankle cast. He broke a bone playing tennis. ...
> "Yesterday's efforts appeared to work well. Physicians, stockbrokers, householders and policemen were on hand to keep the peace."
>
> —*San Francisco Sunday Chronicle and Examiner*, 25 April 1976

This brazen mobilization of scabs is indicative of both the weakness of the strike and the intent of the city, which is whipping up petty-bourgeois frenzy and preparing the ground for a massive scab effort to break the strike.

Sensing the irresolution of the strike leadership and growing daily more confident, the city government and its capitalist masters are in no mood to compromise. The federal mediators who the labor bureaucrats had hoped would let them off the hook have been spurned by supervisors' president Quentin Kopp: "As far as we're concerned there's no further reason for the Federal Mediation Service to be involved. We're just going to have to weather the strike out" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 April). Kopp's hard line was the bureaucrats' reward for pulling pickets from the Opera House, the Laguna Honda Hospital and the school-bus yards.

WV Photo

Picketers contront scab outside S.F. City Hall April 14.

Now the bourgeois press is floating the idea of applying section 25.02 of the city's "civil service rules," which reads: "absence from duty without proper authorization in excess of five continuous working days shall constitute abandonment of the position."

In an obvious move to stall any talks and completely undercut collective bargaining, the supervisors have moved to place two city charter amendments on the June ballot, Propositions K and L. These would approve the supervisors' suggested 25 to 30 percent wage *cuts* while allowing for small ($100 to $500 per year) cost-of-living increases. At an annual rate of inflation of 10 percent in the Bay Area, these e-o-l adjustments amount at most to a two percent annual increase!

Meanwhile, "friend of labor" Mayor George Moscone is playing the "soft-cop" role. Moscone "deplores" the supervisors' ploy of submitting the city's terms in the strike to the voters. This is sheer hypocrisy! Moscone supports the no-strike and "yellow-dog" provisions contained in Propositions F, I and O. He is commander-in-chief of the scab-herding cops and has vowed to prosecute arrested militants "without mercy." On March 31 Moscone signed into law the supervisors' wage-cutting bill and thus provoked the present strike.

The "modern" Moscone recommends spreading the wage cuts over three years or cutting wages by lengthening the workweek from 35 to 40 hours. This "40 for 35" scheme is truly impudent coming at a time when both the cost of living and unemployment are soaring. Workers don't need Moscone's "40 for 35" scheme, but a big pay boost, full cost-of-living allowance and a *shorter* workweek at no loss in pay to make *more* jobs available.

The Golden Gate Transit Strike

The same vindictive and intransigent spirit motivates the bourgeoisie in dealing with the strike of 300 Golden Gate Transit drivers of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1225. The drivers, who carry commuters from suburban Marin, Santa Clara and Sonoma counties to San Francisco, have been striking the Golden Gate Bridge District since April 11.

As in the case of the craft workers, the strike was deliberately provoked by the District directors, some of whom are members of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Despite offers by the weak-kneed ATU officials to submit all issues to arbitration, the directors refused and the strike became inevitable. Enraged by the drivers' refusal to accept an offer hammered out in a week's negotiating, the directors broke off negotiations with the hard line that the old expired

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 108 | 7 May 1976

The Primaries: Picking November's Racist Poison

Democrats Are No "Friends of Labor"— Build a Workers Party!

Steven L. Borns

Carter says god isn't going to make him president, but...

AP

Humphrey says he won't campaign, but...

MAY 3—After last Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary gave front-runner Jimmy Carter a clear field for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, a tearful Hubert Humphrey announced "with a heavy heart" that he would make no last-ditch efforts to get his party's bid. Then he walked off the TV news set and phoned George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO. The "non-candidate" candidate no doubt wanted to personally give his firmest supporter the bad news that his prospects are now reduced to the unlikely chance of a deadlocked convention in Madison Square Garden.

In this campaign of non-issues when all of capitalism's candidates in both parties have essentially the same program—make the workers pay for the miseries of the capitalist economy—the labor tops had hoped to buy themselves a few favors by backing some candidate who demagogically claimed to represent the interests of organized labor. But working people clearly grasped the hollowness of Humphrey's phony "full employment" pitch and Jackson's "jobs for all" bluster. All the "friends of labor"—Humphrey, Jackson, Udall—are out in the cold.

The weeping Humphrey no doubt found soft shoulders to cry on among the labor mandarins. The bureaucrats' election-year "strategy" reveals their heads as quite as soft as their shoulders. For all their maneuvering for the role of "king-maker" to one of the twin parties of big business, the labor tops will get for their trouble Jimmy "Open Shop" Carter.

Racist, Open-Shop Peanut Boss

The labor fakers will have a bit of trouble passing Carter off as a "friend of labor." In Carter's non-union peanut processing plant in his home town of Plains, Georgia, the workers get $2.54 an hour. A delegation of SEIU officials which tried unsuccessfully to tour the plant was told by the workers that they got only two holidays a year (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 March).

Carter received less than five percent of the black vote when he was elected Georgia governor in 1970. As governor he was such a strong opponent of court-ordered busing that he publicly threatened to support a racist school boycott in protest of an Augusta desegregation plan. As governor, Carter carefully cultivated his state's excellent reputation with big business as one of the most woefully non-unionized, lowest paying areas in the U.S. With his record of support to the union-busting Taft-Hartley bill, Carter now claims that as president he would not veto any bill repealing section 14B (the so-called "right to work" provision)—but of course will "not crusade" for such repeal!

Carter is running as the candidate of respectable southern racism, the "thinking man's alternative" to George Wallace. His alleged "slip of the tongue" in advocating "ethnic purity"—compounded by references to "black intrusion" into white neighborhoods and to the invasion of wealthy neighborhoods by "high-rise low-cost housing"—has made him the recipient of the backlash vote. There seems to be a method behind Carter's "slips" in his otherwise verbally glassy-smooth campaign. In speeches before largely black audiences his litany of American heroes includes Martin Luther King, but when addressing all-white audiences Carter omits King from the roster. But worried that his chase after the "backlash" may alienate minority voters, over the weekend Carter cynically asked the Caucus of Black Democrats to give him a list of the bureaucratic positions it would like in order to buy the black vote.

UPI

Ford can kiss and shake hands at the same time.

A Grin and a Prayer

What is it about Jimmy Carter that has catapulted him from near-obscurity through a meteoric rise in popularity not seen since that other barefoot boy from Wall Street, Wendell Wilkie? Mainly, Carter is the beneficiary of a thoroughgoing disgust for governmental politics engendered by the Watergate scandals and similar exposures of bourgeois hypocrisy and corruption. Carter's crew of media manipulators has correctly gauged the obvious: the American people hate Washington politicians. So Carter's lack of national political experience becomes his chief virtue.

Carter's campaign has been characterized by an attempt to emphasize personality over politics—quite sensible since there are virtually no substantive differences among the major candidates. His appeal is based mainly on what he does not have: connections to Washington, Watergate, political bosses and what he terms "labor bosses." What he professes to have is something akin to the boy scout code, an inside track with god and a big smile. Not since Herbert Hoover said in the depths of the Depression, "What this country needs is a good big laugh" has a serious presidential contender come out with more household platitudes. To listen to Carter explain it in his own words is like being slowly smothered in rhetorical molasses:

> "My strength comes from people like you, who don't want anything selfish out of government but who want to see us once again have a nation as good and honest and decent and truthful and competent and compassionate and as filled with love as are the American people."
>
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 2 February

Jimmy Carter is part of a long line of sophisticated politicians who rail

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PÁGINAS CENTRALES: SUPLEMENTO EN ESPAÑOL

- **¡Salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz!**
- **Golpe militar en la Argentina**

Build a Labor Party...

(continued from page 1)

against "big government" in populist fashion. Despite his appeals to god, country, motherhood and peanut butter, Carter has been around long enough to have accepted free rides on a jet to Latin America for Georgia-based companies like Lockheed and Coca Cola. For all his talk about cutting "defense" spending, Carter supports the most destructive imperialist nuclear weapon in the world, the Trident submarine. Interestingly, the Trident uses Georgia-made Lockheed missiles. For all his talk about love, Carter supported Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor.

The peanut king is heavily exploiting his evangelical religionism. Since the March 23 primary in heavily Southern Baptist North Carolina, Carter has been trading heavily on his fervent piety. Not since Richard Nixon held Sunday prayer breakfasts with Billy Graham while raining down hell's fire on Southeast Asia has the country witnessed such unabashed hypocritical piety. When he lost his first attempt to become Georgia governor in 1966, Carter says, he came away with "inner peace"; as governor he has "spent more time on my knees" than ever before. He believes in the "power of prayer" and seems to feel it necessary to disclaim the role of god's favorite son: "I don't think God is going to make me president by any means, but whatever I have as a responsibility for the rest of my life, it will be with that infinite personal continuing relationship."

Gerald Ford has also become frankly evangelical in recent years. Thus it appears that the presidential "choice" to be presented to the U.S. working people—besieged by massive layoffs and mounting inflation, ravaged by slashed social services in decaying urban centers, menaced by imperialist military adventures which could launch a nuclear war, attacked by government strikebreaking and goaded by the most brazen racism—is supposed to boil down to which capitalist candidate has the inside track to god.

There is a strategically important side to Carter and Ford sharing that old-time fundamentalist religion. The polls show that Carter appeals to potential Ford voters and therefore has the best chance to beat Ford and recapture the Democratic voters who voted for Nixon in 1972. A key reason why the "stop Carter" movement has not been very successful is that Democratic Party loyalists understand it could backfire, throwing Carter supporters into the arms of Gerald Ford. So the vision of the old Rooseveltian "solid South" has replaced the image of the "labor coalition" in the Democratic Party bosses' back rooms.

Labor Tops' Strategy Flops

Carter owes the labor bureaucracy who opposed his candidacy nothing at all, not even the tokenistic demagogy they cite when trying to sell their capitalist friends to the labor ranks. So Meany, who played the spoiler role in the Democratic Party 1972 campaign of McGovern, will have his dreams of being "king-maker for the capitalists" dashed if Carter is nominated. But Leonard Woodcock, after his "stop Wallace" maneuver, can now embrace the open-shop Georgian as his own.

The bureaucrats' strategy was to elect labor delegates to the Democratic convention committed to Carter in the South and Jackson in the North while really hoping for Humphrey. A coalition of nine non-AFL-CIO unions with so-called "progressive" leaders, led by the UAW and CWA, had launched a multi-pronged strategy aimed at stopping Wallace early, preventing any other candidate from locking up the nomination and electing union members as convention delegates, thus ensuring that the bureaucrats would wield a substantial voting bloc with which to wheel and deal in the smoke-filled rooms. In Wisconsin, for instance, "labor" delegates ran on a Udall slate in the liberal districts and a Carter slate where Wallace was strong. Behind official AFL-CIO pre-convention neutrality, Meany looked on approvingly. But the grand strategy fell on its face. Wallace was already stopped, but the "stop Carter" second leg never got off the ground.

The bureaucrats' inability to control their members' votes became increasingly obvious. The Pennsylvania primary, where virtually every union official in the state and Philadelphia's two warring party factions all temporarily united behind a "vote Jackson, stop Carter" position, demonstrated Carter's ability to win support over the heads of the bureaucracy in the coal fields and mill towns. Indeed, with a glowering Meany once again sitting on the sidelines and a simpering Woodcock praising Carter's ability to say "god bless you," Humphrey might have been speaking for his embarrassed labor backers when he told newsmen Thursday, "One thing I don't need at my stage of life is to be ridiculous."

From Samuel Gompers' policy of "reward your friends, punish your enemies" to labor's romance with the New Deal Democrats to the present, the bureaucracy has been a pillar of support to the capitalist system and its electoral excrescences. What is apparent this year is not only the union misleaders' betrayal of the workers' basic interests, but also the bankruptcy of the labor tops' electoral policies even on their own narrow terrain of political back-scratching and influence-peddling.

Meany's evident hostility to Carter does not revolve around his reactionary racist politics nor around the slave wages this partisan of the open shop pays his non-union workforce in his peanut processing plant. It stems from the fact that Carter is not part of the "old boys' club" of big-city politicians, nurtured on Keynesian economics and cold-war anti-Communism and willing to talk out of both sides of their mouths to flatter the labor brass. Contrasting Carter with Humphrey shortly before the Pennsylvania primary, a leader of the ILGWU in Philadelphia said Humphrey has been "established with the people here for decades and he's never been a disappointment" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 April).

HHH: Bureaucrats' Friend, Workers' Enemy

As Meany & Co. bemoan the apparent political demise of Humphrey, favorite son of the AFL-CIO godfather, workers should take a closer look at the one who got away, this archetypal "friend of labor." As the only nationally prominent Democratic politician invited to address the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO convention April 8, Humphrey demonstrated his continuing appeal to the fossilized union hacks. This political war-horse received numerous standing ovations and was fondly embraced by Harry Boyer, head of the state labor federation. Since his blistering rejection by antiwar liberals and his unsuccessful attempt to stop McGovern in the 1972 primaries, Humphrey's spot in Meany's heart has grown ever warmer, and his phony "Balanced Growth and Economic Planning" bill was widely hailed in labor's high councils.

From a post-Watergate perspective, Humphrey does not look very clean. His 1970 campaign manager, Jack Chestnut, is on his way to jail. According to William Safire (*New York Times*, 11 March) Chestnut "wisely took the Fifth Amendment" when asked to testify before the Senate Watergate committee about Humphrey's connection to the infamous "milk fund." Howard Hughes aid Robert Maheu has charged that Humphrey took $100,000 under the table in 1968 from the CIA-connected billionaire. This is apparently not very important to the labor tops, though it might be to those who will have to manage the campaign of the Democratic nominee.

The ties that bind Humphrey and his labor backers were forged over several decades. Many of the present labor hacks rose to positions of prominence in the unions at the same time that Humphrey was climbing in the Democratic Party—largely through the same process: championing a hysterical campaign to drive "reds" out of the labor movement and chain the unions tightly to the party of the New Deal and the second imperialist world war.

While Humphrey's ideological guns have generally been trained on the "Soviet menace," the victims of his scatter-shot anti-communist monomania have included a multitude of trade-union militants. His record of anti-communist and anti-labor repression is unsurpassed among liberal cold-warriors.

Humphrey began his political career as mayor of Minneapolis, elected with labor support. In the summer of 1948, the ambitious politico concluded a pact with CIO president Philip Murray in which the labor chieftain would protect Humphrey's flanks while he launched a frontal assault on leftists, "Communist-fronters" and CPers in Minnesota. Humphrey cut his teeth by purging the left wing of the state's

Financiers Won't Settle for Super-Sellout

Carey Rips Up NYC Transit Contract

APRIL 30—New York governor Hugh Carey today threw out the month-old contract between the NYC Transit Authority (TA) and Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100. Even though the transit pact provided for no wage increase, no improvement in pensions or fringe benefits and ignored job security, the governor, speaking as chairman of the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), ordered the union and management to come up with a new agreement by May 15.

The Control Board's high-handed decision—in effect throwing collective bargaining out the window—echoed an "opinion" by state attorney-general Louis Lefkowitz asserting that *any* cost-of-living (c-o-l) increases are illegal under the wage freeze for NYC municipal employees. Carey strongly implied that no c-o-l increase would be allowed unless paid for in advance by so-called "productivity savings" (job attrition, layoffs, speed-up, etc.).

The sell-out transit pact, product of the last-minute deal by the TA and TWU tops to head off a transit strike, had been hailed as "a bargain" by various bourgeois commentators. TA chief David Yunich crowed, "We gave them [the workers] nothing." But the New York financiers who give the EFCB its marching orders objected to the few cents per hour increase from the "improved" (but still far from adequate) c-o-l formula, which is already "in principle" tied to "productivity" cutbacks. The EFCB argues that granting this pittance in cost-of-living increases hinders its efforts to take a hard line in bargaining for contracts covering 250,000 city workers that are up July 1.

TWU International president Matthew Guinan promptly made clear his willingness to make even more concessions to city bosses so that the cost of bailing out NYC's "financial crisis" is placed on the backs of the poor and working people. After expressing his "disappointment" (how touching!) at Lefkowitz' union-busting decision, Guinan announced the next day that if the Control Board took part in negotiations an agreement could be worked out by July 1 (when the first c-o-l raise is due). Against the treachery of Guinan and Local 100 head Ellis Van Riper, who simply "bargain" away one union gain after another, militants in the TWU must demand: Stop the giveaway! No contract, no work!

An authoritative strike committee, democratically representing the union ranks and recallable at any time, should be elected at once. Demands should be raised for a substantial pay hike with full c-o-l protection; for more, not less, jobs, through a sliding scale of hours (30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay); and for abolition of the transit fare, a position Guinan & Co. claim to support but have never done anything about.

Militants must also demand a break with phony "friends of labor" like Democrats Carey and NYC mayor Beame—both elected with the support of the TWU—and the formation of a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. Such a program cannot be carried out by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, but requires a genuine class-struggle leadership for its implementation. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party. He blacklisted the liberal and Communist Party supporters of the Henry Wallace campaign, using loyal goons to kick them out of DFL meetings and Minneapolis cops to arrest them on trumped-up charges.

The "happy warrior" moved on to the Senate, where in 1950 he sponsored an amendment to the McCarran Act which set up concentration camps for suspected subversives. (During his tenure as vice president, six of these camps were refurbished for possible use against antiwar activists.)

While the Murray cahal was expelling so-called "Communist-dominated unions," Senator Humphrey in 1952 advocated placing "suspect" unions on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, thus making membership in the witchhunted unions a criminal act. He called for strengthening the anti-Communist oath provision of Taft-Hartley and for stricter screening provisions. He even proposed that "Communist-dominated" unions not he recognized as collective bargaining agents.

The union bureaucracy's fondness for Humphrey is based on the collusion of this "friend of labor" with the misleaders of labor against union democracy, militancy and class independence.

Break with the Democrats and Republicans!

Now that Humphrey is concentrating on his bid to succeed Mike Mansfield as Senate majority leader, the union brass will no doubt grudgingly embrace open-shop Carter for president. Already Charles Marciante, head of the New Jersey AFL-CIO, has indicated his support for the front-runner.

The bureaucrats' strategy of class betrayal encompasses both their rotten contract sellouts and their shameless grovelling before the electoral "choices" of the bourgeois parties. The labor tops' policies only aid the efforts of racist right-wingers like Wallace (and his "respectable" version, Carter) to demagogically capitalize on the widespread disgust with cold-war liberalism and Watergate-style corruption by posing as the partisans of the "little man" fed up with the status quo.

The struggle for a genuine political expression of the interests of the working class—a workers party based on the power of the organized union movement—is inextricably linked to the fight to dump the ossified class traitors who hamstring the labor movement on all fronts. Only the emergence of a class-struggle alternative leadership in the unions, fighting for a planned economy and a workers government, can clear away the dead wood left over from the anti-"red" purges and raise the labor movement to its historic task as defender of the working masses and champion of all the oppressed. ■

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Free MIR Leader Edgardo Enríquez!

Chilean Exiles in Peril in Argentina

The international campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz, the Chilean mine workers' leader presently being hunted down by the murderous Argentine junta, has brought to light a number of additional cases of Argentine political prisoners whose lives are also in grave danger.

Reports coming out of Argentina this week indicate that the situation for foreigners is becoming increasingly precarious, particularly for the tens of thousands of Chileans exiled there. During the first week after the coup, three UN-sponsored exile hotels were raided by the military and scores of Chileans, Uruguayans and Paraguayans were rounded up and taken in for questioning. Subsequently there have been reports of as many as 1,300 persons being bused toward Chile.

In addition, last week spokesmen for the Chilean Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) in exile in Europe announced that MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez was arrested in Buenos Aires on April 10 along with a Brazilian woman, Regina Marcondez. Enriquez is the brother of Miguel Enriquez, ex-general secretary of the MIR, who was gunned down by Pinochet's police in October 1974. Presently listed as "missing," he is in danger of being returned to Chile where he will face torture and certain death. Socialist and labor militants must demand that Edgardo Enriquez he freed now!

British citizen Richard Whitecross and his Argentine wife, Cristina, released on April 8 after almost five months' imprisonment in Buenos Aires, have provided (in a letter to the London *Guardian*, May 1) one of the first eyewitness accounts to come out of Argentina since the coup. The Whitecrosses have confirmed that over 8,000 political prisoners in Argentina are in grave danger from the "military government committed to the 'extermination' of its enemies."

The Whitecrosses were arrested last November along with ten Chilean exiles and one Argentine on suspicion of being members of a "Chilean Revolutionary Coordinating Committee," of transporting guns and money for Chilean resistance groups, of spiriting "subversives" across the Andes and of conducting a "famous, secret" [sic!] school for guerrillas.

Immediately upon hearing of their arrest, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee called a demonstration in front of the Argentine Mission to the United Nations last December 5. Demanding the prisoners' release and no extradition to Chile, the PDC delivered a statement to the Mission which said in part that "to turn them over to the murderous Pinochet is to pronounce their death sentence."

After intensive pressure from the British government and media, telegram campaigns and other actions, the Whitecrosses were released. However, the fate of the other 11 remains uncertain. The Chileans are:

1. Gabriel Salinas Alvarez, professor
2. Guillermina Alicia Gavilán de Pizzaro, former professor of economics at the University of Chile in Santiago
3. Roberto Pizarro Hofer, husband of Guillermina Gavilán and former dean of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Chile
4. Sergio Muñoz Martínez, former professor of political science at the University of Chile
5. Juan José Bustos Ramírez, former professor at the same university and lawyer
6. Ximena Zavala San Martin, student of sociology
7. Sergio Letelier Sotomayor, economist
8. Catalina Palma Herrerra, student of sociology
9. Ernesto Bernardo Rejovitzky, civil engineer, adopted Argentine nationality, former professor at the University of Chile
10. Luis Bravo Moreno, mechanic

The eleventh person arrested with the group was an Argentine, Rafael Mario Toer.

One of the Chileans, Gabriel Salinas Alvarez, who is known in Europe as a Chilean folk singer, is in particular peril since he needs special medical attention. Blind for ten years, his eyesight was

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Police Scab-Herding Breaks Strike at Victor

ILWU Local 6 Under the Gun

OAKLAND—Massive scab-herding by Bay Area cops threatens to wipe out long-held union gains in Bay Area Warehouse Local 6 of the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). In quick succession, police have broken the Clinical Specialties strike in San Francisco and the Victor office workers strike in Berkeley. The result of the Victor defeat is that the workers have been saddled with the first open-shop contract in the history of the local. Now, a third Local 6 strike—at Automatic Plastic Molding—is also being attacked by Berkeley cops.

While the Bay Area labor movement has been subject to police attack over the years—including vicious assaults at Standard Oil in 1969 and Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel in 1970—there has been a sharp increase recently in the tempo of such attacks. Fearful of the power of the S.F. labor movement, as late as 1974 former mayor Alioto felt compelled to assure city workers that "we don't use police as strikebreakers here." Until the KNC strike in January 1975, ILWU pickets in the Bay Area reportedly had not been subject to police attack since the early 1950's.

The response of the Local 6 leadership under Curtis McClain to the police attacks has been to stick its head in the sand. While maintaining only minimally enlarged picket lines, they have kept the bulk of the membership in the dark about the scab-herding. The defeat of the Victor and Clinical Specialties strikes demonstrates that this attempt to conciliate the employers by preventing a militant membership response has proven futile.

Berkeley cops escorting scabs at Victor strike last month. WV Photo

The ILWU bureaucrats were given considerable ammunition in their maneuvers to divert the ranks from the real solution—mass picket lines defended against cop attacks—by the Communist Party's *People's World*, which called for the passage of a Berkeley "anti-strikebreaking ordinance" to fend off the police. Such impotent appeals to the capitalist state to disarm itself are a gross capitulation that will only embolden the bourgeoisie.

The Local 6 leadership is moving rapidly to circumvent any organized opposition to its policies of defeat by simply cancelling union meetings! According to the May 2 "Warehouse

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Funds Urgently Needed for Muñoz Campaign!

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz urgently needs financial support to carry forward the campaign that can save the life of this exemplary Chilean working-class leader, now imperiled because he devoted his life to the cause of the oppressed.

From the age of 14, Mario Muñoz was a miner. As a revolutionary trade-union militant, he struggled to organize the contract miners against their brutal exploitation by the mining companies. Driven from his country by the murderous Pinochet junta, he is now being hunted down by Videla's regime in Argentina.

Unlike the prominent intellectuals or former government ministers who become targets of right-wing repression, Muñoz is widely respected by his class brothers but is not well known outside Chile. International solidarity to save the life of Mario Muñoz can be built only through the systematic mobilization of mass protest and pressure.

In a matter of weeks the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has amassed an impressive list of endorsements representing broad international support from those concerned for human rights under the South American military dictatorships. Allies of the workers movement and prominent individuals from all over the world have come forward to express their solidarity with the campaign for the safety and freedom of this valiant workers' leader and his family. This widespread support flows from the recognition that Muñoz, who even in the difficult and dangerous years of exile remained devoted to the cause of the Chilean masses, is a symbol of the thousands of South American political refugees who sought asylum in Argentina and are now threatened with deportation, imprisonment, torture and assassination as Videla follows in Pinochet's footsteps.

Unlike the juntas and their CIA backers, the partisans of the little-known refugees do not have unlimited budgets. The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has already spent thousands of dollars to publicize and rally international support for the campaign to save Mario Muñoz. Literally thousands of telephone calls, letters, leaflets, press packets and individual visits have been made to UN and government officials, to congressional and parliamentary representatives, to trade unions and prominent individuals of the labor movements of various countries, to left and civil-liberties groups, to distinguished journalists, scholars, artists and lawyers who can help publicize this case. Under the direction of the Partisan Defense Committee and the European-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, literature in four languages about the Mario Muñoz campaign has been distributed, leaflets and petitions circulated and demonstrations organized.

If we can save the life of Mario Muñoz it will be a victory not only for him and his family but for the thousands of victims of right-wing repression in South America. It will be a defeat of Pinochet and Videla, who seek the death of this defender of the working people. If we can save this one class-struggle fighter it will mean hope for thousands more.

But the possibility that Mario Muñoz will live to lead again depends on the continuing campaign to mount a forceful international outcry to stay the hand of the Argentine junta's assassins and to permit Muñoz and his family to find asylum elsewhere. The armed forces of two countries have orders to shoot Mario Muñoz on sight. Time is short and funds are urgently needed. Building this campaign to a victorious outcome may depend on your financial support. Please make checks and money orders payable to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked Committee to Save Mario Muñoz), Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

AUSTRALIA

Australasian Meat Industries Employees Union
Laurie Brereton, Legislative Assembly New South Wales
A E. Bull, Sec'y, Waterside Workers Federation of Australia', Melbourne branch
Hon Dr Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party (ALP)'
Hon Dr Moss Cass, House of Representatives, ALP'
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Federated Engine Drivers and Fireman's Association of Australia, Victoria and New South Wales branches
Senator Arthur Gietzell, ALP'
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Socialist Workers Party
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Pat Knight, Pres, Social Service Employees Union (SSEU)*, Local 371
Labor Struggle Caucus, Local 6, United Automobile Workers (UAW)'
Lavender and Red Union, L.A.
League for the Revolutionary Party
Gerald Lefcourt, Atty
John Leggett, Assoc Prof of Sociology, Rutgers U '
Sidney Lens, author
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Ben Levy, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee*
Longshore Militant, S F.
Salvador Luria, Nobel Laureate
Conrad Lynn, Atty
Staughton Lynd, author
Gertrude Mayes, San Quentin Six Defense Committee
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Michael Meeropol
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union'
Militant Solidarity Caucus, Local 906, UAW'
John Mitchell, International Rep, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkers'
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National Lawyers Guild, Chicago chapter
National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter
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Ira Katz Nelson, Assoc Prof of Pol Sci, U of Chicago*
New American Movement, U of Chicago*
David Newby, State V P, Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFT*
New York Unemployed Council
Richard Newhouse state senator, Illinois
OCAW District Council 8
Dr Philip Oke, UN rep, Christian Peace Conference
Organization of Arab Students, Boston chapter
Dean Peerman, *Christian Century**
Eve Pell
Joseph Persky, URPE'
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Adam Przeworski, Assoc Prof Pol. Sci, U of Chicago*
Joanne Fox Przeworski, Chicago Commission to Investigate Status of Human Rights in Chile, 1974*
Rank and File Coalition, Local 6 UAW'
Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
Bill Robinson, Exec Brd, Local 634, AFSCME'
Norm Roth, former Pres., Local 6, UAW*
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Jay Schulman, National Jury Project
Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine
Dennis Serrette, Pres, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists'
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Socialist Party, S Central Wisconsin local
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Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
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Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd
Bernard Wiltshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Howard Zinn
Marvin Zonis, Prof, U of Chicago*
Eddison J M Zvobgo, ZANU*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Partial listing

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

- -

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!

Stop the Manhunt!

Name ______________________________

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Address ______________________________

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

☐ I pledge $______ to help save Mario Muñoz (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

SUPLEMENTO EN ESPAÑOL

WORKERS VANGUARD

abril de 1976

Dirigente obrero chileno amenazado de muerte por junta militar argentina

¡Salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz!

El golpe de estado en Argentina, realizado por las fuerzas armadas, ha presentado al mundo una imagen pacífica de respeto de los derechos humanos. Por el contrario, la realidad es brutalmente diferente. En forma silenciosa la junta militar argentina ha desatado una represión sangrienta a todos los revolucionarios, sindicatos y organizaciones populares. Mientras tanto siguen actuando impunemente las organizaciones de derecha, así también la criminal Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA), que ha redoblado sus atentados y asesinatos.

Esta es la cruel verdad que el mundo entero debe conocer: allanamientos, torturas, vejaciones, encarcelamientos masivos. Las vidas de miles de argentinos corren serio peligro. Asimismo, otros combatientes de otras nacionalidades que ahí se encuentran, en particular los refugiados políticos chilenos, son víctimas de esta persecución, siendo entregados a la junta militar chilena o fusilados en el acto sin que medie ningún tipo de procedimiento legal.

El Mercurio

Marcha del sindicato de "pirquineros" (obreros de la minería mediana), en Valparaíso el 22 de marzo de 1971 en favor de la nacionalización de las minas de cobre. Mario Muñoz encabezó la manifestación.

Mario Muñoz: Minero, dirigente obrero, exiliado perseguido

Por el Comité de Defensa de los Prisioneros Obreros y Marinos en Chile

Mario Muñoz Salas, nació el 8 de junio de 1939. Comienza a trabajar en las minas a los 14 años. Ya en ese entonces los obreros "pirquineros" eran explotados por los "latifundistas" mineros del país, con la comolicidad de jueces, abogados, parlamentarios y presidentes de la república. La intervención del imperialismo yanqui era directa, en las agencias de compra de minerales, para arrancar a los pirquineros el fruto de años de trabajo. Mario Muñoz es de los primeros en rebelarse, empujando la organización y consolidación de sindicatos que defiendan los derechos obreros. Esta no es tarea fácil porque el 90 por ciento de los pirquineros eran analfabetos, azotados también por la silicosis, mueren por miles en la miseria mas atroz.

Es así que en 1968 se constituye el Sindicato Interprovincial de Obreros "Pirquineros" de las Provincias de Valparaíso, Aconcagua y Santiago. Su fundador y dirigente es Mario Muñoz. Este sindicato se plantea un cambio cualitativo de las luchas tradicionales fundamentalmente reivindicativas o economicistas, para darle proyecciones políticas. El programa contemplaba una profunda reforma del Código de Minería que terminara con la propiedad privada de las minas y éstas pasaran a propiedad exclusiva del estado.

Desde años atrás ya Mario Muñoz pertenecía al Partido Comunista (PC) de Chile y en 1968 pasa a ser dirigente regional. Pese a la oposición de su partido dirige la toma de minas, en principio de las que no eran trabajadas por sus propietarios. La primera mina en poder de los trabajadores fue la llamada "Los Maquis de Pedernales" que pasó a llamarse "La Rebelión". A ésta le sucedieron muchas otras. Cuando le tocó el turno a una mina de propiedad extranjera la toma fue reprimida, pero las tropas enviadas debieron retirarse ante la firmeza minera y el consecuente apoyo campesino. En esas provincias, bajo la dirección de Muñoz se dió una verdadera alianza obrero-campesina, pues también los mineros apoyaban las tomas de fundos (grandes estancias) que realizaban los campesinos del lugar.

A través de estas movilizaciones del sindicato, que fueron muy conocidas, su dirigente participó en una entrevista del

continúa en la página 7

A solo 48 horas de las declaraciones demagógicas de la junta argentina, una patrulla militar de gendarmería nacional, compuesta de 30 efectivos armados de guerra, allanaron su casa a las tres de la madrugada (el 25 de marzo). Por error se dirigieron a la casa vecina. En ésta, en forma violenta derribaron las puertas, golpeando brutalmente a quienes se encontraban en su interior. Cuando descubrieron su equivocación se dirigieron sin dilaciones a la casa de Mario Muñoz, donde penetraron destrozando su interior, y a golpes sacaron a la calle a su compañera Olga Meneses Ibaseta, a sus cinco hijos y un matrimonio de familiares que también estaba presente. Todos fueron llevados a la vía pública, procediendo los gendarmes de inmediato a interrogar a las mujeres y a los niños por el paradero de su padre, mientras otros militares golpeaban sin piedad al otro miembro de la familia. Cumplido el interrogatorio en contra de los niños, los cuales fueron maltratados y golpeados salvajemente, lo cual produjo una reacción de todos los vecinos frente a la terrible escena de llantos y gritos. Los militares intentaron arrebatar de los brazos de su madre al más pequeño de los niños, un bebé de dos meses (nacido en Argentina), para utilizarlo de rehén. Frente a la oposición valerosa, firme y decidida de la madre que replicó que, aún llevándose a todos sus hijos, de su boca no saldría ni una sola palabra que comprometiera la vida de su compañero, y la indignación de todos los presentes, la patrulla debió retirarse. No sin antes comunicar a la compañera del perseguido que éste era un peligroso extremista en Chile y también en Argentina; que la orden que tenían era fusilarlo en el acto y en el lugar donde fuera encontrado. Cumplida esta misión, dejaron una custodia de civil en la casa vecina.

La persecución de Mario Muñoz continúa en toda la provincia de San Juan, la cual se encuentra acordonada. Los transportes interprovinciales son detenidos y allanados continuamente en su búsqueda.

Salvar su vida es un deber. Mario Muñoz Salas de 36 años, obrero minero. Ya a los 14 años su padre lo llevó a trabajar a la mina junto con él: desde muy joven estuvo ligado a las luchas de sus hermanos de clase contra los monopolios yankis de los minerales del norte chileno. Fundador y formador del Sindicato Interprovincial de Obreros "Pirquineros" de Aconcagua, Valparaíso y Santiago. Luchador incansable, conocido y respetado por todos los obreros chilenos, ya fue en ese entonces perseguido por los gobiernos chilenos a servicio de los explotadores. El reconocimiento de sus hermanos de clase durante el gobierno de Salvador Allende lo elevó a dirigente nacional de los Consejos Regionales Mineros. Dirigió sin tregua la formación de los Cordones Industriales de obreros, mineros y campesinos de Aconcagua y Valparaíso frente a la movilización fascista. Fue dirigente del Comité Regional de Aconcagua norte del Partido Socialista de Chile, hasta poco antes del golpe sangriento de Pinochet. Poco antes del golpe tuvo una entrevista con el presidente Allende, en calidad de dirigente nacional de los Consejos Regionales Mineros, asegurándole la defensa incondicional del gobierno, por parte de los mineros, en caso de golpe. Pero preguntándole asimismo hasta cuando iba a continuar él descargando sobre las espaldas de los trabajadores todo el peso de la crisis económica por la que atrevesaba el país.

En su exilio argentino ha sido el único organizador de los cientos de miles de obreros y campesinos chilenos, que cruzaron los Andes a pié, huyendo del horror y la traición. Por este delito la junta militar argentina lo condena a muerte.

Para él y todos los demás organizadores revolucionarios existen hoy en el interior de Argentina "estadios nacionales" para cada provincia; la tortura y la masacre son en gran escala, hoy los presos deben sobrepasar con holgura los 100.000. Los refugios de las Naciones Unidas son allanados tres veces por semana.

Mario Muñoz y su familia han buscado la protección de la ONU, pero este organismo no ha podido hacerse responsable por su vida y se encuentra en calidad de refugiado transitorio, es decir que si hay oposición del gobierno al refugio, éste no sería válido. La ONU tampoco se hace cargo de los propios familiares perseguidos y les exigen documentos legales que jamás les serán entregados por los gobiernos argentino y chileno.

Solamente la solidaridad obrera internacional puede salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz Salas y su familia. Hay que lograr el respeto de los derechos humanos por parte del gobierno argentino. ¡No es posible perder un minuto más para salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz! Es tarea urgente de los partidos y las organizaciones de la clase obrera de llevar adelante una poderosa campaña internacional de presión sobre la junta militar argentina y las Naciones Unidas, que asegure el respeto a la libertad y a la vida de este dirigente ejemplar del proletariado chileno y de su familia.

EL COMITE DE DEFENSA DE LOS PRISIONEROS OBREROS Y MARINOS EN CHILE

¡Romper con el peronismo, estalinismo, guerrillerismo—por un partido trotskista!

El fin del régimen peronista en la Argentina

por la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) de Chile

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El general Rafael Videla

El golpe de estado en Argentina, con la toma del gobierno por una junta compuesta de las tres armas, es el trágico y lógico desenlace de la crisis burguesa existente en ese país, que se ha ido acentuando en forma creciente con la total incapacidad de resolverla por parte del gobierno peronista. Es importante destacar que el golpe se comenzó el martes 23 y no el miércoles 24 como ha trascendido oficialmente.

La señora presidente pretendió desconocer las tensiones sociales resultantes del descalabro económico, abusando del prestigio demagógico que había alcanzado el justicialismo a través de su líder máximo el general Perón. Asimismo el control de la clase obrera que el peronismo había logrado en base a una verdadera mafia burocrática en la principal central sindical argentina, la CGT, ya no era tal. El proletariado argentino buscaba romper la dependencia con estos dirigentes rufianes, representantes de la burguesía; la prueba más evidente la constituyó el reciente paro general anterior al golpe militar.

Como la burguesía se vió incapacitada de dirigir la planificación económica y social, fue retirando todo su apoyo al gobierno de la viuda de Perón. Por supuesto a la clase obrera no pueden engañarla con los argumentos morales burgueses de dilapidación de fondos públicos de la presidente y su amigo López Rega. Las verdaderas razones por las cuales la burguesía restó su sostén al gobierno, son de orden político, es decir, la crisis económica galopante y el ascenso de la lucha obrera.

Cuando la burguesía no puede detentar el gobierno, recurre al aparato del estado, por supuesto a las fuerzas armadas como ejecutoras de éste. El momento elegido para quebrar la institucionalidad democrática fue dramáticamente correcto de su parte; es así que no existió ninguna oposición de fuerza. La clase obrera no cuenta con partidos de masas capaces de presentar alguna resistencia de clase considerable (el Partido Comunista, por ejemplo, en su política contrarrevolucionaria de colaboración de clases se ha entregado frente al peronismo). En Chile una parte importante del proletariado estaba organizada en los dos partidos obreros de masas, Partido Socialista (PS) y Partido Comunista (PC), que pese a su estrategia reformista fueron casi destruidos por Pinochet (principalmente el PS). Los guerrilleros del Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores/Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (PRT/ERP) y Montoneros no estaban en condiciones políticas ni físicas necesarias; su guerra con el ejército de la burguesía está irremisiblemente perdida desde el inicio, por muy heroicos que puedan ser sus militantes.

Las FF.AA. argentinas cuentan con una larga experiencia de golpes de estado y no estaban dispuestas a presentar una imagen internacional desfavorable como es el caso del vecino país Chile. Existen importantes intereses económicas en juego que tienen que ver con las inversiones extranjeras que no pueden ser echados por la borda en ningún caso. Hay incluso muy buenas relaciones y proyectos económicos con la URSS. Por las anteriores razones los sectores dominantes de la FF.AA argentinas se opusieron al intento de golpe protagonizado por la aviación.

De esta forma el golpe argentino se presenta como casi "pacífico" o sin derramamiento de sangre. El llamado de huelga general de la CGT solo tiene el objetivo de maniobrar para poder negociar las posiciones que la burocracia ha conquistado. Pero éstas son solo las apariencias; por detrás se oculta una represión silenciosa, no por eso menos sangrienta que la que ha caracterizado otros golpes similares en el continente, evidentemente Chile. Esta represión se ensaña fundamentalmente sobre la clase obrera argentina y también de la misma forma sobre sus hermanos de clase de otras partes de América Latina que han debido emigrar a Argentina, ya sea por razones políticas o económicas, aceptando que sea posible hablar de política o de economía pura. En particular de Chile han pasado a través de la cordillera cientos de miles de obreros y campesinos y ya ha comenzado a descargarse sobre ellos una persecución brutal. De común acuerdo los representantes del capital abrirán sus fronteras para entenderse en el idioma de la muerte y la destrucción del proletariado. Si antes de marzo ya la Perón entregaba cientos de chilenos a la burguesía chilena, hoy este comercio humano se acentuará fatalmente.

El populismo demagógico del peronismo ha quedado desenmascarado; las ilusiones que había levantado en las masas trabajadoras argentinas posiblemente han sufrido un golpe mortal. Pese al corto lapso de gobierno peronista, éste ha sido suficiente para demostrar que la burguesía, aún sus partidos con apoyo obrero, solo basa su sistema en la explotación del proletariado y las capas más bajas de la sociedad, que no existe la burguesía nacional "antiimperialista", progresista. El capitalismo es un sistema de dominación mundial basado en la explotación del hombre por el hombre. El antiimperialismo, el progreso, la liberación de la humanidad, solo pueden ser concebidos con la destrucción violenta del sistema capitalista, basado en la propiedad privada, y la expropiación de la burguesía como clase, edificando las bases de la futura sociedad socialista.

El Frente Justicialista argentino (Frejuli) es un partido populista burgués, que fué levantado por la propia burguesía para dominar al movimiento obrero en ascenso en la década del 40. Es así que surge la CGT actual como una organización sindical creada y sustentada por la burguesía para destruir la combatividad proletaria. Cuando el general Perón se demostró incapaz de cumplir su cometido de clase, fue sacado con violencia de su cargo y obligado a tomar unas vacaciones en España. Pero los gobiernos militares que se sucedieron a la caída de Perón tampoco pudieron traer la tranquilidad social. De esta forma nuevamente la burguesía debe recurrir al exilado ibérico y ofrecerle el control del gobierno.

Las ilusiones que el peronismo conservaba en la clase trabajadora le permitieron un triunfo electoral abrumador. El apoyo crítico al gobierno peronista por los llamados "marxistas", como el Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), contribuyó objetivamente al desarrollo de la derrota obrera consecuente al golpe militar.

Es interesante observar las posiciones que frente al peronismo populista han adoptado las distintas organizaciones de izquierda. Por un lado tenemos los grupos guerrilleristas pequeñoburgueses PRT/ERP y Montoneros, cuya estrategia no difiere y es aquella de la "liberación nacional". Juegan el rol de cara izquierda del estalinismo, encabezados por Fidel Castro. Para ellos la contradicción principal está dada entre el imperio y la nación y no entre la burguesía y el proletariado; por lo tanto la revolución es en dos etapas: la primera democrático-burguesa, en alianza con la burguesía "progresista" por supuesto, y la segunda nunca se realizará, alcanzando esta estrategia en el mejor de los casos la constitución de régimenes burocráticos antiobreros, como el estado obrero deformado de Cuba.

Es así como el castrismo/mandelismo ha llevado a la muerte a miles de jóvenes valerosos que creyeron en su estrategia traidora. Los otros grupos que acompañan al ERP en la Junta Coordinadora Revolucionaria han sido prácticamente destruídos en sus países; es el caso del Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) boliviano, del Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN)—Tupamaros—del Uruguay, y del Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) chileno, que no cuentan ya con casi ninguna incidencia real en sus lugares de origen. Los Montoneros entregaron las armas cuando Perón tomó el poder, y luego se vieron obligados a empuñarlas frente a la represión de sus propios padrinos. El PRT/ERP por otra parte no tiene nada que ver con el trotskismo auténtico y lleva su propia guerra con el ejército de la burguesía a espaldas de la clase obrera, que en la mayoría de las veces recibe las repercusiones de las operaciones desesperadas de estos modernos "Robin Hood".

Están presentes asimismo los representantes del Secretariado Unificado (SU) de la autollamada Cuarta Internacional, una federación sin principios de foquistas (mayoría) que construyeron el PRT/ERP castrista, y reformistas (minoría) del PST de Moreno/Coral. El PST, consecuente con su política de colaboración de clases, la misma desplegada por su hermano mayor el Socialist Workers Party (SWP) de los EE.UU. (en el movimiento contra la guerra de Viet Nam, por ejemplo), dió su apoyo al gobierno burgués del peronismo al que caracterizaba como: "el partido peronista...desde 1946 fue la organización y la ideología de la clase trabajadora" (*Revista de América*, marzo de 1976).

Y por otro lado, Política Obrera, adjunta al Comité de Organización por la Reconstrucción de la Cuarta Internacional, liderado por la Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) francesa, ha abandonado los principios básicos del Programa de Transición al propugnar para América Latina la creación de un frente único antiimperialista, para empujar a la burguesía a cumplir el programa de liberación nacional, es decir, la creación de un Kuomintang latinoamericano.

Es así como la implantación en Argentina de esta junta militar burguesa bonapartista es el resultado de la crisis de la burguesía que, incapaz de frenar el avance obrero, de disminuir las tensiones económico-sociales a través de los métodos democráticos tradicionales recurre a su instrumento de explotación y opresión de clases: el estado. De este modo la institución armada toma su verdadero papel de guardián de los intereses capitalistas, no de "defensa de la patria" y se eleva transitoriamente por encima de las clases.

Se cierra otro capítulo de traiciones e ilusiones reformistas, de colaboración de clases en América Latina, que se suma a las lecciones del frente popular en Chile, donde la solución burguesa a la crisis, la "Alianza Para el Progreso" de Kennedy, fracasó en el gobierno demócrata-cristiano de Frei. El estalinismo contrarrevolucionario construyó la Unidad Popular con la burguesía—Partido Radical (PR), Partido Social Demócrata (PSD), API; los partidos obreros de masas PS y PC, siendo el MIR su apéndice de izquierda, llevaron a la derrota sangrienta del proletariado y a la destrucción de sus organizaciones de clase.

Vivimos la crisis del capitalismo, su agonía, pero solo el proletariado conducido por un verdadero partido trotskista, armado del programa revolucionario, puede darle muerte. Este debe ser un partido de oposición irreconciliable a la burguesía y a sus representantes frentepopulistas. Los obstáculos para construir la dirección obrera revolucionaria en Argentina hoy día, son principalmente aquellos tránsfugas del trotskismo que van a intentar levantar el cadáver putrefacto del peronismo. Estos son los centristas y reformistas renegados del Programa de Transición y liquidadores de la Cuarta Internacional, el pablismo del SU y el Comité de Organización de la OCI. La burguesía y su sistema de opresión no serán derrotados por los frentes antiimperialistas ni antifascistas, o cualquier otro nombre rimbombante que puedan utilizar los traidores para encubrir su claudicación al programa burgués.

La crisis de la humanidad es la crisis de la dirección obrera revolucionaria y ésta solo puede ser superada por el renacimiento de la Cuarta Internacional. La explotación no reconoce fronteras—solo bajo una dirección centralizada a nivel mundial el socialismo sustituirá a la barbarie capitalista.

ORGANIZACION TROTSKISTA REVOLUCIONARIA (OTR) DE CHILE

15 de abril de 1976

Golpe...

viene de la página 8

también demostraron la plena impotencia de los guerrilleros frente a toda acción seria de las FF.AA....

Aún la más espectacular acción guerrillera hasta este momento, el ataque al arsenal de Quilmes a unos 15 kilometros al sur de Buenos Aires, el pasado 24 de diciembre, reveló la bancarrota del guerrillerismo. Según se ha informado, la operación se centró en un ataque masivo por más de 100 comandos en búsqueda de armas y explosivos. Los detalles del evento todavia no están claros a raiz de las evidentes distorciones propagandistas por parte de las FF.AA.; de cualquier modo se puede deducir que una combinación de errores militares y armamento inadecuado forzaron a los guerrilleros a retirarse. Aunque el arsenal de Quilmes se ubica en un barrio pobre, de donde se podria esperar simpatias para las fuerzas antigubernamentales, no hubo ninguna respuesta popular. Las tropas desencadenaron un fuego devastador sobre el barrio, matando a más de cien personas (y tal vez muchos más de los que fueron reportados por la prensa)....

¡Por un partido trotskista en la Argentina!

...Durante el segundo régimen peronista—desde mayo de 1973 hasta marzo de 1976—el Partido Comunista pro-Moscú (PCA) siguió al demagogo capitalista que en otro entonces habian denunciado como "Peronazi". En las elecciones de septiembre de 1975 el PCA llamó sin critica a votar por el general Perón. Pese a su oposición formal al régimen, el PRT/ERP siempre distinguió entre funcionarios peronistas y las FF.AA., llamando por un frente popular contra los gorilas. Castro mismo alabó con entusiasmo cada frase hipócrita "antiimperialista" de Perón.

Al contrario de estas fuerzas estalinistas de colaboración de clases, la necesidad urgente de los trabajadores argentinos era y sigue siendo—la formación de un partido trotskista capaz de romper a la clase obrera de sus malos dirigentes populistas y capaz de dirigirla en el camino de la independencia de clase. Trágicamente, dos décadas de traiciones pablistas han tomado su cuenta. La mayor organización argentina que se reclama del trotskismo, el PST, adoptó una politica de "apoyo critico" de hecho al régimen peronista. (Esta fue una repetición de la politica de su "teórico" principal, Nahuel Moreno, frente al peronismo durante los años 50.) Jurando su apoyo a la "institucionalización" (es decir, la ley y el orden burgués) y a la "continuidad" del gobierno de Isabel Perón, el PST social demócrata igualó a los guerrilleros de izquierda y los terroristas anticomunistas de la AAA.

Un partido trotskista en la Argentina hubiera advertido a la clase obrera contra el peligro mortal que representa el bonapartismo peronista Una corriente politica *burguesa*, está variedad del populismo nacionalista no se basa en el movimiento obrero, como lo sugieren el PRT en la teoria y el PST en la práctica. Al contrario de los reformistas laborales procapitalistas (social demócratas y estalinistas), los peronistas eran capaces de aplastar al movimiento sindical sin destruir su propia existencia. En realidad, ya se encontraban en el proceso de liquidar fisicamente a todos los dirigentes sindicales independientes cuando los milicos emprendieron a llevar hasta el fin sus purgas terroristas.

...Un partido trotskista hubiera destacado al hecho de la formación de alianzas frentepopulistas con los capitalistas "progresistas" (como la Unidad Popular de Allende que conducia al sangriente golpe chileno) no es una respuesta a la junta militar, como tampoco es seguir detrás de los dirigentes engañadores peronistas. En alianza estrecha con los marxistas revolucionarios en paises vecinos (Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay), y defendiendo resueltamente al movimiento ohrero y a todas las organizaciones y militantes de izquierda contra la represión gorila, la tarea debe ser la construcción del partido obrero revolucionario independiente, como parte de la lucha por el renacimiento de la Cuarta Internacional, para preparar la revolución obrera que aplastará a la junta asesina. ■

COMITÉ PARA SALVAR LA VIDA DE MARIO MUÑOZ

Mario Muñoz Salas, dirigente y fundador del Sindicato Interprovincial de Obreros "Pirquineros" de Aconcagua, Valparaiso y Santiago, delegado nacional de los Consejos Regionales Mineros, ha sido durante toda su vida un luchador incansable por la defensa de los intereses de los obreros chilenos. Debió dejar Chile condenado a muerte por la junta militar sangrienta de Pinochet que ya habia asesinado a golpes a uno de sus hermanos. Ahora la junta argentina también ha condenado a Mario Muñoz a la pena capital. Con tal ferocidad es buscado que las nuevas autoridades no han tenido escrúpulos en allanar su casa a las tres de la madrugada el 25 de marzo, golpear a su compañera y a sus cinco hijos, incluso en su desesperación carnicera intentar llevarse de rehén al bebe de dos meses.

* * * * *

¡La vida de Mario Muñoz tiene que ser salvada! Los abajo firmantes exigimos el respeto de la vida de Mario Muñoz, que la ONU garantice el derecho de asilo y asegure su salida sana y salvo del pais, asimismo que la junta argentina respete los acuerdos internacionales de derechos humanos.

¡No tocar a Mario Muñoz!
¡Libertad para todas las víctimas de la represión derechista en Argentina y Chile!
¡La ONU debe tomar la responsibilidad por su salida de Argentina!

* * * * *

Este apelo fue emitido en Europa por el Comité de Salvar la Vida de Mario Muñoz, iniciado por el Comité de Defensa de los Prisioneros Obreros y Marinos en Chile y el Partisan Defense Committee. Entre los que han endosado la campaña internacional son:

Equal Ahmad
Argentinian Support Movement, Londres
Daniel Berrigan
Laurie Brereton, Asamblea Legislativa, New South Wales, Australia*
Andrew Brewin, miembro de parlamento, New Democratic Party* (NDP), Canadá
Ed Broadbent, Leader, NDP*
Hon. Dr. Jim Cairns, Cámara de Representantes, Australian Labor Party* (ALP)
Canadian Labor Congress
Carmen Castillo, MIR* de Chile
Comité Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la República Dominicana, New York
Committee Against Friedman Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta
Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Rosie Douglas
Jan Dukaiczyk, miembro de parlamento, NDP* Canadá
Federated Engine Drivers and Firemans Assoc of Australia, locales de Victoria y New South Wales
Mario Felmer, Juventud Socialista chilena*
Eugene Genovese, prof. de historia, Rochester University
Arthur Gielzeti, senador, ALP*
Dick Gregory
Tom Hayden
Nat Hentoff
Ted Innes, Cámara de Representantes, ALP*
Pat Knight, pres., SSEU Local 371* (verball
Labor Struggle Caucus, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6*, Chicago
Stu Leggett, miembro de parlamento, NDP*
Salvador Luria, premio de Nobel
Staughton Lynd, autor
Herbert Marcuse
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union*
Militant Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906*
John Mitchell, rep. internacional, Meatcutters Union
Richard Newhouse, senador de Illinois
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, District Council 8
James Petras
Jiri Pelikan
Rank and File Coalition, UAW Local 6* Chicago
John Rodriguez, miembro de parlamento, NDP*
Dennis Serrette, pres., Coalition of Black Trade Unionists*
John Sharpe, sec., tendencia espartaquista internacional
Ship Painters and Dockers Union, Victoria, Australia
Martin Sostre
I. F. Stone
Studs Terkel, autor
Consejo Estudiantil, University of Chicago
United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)
Gretchen Viehert, sec. prov., Ontario NDP* Canadá
Luis Vitale, Partido Socialista Revolucionario* de Chile
Richard y Cristina Whitecross
Howard Zinn

*Organización citada solamente por razones de identificación

Se ruega a quienes desean endosar la campaña para salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz, o hacer una contribución financial a ella, de comunicarse con el Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, EE.UU.

Exilado perseguido...

viene de la página 5

canal 4 de televisión. Esto motivó la ira del entonces ministro de mineria que llamó a Muñoz buscando amedrentarlo, amenazándolo con el empleo de la fuerza pública si continuaba esa actividad. Este respondió que seria la primera masacre de "pacos" (policia chilena) que se produciria si el ministro llevaba a cabo su amenaza.

Ante la negativa del PC a apoyar su politica sindical Muñoz renunció a éste. Rompió el carnet del partido delante de una concentración minera y todos los presentes siguieron su ejemplo.

La toma del gobierno por parte de la Unidad Popular (UP) de Allende en septiembre de 1970 no hizo cejar a los pirquineros en su accionar revolucionario. Muñoz desde tribunas públicas obligó a los dirigentes del frente popular a no oponerse a la toma de las minas. En 1971 Muñoz ingresó al Partido Socialista (PS) de Chile. Esto lo llevó de inmediato a dirigir una oposición de izquierda en dicho partido contra Allende y sus personeros en los altos cargos.

Una marcha de pirquineros de Cabildo a Valparaíso se realizó, en marzo del mismo año, a la cual se opuso el PC cerrando el local del sindicato del Cemento Melón, en la ciudad de Calera, donde la marcha debía alimentarse y reposar. Las consignas de esta marcha que encabezaba Muñoz eran expropiación sin pago de los yacimientos mineros y defensa armada del gobierno contra el posible ataque imperialista. La manifestación obrera se cerró con un discurso desde la Intendencia de Valparaíso. Alli Mario Muñoz denunció la conciliación de clases señalando al propio intendente, de Partido Radical (PR), que se encontraba a su lado, como representante de la burguesía.

Posteriormente la UP materializó su oposición a las tomas. El primer enfrentamiento importante se produjo con la ocupación por parte de los pirquineros de la planta Bella Vista, cuyos propietarios eran del PR, lo mismo que el ministro de minería. El Sr. Cantuarias, que ese era su nombre, trató de tramitar a los mineros. Muñoz tomó la palabra para denunciar los negociados del gobierno, llamando a Cantuarias ladrón al servicio de los patrones. Por supuesto esta reunión tuvo un final violento.

Frente a la oposición decidida y firme de los pirquineros y su dirigente, los partidos de la UP levantaron un seminario de mineros, a realizarse en la universidad Federico Santa María de Valparaíso, buscando a través de una campaña de desprestigio socavar el ascendiente de Muñoz sobre el proletariado chileno. De los 152 delegados que asistieron a ese seminario 25 eran del sindicato de pirquineros. También se invitó a los principales dirigentes de las Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT), del PC y del PS, pero ni éstos ni la presencia del propio Allende pudieron acallar la voz de Mario Muñoz. Las resoluciones aprobadas en este seminario, que quedaron en manos de dirigentes de la UP, jamás fueron publicadas.

En este clima tenso el gobierno de S Allende busca crear los Consejos Regionales Mineros de Chile como un organismo de asfixia burocrática de la clase obrera, a fines de 1972. El primer congreso se realizó en Copiapó, provincia de Atacama. Cuatro dias antes que se celebrara este evento, va Muñoz al frente de los mineros lo inauguraba con la ocupación de una mina en el Salado, propiedad del vice-presidente de la Empresa Nacional de Mineria (ENAMI), Eduardo Matta. Nuevamente el discurso de Muñoz saludando la ocupación de la mina fue ovacionado por los obreros, y en votación unánime de los delegados fue nombrado presidente de los Consejos Regionales Mineros.

Esta nueva victoria del proletariado minero desata sobre Muñoz una vez más una campaña de calumnias (malversación de fondos, pertenecientes al sindicato, etc.) y/o la aplicación de medidas económicas (no cancelamiento de minerales, por ejemplo) tendientes a socavar el apoyo que le prestan los distintos sectores mineros. La reacción obrera no se hace esperar y los trabajadores de la cooperativa Bronco de Petorca deciden retener en la mina Pedro de Valdivia al jefe del Departamento de Mineria y lo hacen trabajar en el carro (carro extractor de materiales). Frente a la negativa del gobierno a otorgar los títulos de la mina, Muñoz al frente de los pirquineros marcha hacia Santiago y toman el edificio central de ENAMI y el Ministerio de Mineria. Por supuesto que lo que no se habia conseguido en 9 meses, se obtuvo antes de una hora.

Poco antes del golpe se realizó una concentración minera en el edificio de los trabajadores UNCTAD, en el centro de la capital, en el cual Muñoz se entrevistó con Allende. Además de asegurarle el apoyo minero incondicional para la defensa del gobierno ante la proximidad del golpe reaccionario, le preguntó hasta cuando iba él (Allende) a continuar traicionando los intereses de los obreros en abierta conciliación con la burguesía. Algunos partidos de la UP, principalmente el PC, intentaron impedir la oratoria de Muñoz en esa concentración con matones al servicio de su politica traidora. Los mineros defendieron con fuerza a la democracia obrera y a su dirigente, marchando posteriormente por el centro de Santiago, gritando a "Romper con la Burguesía" y "Alto al Golpe Fascista" Como consecuencia y reclamando la libertad de obreros y campesinos (del Pangal, por ejemplo) presos por el gobierno de la UP, Muñoz rompió con el socialpatriotismo del PS.

Debido a la violenta persecución en su contra, para fusilarlo en el acto, en ocasión del golpe de estado de Pinochet Muñoz debió atrevesar la cordillera de los Andes para refugiarse en Argentina. Uno de sus hermanos fue asesinado a golpes por las fuerzas de la reacción.

Ya en Argentina se dedicó a organizar a los miles de obreros y campesinos chilenos, que también fueron obligados a dejar el país. El gobierno peronista dictó un decreto para expulsarlo de Argentina. En consecuencia debió permanecer en la clandestinidad hasta el nacimiento de un nuevo hijo que le abrió las posibilidades de acogerse a la ley de inmigración. También en este aspecto fue tramitado burocráticamente, hasta la llegada del golpe argentino. A pocas horas de asumir sus funciones los militares buscan a Mario Muñoz por cielo y tierra para fusilarlo. No se detienen ante nada; persiguen a toda su familia y se ensañan con su compañera y sus niños. La ONU no se responsabiliza por su vida y ésta pende de un hilo. Solo la solidaridad obrera internacional puede salvarlo. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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El peronismo cavó la vía

Golpe militar en la Argentina

Traducido de Workers Vanguard No. 103, 2 de abril de 1976

Tanques y transportes militares guardan el palacio presidencial el dia del golpe. Gente

30 DE MARZO—Cuando los tanques estratègicamente emplazados comenzaron a aproximarse a la Casa Rosada y las tropas asumieron las posiciones designadas en el centro de Buenos Aires, llegó dentro de pocos minutos el fin del gobierno de Isabel Perón. No se disparó ni un solo tiro, y la ùnica sorprendida por el golpe pareee ser la misma presidente. Alrededor de la medianoche un helicóptero, en vez de llevar la presidente a su casa como debió de hacer, la depositó en el sector militar del aeropuerto metropolitano. Ahí ella fue detenida a punto de fusil y pronto trasladada a una residencia oficial aislada en la provincia andina de Neuquén.

El golpe de estado del 23 de marzo fue sin duda una de las "conspiraciones" más precisamente ejecutadas y pùblicamente preparadas de toda la historia. "Mas alemán que argentina" era el juicio aprobador de un estanciero bonarense. Al contrario, el verdadero significado del hecho de que el comandante del ejèrcito, el teniente general Jorge Videla, podía preparar sus planes tan abiertamente—no ocultando ni la fecha prèvista—no se ubica en las caracteristicas nacionales, sino en el aislamiento y la impotencia total del gobierno peronista.

El golpe sin derrame de sangre reveló la parâlisis politica del movimiento laboral màs poderoso de todo el continente sudamericano, arrastrado ante los gorilas por causa de los pérfidos lideres populistas-burgueses peronistas de los sindicatos. Desde hace muchos años los falsos revolucionarios—del Partido Comunista brejneviano y el PRT/ERP castrista hasta los pretendidos trotskistas—han capitulado frente a los populistas burgueses, de modo que la clase obrera argentina no vislumbraba una alternativa revolucionaria. No se ha reportado ninguna resistencia al golpe.

El que este putsch reaccionario parece anticlimàtico no disminuye el peligro que representa. El nuevo régimen se esfuerza de darse una imagen reconciliadora. El discurso a la nación pronunciado por Videla habla de un "proceso curativo", mientras que las agencias de noticias publican fotos de los soldados dando de comer a las palomas en la Plaza de Mayo. Pero detrás de esta imagen "moderada" de la junta militar—compuesta por Videla, el jefe de la marina (el vice-almirante Emilio Massera), y el comandante de la fuerza aerea (el teniente general Orlando Agosti)—se esconden los numerosos "duros", quienes exigen una carniceria espantosa.

No obstante la palabreria cìnica de reconciliación nacional, es evidente que los generales han tomado el poder para aplastar al movimiento ohrero. El programa de Videla para los obreros argentinos será lo mismo que el remedio de Pinochet para Chile. En la medida en que esta "moderación" rigidamente aplicada sea incapaz de romper la espina del movimiento obrero—que tendrá que pagar el precio de la bancarrota del capitalismo argentino—los gorilas se preparan para ahogar a los barrios obreros en rios de sangre....

Restablecer los "valores esenciales"

La junta desató su "reorganización nacional" en las primeras horas de miércoles, jurando que su "objetivo fundamental será restablecer los valores eseneiales que guian al estado." Los antiguos administradores civiles serán reemplazados por oficiales militares en todas las instituciones importantes, y el aparato estatal será purgado de arriba a abajo. Una serie de comunicados bruscos disolvieron al congreso, a las asambleas provinciales y los consejos municipales; expulsaron a las autoridades judiciales, y suspendieron toda actividad politica. Además, fueron proscritos seis partidos de izquierda, entre ellos los autodenominados trotskistas del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) y Politica Obrera. (Grupos guerrilleristas como el PRT/ERP ya fueron proscritos bajo el régimen anterior.)

Otros decretos cerraron las universidades, introducieron la pena de muerte por ataques contra instalaciones militares y sentencias de muerte o de encarcelamiento perpetuo por actos de sabotaje y ataques contra la policia o militares. También cerraron las fronteras y prohibieron huelgas o cualquier otra actividad que impidiera la producciòn. Los militares se apoderaron de todas las empresas del estado e impusieron la censura sobre la prensa. Aunque la junta no ha publicado las cifras, se calcula que unos 2.000 dirigentes peronistas y sindicales, comunistas y "subversivos sospechosos" han sido detenidos (*Economist*, 27 de marzo).

Incluso se ha observado el traslado de presos a dos barcos de transporte militar estacionados en el puerto de Buenos Aires. Se puede proyectar la profundización de esta represión para incluir una amplia capa de militantes sindicales y de izquierda de todos los partidos. Especialmente perjudicados son las decenas de miles de refugiados politicos de los países vecinos, para los cuales ya no existen otro sitio de refugio o fronteras para cruzar. Es tarea urgente del movimiento obrero internacional protestar la arrebatadora represión y exigir la libertad para todos los presos de guerra de clases en la Argentina.

Inmediatamente después del anuncio del golpe, un interventor militar se apoderó de la Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT); todos los sindicatos fueron intervenidos y sus cuentas bancarias confiscadas. La sede del más poderoso sindicato del pais, la Unión de Obreros Metalùrgicos (UOM), actualmente está ocupada por tropas armadas de guerra. Efectivamente, se decapitò al movimiento obrero argentino con una sola bofetada. El jefe de la CGT, Casildo Herreras, no estaba presente en el pais al momento del golpe....

La cobarde dirección sindical, que solo tres dias antes habia fanfarroneado que todo intento de golpe seria impedido por una huelga general, se deshizo como un castillo de naipes. Atrapados entre sus bases—quienes rechazaron el congelamiento de salarios frente a una tasa anual de inflación de 424 por ciento que literalmente devastaba a sus sueldos—y el gobierno peronista que fortificaba sus poderes burocráticos, la ùnica "contribución" de los jefes sindicales era la desmovilización de la clase obrera. Aunque durante las últimas semanas habian sido cerradas por huelgas varias fàbricas en Córdoba y en la zona de gran Buenos Aires, las luchas huelguisticas quedaban localmente aisladas....

Asi que, en nombre de prevenir a un golpe militar, la burocracia sindical peronista puso el tapete rojo a fin que los generales pudieran caminar sin oposición alguna hacia la toma del poder. En 1955 el general Juan Perón aconsejó a sus partidarios a que no se movilizaran contra el peligro de un golpe militar. Ahora, una vez más, al predicar sermones de confianza en la benevolencia de los politicos populistas "amigos del trabajador", el peronismo ató a las manos de la clase obrera y asi cavó el paso al golpe.

Fracaso del peronismo sin Perón

Durante los años 40, la burguesia argentina trató de utilizar el carismàtico Perón para desviar la amenaza de un despliegue obrero al canalizarlo hacia los sindicatos creados por el estado y controlados por el ministerio del trabajo. Sin embargo, a medida que procedió la organización de los obreros antes no sindicalizados, aún los sindicatos peronistas se pusieron reacios. Con las reservas de devisas extranjeras agotadas y enfrentado por el boicot de los capitalistas criollos, a principios de los años 50 el bonapartista Perón atacó a los sindicatos, aplastando varias huelgas importantes. En 1955 la clase obrera ya estaba suficientemente desmoralizada para que los generales echaran a Perón en una malnombrada "revolución libertadora". Durante los próximos 18 años el movimiento sindical argentino se vió sometido a una represión periòdicamente severa, repetida intervención gubernamental y la semilegalidad. Los sueldos reales cayeron más del 40 por ciento.

Mas durante los años 60 apareció una nueva generación de obreros, listos a luchar contra los dictadores militares y sus titeres civiles. Mientras la dirección peronista buscaba maniobrar entre las distintas fracciones militares, surgieron huelgas militantes entre los obreros azucareros de Tucumán. Luego estalló una huelga general con caracteristicas de rebelión popular durante tres dias en el centro industrial interior de Córdoba, en mayo de 1969. Del poderoso *cordobazo* en adelante, una situación prerrevolucionaria habia existido en la Argentina.

Después de varias olas de actividad guerrillera y las mucho más importantes huelgas de masas, que tomaban proporciones semiinsurreccionales a nivel local, el alto mando de las fuerzas armadas decidió apelar otra vez al "viejo", esperando que èl podria una vez más descarrilar al movimiento obrero. Perón volvió de su exilio español firmemente comprometido a extirpar la "enfermedad marxista" de los sindicatos y a purgar a los izquierdistas del movimiento justicialista heterogéneo. Logró echar a varios gobernadores provinciales liberales y forzó un congelamineto de sueldos, pero murió antes de haber cumplido toda su tarea. Isabel Perón, su esposa y vicepresidente, se demostró ser insuficiente para la tarea y el movimiento peronista empezó a deshacerse en las costuras.

El régimen de la antigua bailadora de cabaret, cuya entrada al poder fue su matrimonio, se mantenia en el poder mediante la imposición de un virtual estado de sitio. La ùnica manera en que podia mantener la unidad del Frente Justicialista de Liberación (Frejuli) era a través de un terror difuso desatado por la llamada Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA), un disfraz para las escuadras de muerte compuestas de gangsteres peronistas y la policia secreta vestida de civil. Las tenebrosas operaciones "noche y niebla" de las AAA fueron dirigidas por el secretario personal de la presidente, José López Rega, el ministro del bienestar social y uno de los dirigentes de una pequeña ala fascista del movimiento peronista....

Con el pillaje extraordinario de los cofres gubernamentales, la imprenta de la tesoreria estatal tenia que trabajar horas extras; junto con el sabotaje intencional de los altos capitalistas, el régimen peronista logrò enterrar a la economia argentina. Aunque los generales lanzaron amenazas periódicamente y llamaron por una vuelta al orden, evidentemente no obstaculizaron los pasos tambuleantes del espectáculo "Isabelita". El propósito evidente era derribar el mito del peronismo como "gran benefactor" de la clase obrera. La divisa implicita era: "que el peronismo se ahogue en sus propias contradicciones." La eliminación ignominiosa de la presidente, trasladada secretamente durante la noche, y la amenaza de juzgarla por malversión de fondos, son parte integrante de la misma operación. Y, de veras, el peronismo ya se ha desacreditado, a tal punto que hoy dia se ha hecho añicos, quizás irremediablemente.

La bancarrota del guerrillerismo

Mientras muchos antiguos peronistas de base y militantes sindicales seguramente están desilucionados con los falsos lideres que les trayeron a este desastre, les hace falta la vanguardia marxista revolucionaria capaz de trazar las lecciones de la experiencia peronista. En los últimos años, los más conocidos entre aquellos que se reclaman de ser una dirección revolucionaria han sido los varios grupos guerrilleristas, desde los peronistas de izquierda (los Montoneros) hasta grupos autodenominados trotskistas. Los meses antes del golpe

continùa en la página 7

UPS...

(continued from page 12)

poses a class-struggle program to the class collaborationism of the union bureaucracy. UPSurge is an unprincipled catch-all whose membership tends to vary depending on the support it receives from lower-level union officials. At Louisville, Kentucky, for instance, where all seven stewards belong to UPSurge, 128 of 130 UPS workers also claim UPSurge membership!

UPSurge adopted its bargaining proposals at a convention in Indianapolis last January. These demands rarely go beyond what the IBT officials themselves are asking. In fact, the stated UPSurge contract demands now omit anything on either wages or cost-of-living (c-o-l) protection! Apparently the group accepts the sell-out negotiated in freight and simply wants to extend it to United Parcel. Most of the other paper demands of UPSurge, such as opposition to forced overtime and supervisors working, are no different from what is raised by the bureaucracy. Only on a few issues, such as the right to strike over grievances, does UPSurge raise any differences.

The bureaucrats call for a halt in hiring part-timers and the phasing out of this category as presently employed part-timers leave. UPSurge agrees with this, adding only that part-timers should be immediately upgraded to the same pay and benefit scale as full-time employees, and that on transferring to full-time positions they should retain half their seniority. The glaring defect in this scheme is that full-time positions would be opened up only as fast as part-timers vacate their current jobs. Thus ending the massive use of part-timers (a legitimate goal in itself) is premised on perpetuating the notoriously rotten working conditions that generate the heavy turnover at UPS! The only genuine solution, which UPSurge ignores, is to provide jobs at full pay and decent conditions for all UPS workers. This requires a shorter workweek at no loss in pay (make the workweek for all employees 30 hours, with a full 40 hours' pay).

In the period before the current strike, UPSurge, besides setting up a "Fighting Fund" (which among other things would bring court suits against both the company *and* the union), mainly occupied itself with blustering at the Teamster leadership. The April 28 issue of *UPSurge* calls on workers to "organize their own strike committees" which "must stay in touch with Strike Headquarters in the Cleveland *UPSurge* office." Despite such flights of fancy, in which it envisions the Teamster ranks deserting the IBT leaders en masse and following it instead, most of UPSurge's adventurism thus far exists only on paper. In practice it has generally accommodated itself to the bureaucracy.

UPSurge supporters submitted a series of four motions at strike vote meetings throughout the Midwest. These motions, supportable in themselves, called for elected strike committees, membership ratification of any proposed contract at the union hall (no mail ballot), two union meetings per week during the strike and a recommendation to the International that it instruct all Teamsters to refuse to handle scab goods. UPSurge subsequently ballyhooed the fact that, despite the opposition of union officials, it got these motions passed in a number of locals. The reality is somewhat less rosy.

In Cleveland, for example, UPSurge claimed that it forced Local 407 officials to permit the election of a strike committee of eight, on which it placed six supporters. However, this "strike committee" has no real power except that its members are given token positions of leadership, such as captaining picket lines. A UPS striker told *WT* that at a subsequent union meeting May 2, Local president John Tansky successfully ruled out of order UPSurge members who attempted to put forward motions for hot-cargoing scab goods and for opposition to a mail ballot. Tansky even drew applause when he asserted that the Local would follow strike guidelines set by the International and when he hollowed, "I will run the strike." Needless to add, the opinions of the impotent "strike committee" were not solicited on this issue.

An elected strike committee is an essential element of a militant, democratically led strike. However, unless such a committee is given clearly defined tasks and is grounded in a class-struggle program, it can easily be undercut by the labor bureaucracy. It is precisely because UPSurge has no fundamental differences with the IBT leadership that the membership is unwilling to follow it. After all, given two groups with the same program, it makes a lot more sense to follow the one which has an established organization and power behind it—i.e., the bureaucracy!

Not only its call for elected strike committees, but other UPSurge demands are undercut by its own opportunism. Taking the union to court—the cornerstone of the strategy of both TDC and UPSurge—has played into the hands of the IBT tops. Thus Fitzsimmons justified postponing for three weeks the mail ballot on the freight contract—thereby dissipating whatever remained of organized opposition to this sellout—on the grounds that TDC had a court suit against the union which, if successful, would alter the ratification procedure. In UPS, Teamster bureaucrats claimed that a mail ballot was necessary because it was the procedure least likely to be challenged legally. This of course is a demagogic argument. However, it is true that the undemocratic mail ballot in the freight division, which is supervised by the U.S. Department of Labor, was instituted as a response to legal action brought against the union by Teamster dissidents. The mail ballot has proven to be a brake on the membership and serves as another concrete demonstration that dragging the government into union affairs only strengthens the hands of the companies and the union bureaucracy.

Class-Struggle Alternative

A picket leader and UPSurge supporter in Cleveland remarked Sunday: "The minute they bring politics into this [UPSurge], I'm out." Rather than attempting to win such potential militants to the understanding that a correct conception of *class* politics is crucial to winning struggles against the bosses, UPSurge and TDC have continually capitulated to the most backward attitudes of the working class. This proved disastrous during the Detroit Teamsters wildcat, which collapsed because union members—badly misled by TDC on the role of the state—were unprepared to deal with a court injunction.

Rather than simply raising a few economist demands that accept the exploitative framework of capitalism, as UPSurge does, a class-struggle leadership in the Teamsters would raise a program that genuinely addresses the needs of UPS workers. Such a program would include demands for full cost-of-living protection, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, an end to racial and sexual discrimination, and the unlimited right to strike.

A struggle for such demands would not likely succeed unless it were linked up with the freight division of the IBT, which occupies a far more strategic position in the economy. UPSurge, while abstractly calling for "solidarity," neglected to call for such a joint strike of freight and UPS when the master freight agreement expired. Militants in UPS should demand now that the sellout in freight be reversed and a joint struggle of all trucking employees be waged against the companies. ■

ILWU Local 6...

(continued from page 3)

Militant," a newsletter published by the Militant Caucus of Local 6, McClain and Co. unilaterally killed an Oakland membership vote to invite all ILWU and Teamster warehouse stewards to this month's Oakland Stewards Council. They then suspended all Oakland meetings until further notice by putting the membership "on call." Over the past several years, Oakland has been the major center of resistance to the weak-kneed policies of the Local 6 machine.

Both warehousemen and longshoremen in the ILWU find themselves in increasingly desperate situations. The Distributors Association, which represents many of the employers whose contracts with 25,000 ILWU and Teamster warehousemen expire June 1, has given the union leadership a set of demands which approach open union busting. They have stated that the union can expect no wage increase and that demands for voluntary overtime and promotion by seniority are strike issues. Meanwhile, the Pacific Maritime Association has announced further reductions in pay guarantee payments and widespread deregistrations of longshoremen beginning July 1.

The ILWU was long recognized as the kingpin and most militant sector of Bay Area labor. The weakened position of the union is the direct result of years of collaboration between union president Harry Bridges and the Democratic Party political bosses of San Francisco. Ever since the 1960 Mechanization and Modernization contract signed by Bridges and ILWU secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt, which gave the maritime owners the green light to slash longshore jobs in half, the bourgeoisie has felt confident that in exchange for the prestige of positions in the city government, Bridges & Co. would toe the line.

The marriage between Bridges—the darling of the Communist Party—and the Democrats was revealed in all its obscenity during the racist Operation Zebra police dragnet in the spring of 1974. While Mayor Joseph Alioto tried to split the resurgent city labor movement by fomenting race war, Bridges issued special bulletins of the union newspaper urging labor and minorities to vote for Alioto for governor.

Today, a prime reason for the strangulation of the San Francisco city workers strike has been the almost complete lack of support from the ILWU. ILWU president and S.F. port commissioner Bridges has refused to take the smallest step to aid the craft workers—although everyone is well aware that closing of the port by the ILWU could easily trigger the militant response from labor necessary to bring the city government to its knees.

This long collaboration with capitalist politicians, however, has only served to weaken the ILWU. The increasingly open use of police against the union are the fruits of this opportunist policy.

The Way Forward

A fighting alliance forged between members of the ILWU and Teamsters could reverse the recent wave of defeats. Both the Victor strike and a strike against Nestlé's provide examples of the potential strength of such an alliance.

Local 6 is currently striking Nestlé's in Salinas, California. Rank-and-file union militants at Woolworths, Safeway and Thrifty have taken action to hot cargo scab goods. These actions were spurred by acts of solidarity of Teamsters and Machinists, who for nearly two weeks honored Local 6 picket lines at Nestlé's plants where no ILWU members are employed! Moreover, at the Victor strike, Teamster drivers honored the lines and provided continuous information on the whereabouts of scab Victor products.

But the ILWU leadership has consciously squandered the potential strength of this alliance. The ILWU International refused to take steps to picket Victor outlets under Teamster jurisdiction in San Francisco and Sacramento. Now Bridges is hatcheting the Nestlé's strikers. While Teamsters and Machinists courageously honored the ILWU lines, he had ILWU longshoremen loading a container of Nestlé's products bound for Hawaii!

For there to be a successful outcome to the upcoming contract struggle of warehousemen, a strike leadership independent of Bridges, Fitzsimmons and their henchmen must be constructed. The Militant Caucus of Local 6 correctly calls for the immediate election of strike committees in every warehouse and urges the membership to fight to force the leadership to hold the cancelled union meetings. "Warehouse Militant" also urges Local 6 warehousemen to issue an appeal to longshoremen to stop Nestlé's scab cargo. It points out that such solidarity now could lay the basis for joint longshore/warehouse/Teamster strike actions for jobs, pay and improved work conditions. Such actions, if conducted by a militant leadership which relies on the independent mobilization of the labor movement and places no confidence in the capitalist state or its police, can be victorious. ■

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Fake-Lefts Cover for Sadlowski in Steel Local Elections

CHICAGO—As jockeying gets under way for next February's presidential elections in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), recently concluded local union elections show growing dissatisfaction among the ranks with the sellout regime of USWA head I. W. Abel. Closely identified with the union-management productivity committees (which have intensified speed-up and slashed jobs) and the hated no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), pro-Abel slates were soundly defeated in a number of Steelworkers locals.

The major beneficiary of the voting appears to be bureaucratic reformer Edward Sadlowski, head of the USWA's pivotal Chicago-Gary District 31. Although this opportunist in no way represents a fundamental challenge to Abel's pro-capitalist policies, the failure of would-be leftists in the union to break with Sadlowski in the elections was a major factor in lending him credibility.

At U.S. Steel's Gary Works Local 1014, a middle-of-the-road ticket defeated both pro-Abel and pro-Sadlowski slates. However, only four of 13 grievers were returned to office, most of the defeated incumbents being Abel supporters. Since grievers represent the workers on shop-floor issues, the voting for these posts was an indication of the unpopularity of Abel's program for "labor peace" and "increased productivity."

We earlier reported (*WV* No. 105, 16 April) the clean sweep by the Rank and File Slate (RFS) headed by Jim Balanoff at Local 1010, Inland Steel, in East Chicago. This slate, part of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC) which is backed by the Communist Party's *Daily World*, was endorsed by Sadlowski.

Now, in Sadlowski's home plant—Local 65, U.S. Steel's Southworks in Chicago—a Sadlowski candidate, John Chico, has defeated the pro-Abel Mirocha administration. During the campaign, the legitimacy of the election board was disputed. At a local meeting a vote on nominees for the board was close and a division of the house was called for. However, rather than see his opponents have supporters on the board, Mirocha simply declared his slate ratified.

Chico thereupon went to federal court to win an injunction to postpone the election, but the night before the vote a compromise was reached. The USWA International's legal staff (representing Mirocha) and former Chicago alderman Leon Despres (representing Chico) agreed to add nine Chico supporters to the election board. USWA International staff representative John Carey (who is concurrently head of the Chicago Board of Education) was made chairman of the election board and the Labor Department was brought in to count the ballots. Like his mentor Sadlowski, who won office by appealing to Washington to overturn an earlier election, Chico relies on the anti-labor laws of the bosses' government to get elected.

Meanwhile, in Lorain, Ohio, the incumbents were victorious in a three-way contest at Local 1104 (U.S. Steel). The main focus of the campaign was a local productivity committee, with both of the major bureaucratic factions accusing the other of supporting its establishment. Lorain workers told *WV* salesmen that the arguments got so heated that threats of court suits for slander were freely thrown about. The right-wing bureaucratic opposition headed by George Pashkevich was badly routed and finished barely ahead of the reformist Rank and File Committee (RFC). The RFC slate, headed by NSWRFC chairman George Edwards, could not, however, denounce on principle the practice of bringing the capitalist courts into union affairs, as it has itself advocated government intervention to challenge union seniority and election procedures.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

The clear need of steel workers—who are suffering from unemployment, speed-up, abominable safety conditions in the plants and inflation—is for a militant opposition to the class-collaborationist policies of both the encrusted Abel bureaucracy and the slicker-talking Sadlowski "reformers." At Local 65 there are three groupings that have pretensions of being to the left of both Abel and Sadlowski. One, the Rank and File Voice (part of the NSWRFC), won a griever's post in the local elections and openly endorsed Sadlowski's man Chico. Another, Breakout (backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party), also won a griever's post and tacitly backed Chico by concentrating its fire exclusively against Mirocha. The third, the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League, finished a distant third in the campaign for local president.

WV Photo

U.S. Steel's Southworks plant in Chicago.

In our earlier article on the USWA local elections, *WV* advocated highly critical support to the RSC candidates at Southworks. However, by the time of the voting Chico's suit altered the situation. The RSC simply ducked the issue of how to combat both Mirocha's attempt to steal the election and Chico's treacherous appeal to the bosses' courts. Yet this issue was then at the heart of the campaign and even attracted attention in the daily papers. By its failure to take a stand against government intervention into the union, the RSC forfeited any claim on the votes of militants in this election.

In the bureaucratic politicking in the Steelworkers, Sadlowski will capitalize on the recent votes, and Abel's prospects of placing himself or a handpicked successor in the International presidency have suffered a setback. Like the Mine Workers' Arnold Miller, Sadlowski is a liberal who combines empty rhetoric about union democracy and "honesty" with a program of Labor Department intervention in the unions. On all the fundamental issues facing steel workers—such as the right to strike, layoffs, speed-up, racial discrimination, union independence from the bosses' state and parties—he has provided no alternative to Abel.

Sadlowski represents the first important challenge to a major trade-union regime since Miller ousted Tony Boyle in the Mine Workers. At that time the SL stood virtually alone against a myriad of fake-socialists who fell over each other grovelling before Miller and the now-defunct Miners For Democracy. Since taking office, the Miller regime has proceeded to ram a sellout contract down the throat of rebellious miners and to smash a mammoth wildcat for the right to strike over local grievances. Put Sadlowski in Abel's seat and there will be a repeat performance of the Miller "reform" hoax.

While some ostensibly socialist organizations are hedging on whether to give open support to the bankrupt Sadlowski, several supported slates in the local USWA elections that were in a bloc with the up-and-coming liberal bureaucrat. Without the support of fake-leftists like Balanoff's RFS, Breakout, Rank and File Voice, etc., Sadlowski's campaign would be seriously weakened. These opportunists must be held responsible for channeling the legitimate anger of steel workers back into the folds of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. What is necessary instead is the building of an opposition that will provide a class-struggle answer to *all* the labor fakers. ■

FORUM

Cuba in Africa: Vanguard of Revolution or Rearguard of Detente?

Speaker: CHARLES O'BRIEN
Editor, *Young Spartacus*
SL Central Committee

Time: Thursday, May 6, 7:30 p.m.

Place: Reading Lounge/Dining Hall, Purchase College, SUNY

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NEW YORK

S.F....

(continued from page 12)

Yesterday, George Evankovich, head of the striking Laborers Union, again ran up the white flag of surrender only to have it spat upon by anti-labor supervisor Quentin Kopp. Evankovich declared his willingness to send the workers back on the basis of the proposal for a study committee and removal of Propositions E and K from the June ballot. (Proposition E would order mandatory firing of city workers who strike, and Proposition K would spread the proposed pay cuts over three years.) Kopp's arrogant response was, "That proposal [the study committee] was conditioned on acceptance by the whole group" of striking unions; and that the possibility of removing propositions from the ballot was "extinguished."

Then, in a disgusting display of servility—trying to prove his unlimited willingness to grovel—Evankovich called off Laborers Union pickets (over half the total) for 24 hours as a gesture of "good will"!

Even the removal of the new propositions from the ballot, however, would not undo Proposition B, which erased the 30-year-old parity formula tying city craft workers' pay to prevailing rates in private industry, and led to the threatened pay cuts that provoked the current strike. Plumbers Union head Joe Mazzola acknowledged this earlier when he said of the latest proposal, "It won't fly unless there is a guarantee of no pay cuts" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 29 April).

The national ramifications of the deep pay cuts (up to $5,000 per worker annually) were enough to upset even such sellout artists as AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany, who dispatched top aide Allen Kistler to San Francisco to report on the situation. Kistler's only contribution was the pathetic remark that it was "shortsighted" (!) to place the cost of municipal financial crises on the backs of city workers.

Moscone Tries to Buffalo the Public

The bourgeoisie's propaganda mills were running full blast this week, blaming the strikers for everything from

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Pickets block buses at East Bay Terminal. WV Photo

a water shortage to the escape of four buffalo through a hole in the fence at Golden Gate Park zoo. On Tuesday, Mayor George Moscone, touted by union brass last November as a sterling "friend of labor," told reporters: "We hear rumors of a threatened escalation of the strike that would jeopardize our facilities. I have every assurance that we can keep our systems operating. Police personnel are on the ready if there is any attempt at sabotage."

The very next day, city officials charged that the sudden break of a 30-inch water main in Golden Gate Park was the result of union "vandalism." The press, which normally knows nothing and cares less about the plight of working people, suddenly oozed with concern over a water crisis stemming from the shutdown of the Hetch Hetchy water system in the Sierras and unrepaired breaks in the city system. The mayor rushed private contractors to repair the park main, but the workers refused to scab when city craftsmen threw up a picket line at the site. Undeterred, Moscone brought in non-union scabs from San Jose who fixed the break while 100 strikers, cordoned off by the city cops, stood by and jeered.

For the next few days, police patrolled the park with menacing dogs "to prevent sabotage." The cowboy cops also rounded up the four escaped buffalo. Meanwhile the mayor hypocritically warned that by cutting off chlorine deliveries to sewage treatment plants the strikers would lose "any favor they may still have with the public."

While fanning anti-strike fever among the petty bourgeoisie to a white-hot pitch, the local rulers have also attempted to intimidate the Muni drivers of Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 250A, whose class-loyal support to the craft strike has sustained it by keeping city buses and trolleys idled for over a month, while other city workers crossed picket lines. On April 29, the S.F. Chamber of Commerce publicly commented that perhaps the city could manage without the Muni transit system! Muni officials took the cue and began implementing a computerized car-pool system for city-bound commuters. With the TWU contract coming up in July, Moscone's announced budget for the next fiscal year contains not one penny for Muni wage increases.

After repeated affirmations of membership support for the craft strike and demands that the CLC implement its April 6 general strike threat, TWU local president Larry Martin has done nothing but probe for back-to-work sentiment. He has avoided the angry ranks for over a week now by refusing to hold another general membership meeting. Meanwhile, the yellow Hearst press provides massive publicity to a back-stabbing back-to-work petition circulated by only four Muni drivers. Today Martin suggested that Muni drivers would return if Evankovich succeeded in his swindle to take the Laborers back. "My men will make a reasonable decision," said the TWU leader.

Shut Down S.F.!

The monumental incompetence and cowardice of the union bureaucrats has earned them the well-justified disgust of the ranks. But in the absence of a militant leadership and a winning strike strategy, this disgust could turn to demoralization. The frustration of the beleaguered strikers might well be expressed in isolated acts of sabotage. Such desperate measures, while understandable, are a futile attempt to substitute for the mobilization of the city labor movement to defend the strike. The strikers' militancy must not be dissipated in empty and possibly counterproductive gestures.

Instead, militants must fight to mobilize mass support and elect strike committees in workplaces across the city. Such committees could revive the strike momentum by putting back the picket lines which the labor fakers have dismantled. Delegations of strikers must appeal directly to their brothers and sisters in other unions not simply to respect the lines, but to join the strike and take part in mass picketing to keep out scabs at major factories, hospitals, transportation and communications centers and key municipal buildings. The barriers to mobilizing support from the lower-paid sectors of city labor can be broken down by unilaterally ripping up the bureaucrats' sellout contracts and demanding new agreements with a big pay boost, 100 percent cost-of-living escalators and a shorter workweek at full pay, to provide jobs for the unemployed.

The Board of Supervisors has spent years preparing for this union-busting campaign by mobilizing middle-class sentiment against city workers on the basis of disgruntlement with high taxes. It is the city rulers, of course, who are responsible for passing the costs of city services onto the backs of the working people and small homeowners. Meanwhile, CLC head John Crowley and the rest of the union bureaucracy have played into the supervisors' hands by defending the wages of better-paid craftsmen (and now failing to do even that much) while refusing to militantly oppose tax increases or to fight for free city services. The unions must call for free hospital, transportation and other basic services; instead of runaway tax increases they should propose expropriation of the bloodsucking banks.

San Francisco labor is a sleeping giant that has flexed its powerful muscles more than once in the past. The traditions of active labor solidarity have not been destroyed and are waiting to be reawakened. The strike can win if it is spread, placed firmly under the democratic control of the rank and file, and based on class-struggle demands.

Stop wage cuts! Re-open all city workers contracts!

Elect strike committees! For mass picketing!

Shut down S.F. to smash the anti-labor propositions!

Chilean Exiles...

(continued from page 3)

partially restored through a complicated operation. The hardships he is now enduring could lead to the total loss of his eyesight.

In their letter, the Whitecrosses estimated that of the 8,000 political prisoners of various nationalities being held in Argentina, over 4,000 have been arrested since the March 24 coup. Another 2,000 prisoners, they say, have been in jail for periods ranging from four to 14 months without trial, on suspicion of subversive activities. Under Argentine law, such prisoners had the right to leave the country after three months. Even before the coup, however, the armed forces had effectively curtailed this right and have now suspended it altogether.

The Whitecrosses asserted that in addition to these prisoners, there are another 2,000—some of them incarcerated since 1973—waiting either to be tried or for their sentences to be confirmed.

"Our own political experiences," they write, "suggest that the conditions in which political prisoners are held in Argentina, bad enough under Isabel Perón, have deteriorated in recent weeks: prisoners and their families are subjected to increased intimidation and harassment, and torture of the newly-arrested continues on at least the same scale as before. The death squad has been credited with carrying out 136 assassinations in the first three weeks of President Videla's government."

Campaign to Save Victims of Right-Wing Repression

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz is presently organizing public meetings, rallies, press conferences, telegram campaigns and other forms of protest to focus international attention on the plight of Muñoz and the thousands of other leftists victimized by the Argentine junta, but this work cannot be carried forward without urgently needed funds. *Workers Vanguard* urges its readers to send checks and money orders without delay made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked Committee to Save Mario Muñoz to: PDC, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

It is the immediate duty of all socialists and militants and those concerned with democratic rights to build a massive campaign of protest and pressure to demand the freedom of all the victims of the junta's right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina. Stop the Manhunt—Hands Off Mario Muñoz! Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Argentina and Chile!

Vicious Cop Brutality in Santa Barbara Strike

Santa Barbara News-Press

Police beat strike supporters at May 1 picket.

SANTA BARBARA, California—Since late January, a strike of 70 predominantly Chicano workers of Browning Ferris Industries (BFI) here has been met with brutal police repression, company/cop scabherding and the refusal of management to negotiate. The strikers are fighting for union representation, rehiring of a fired shop steward, sick pay benefits and increases in wages and vacation pay from the company, the largest publicly-held solid waste disposal contractor in the U.S.

During the first three months of the struggle, 30 workers were arrested on the lines and hit with such charges as battery, obstructing traffic and disturbing the peace. On May 1 a 300-strong picket line of strike supporters from radical groups and local unions was given the same treatment.

When the militant picketers attempted to stop scab garbage trucks, they were savagely dispersed by a busload of city and county police. Many were clubbed to the ground, placed under arrest and hauled off to General Hospital for treatment. Others were chased for blocks as motorcycle police raced down the sidewalks to head them off and continue the bloody assault. In all some 35 demonstrators were arrested.

Later in the day, following a May Day rally highlighted by rock bands and poetry readings rather than efforts to organize concrete support for the strike, protestors marched on the police station to protest the morning's vicious attack. While some in the crowd pleaded "No more arrests," supporters of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in AFSCME Local 2070, chanted, "Free the BFI 35!"

With other Santa Barbara unions facing contract fights over the next few months, the urgent need is to broaden labor support from paper resolutions and financial aid to militant mass picketing, mobilizing the entire local union movement to shut down the scab operation. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Tops Cripple S.F. City Workers Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, May 4—With the strike of 1,900 S.F. municipal skilled tradesmen dragging into its fifth week, the union bureaucrats are increasingly desperate to negotiate face-saving terms of surrender. Despite earlier bluffing, the Central Labor Council (CLC) obstinately refuses to escalate the struggle into the necessary general strike which alone could defeat the budget-slashing supervisors and mayor by throwing all San Francisco labor into the battle. But while CLC leaders try their best to work out a "compromise" which would slightly disguise the massive pay cuts, it is only the rigid, no-compromise position of the Board of Supervisors that has so far prevented such a sellout.

The city crafts strike, supported by 2,000 municipal transit (Muni) workers, is a crucial test of wills with nationwide implications. Yet a militant union leadership has not emerged to mobilize the ranks around a program for victory: re-open all city workers' contracts, organize elected strike committees and launch a general strike to defend the craft unions and smash the anti-labor charter amendments. With the CLC leaders preparing to knife the craftsmen in the back, the threat of a crushing defeat hangs over the unions like a sharpened dagger pointed at the heart of Bay Area labor.

Last Thursday, reports of a "peace plan" caused a flurry of rumors broadcasting the imminent end of the walkout. Under the proposal, strike issues would be turned over to a joint "study committee" of five city representatives and five labor representatives. City rulers would still be assured of the final say by the shameless device of referring all unresolved issues to the Board of Supervisors' legislative and personnel committee. This consists of three supervisors, including arch-racist union-buster John Barbagelata, author of the notorious Proposition B which sparked the strike. But even this treacherous scheme floundered on the supervisors' demand for total capitulation.

continued on page 10

WV Photo

City workers picket City Hall, April 14.

Reopen the Sellout Teamster Freight Contract!

UPS On Strike in Midwest

CLEVELAND—On May 1, 14,000 workers in over 50 locals belonging to the Central States Conference of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) went on strike against the United Parcel Service (UPS).

UPS is the largest and most profitable company in the trucking industry, a position it has achieved in good part through a massive intensification of labor, speed-up and forced overtime. While wages of UPS drivers are similar to those of drivers in the Teamsters freight division, working conditions are notoriously inferior. Company discipline is almost military; in fact, one of the demands of UPS workers is simply for the right to wear one's hair, mustache or beard as he sees fit!

Most United Parcel Service drivers are fairly young—partly because the company is expanding but also because UPS will not hire older drivers, since they cannot stand the killing work pace. The workforce at UPS is overwhelmingly white and male. Although a number of women are hired, most are fired before they complete the 30-day probation period.

The major component in the company's exploitation of labor is the widespread use of part-timers. At the Cleveland UPS hub, for example, all the inside workers are part-timers. Part-timers do all loading and sorting, and are paid considerably below the scale that full-time drivers receive. The company uses the excuse that part-timers work only a few hours a day to speed up the work pace to a grueling level. It is not surprising that there has always been a rapid turnover at UPS, even during times of heightened unemployment. The transient character of this workforce makes it relatively less conscious about union affairs and therefore easier to take advantage of.

Part-time workers pay dues but are not eligible for health and welfare benefits. Hence, they do not drain union welfare funds. This situation is not unpleasing to the parasitic Teamsters bureaucracy, which has done nothing to interfere with the introduction of part-time workers on a massive scale.

Although UPS workers in many instances are members of the same Teamster locals as general freight and local cartage drivers, the IBT tops have been careful to isolate them from the rest of the warehouse and trucking membership. UPS employees have separate contract expiration dates and are excluded from the master freight agreement. Not only does this weaken the position of UPS workers, but it threatens all Teamster drivers and warehousemen. United Parcel Service is a pioneer for the introduction of new methods of exploitation that will be applied later in the freight division. UPS workers must be included under the master freight agreement!

The segmentation in bargaining for UPS does not stop here. The current strike embraces only the employees in the Midwest, and then even not all of them. Teamster Locals 705 and 710, in Illinois and Indiana respectively, have agreed to extend their contracts for a month. Louis Peick, head of Local 705 in the pivotal city of Chicago, catered to the trucking bosses in the same fashion during the recent freight strike. Peick once enjoyed a reputation as being somewhat independent of the Fitzsimmons leadership, but with his promotion this year to International vice president, he has given up any pretense of militancy. The failure to link the UPS contract to freight as well as the unwillingness to launch a solid nationwide (or even regional!) UPS strike make it considerably easier for the Parcel Service to introduce scab operations, using non-union drivers and UPS workers outside the Midwest to haul and process parcels.

UPSurge

The only organized opposition to the Teamster bureaucracy among UPS workers is UPSurge, which is allied with and whose policies are similar to Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). Like TDC, UPSurge makes no pretense of challenging the capitalist system and continually stresses that the politics of its members are irrelevant. Rather than conceiving of itself as an alternative leadership which counter-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 109

14 May 1976

S.F. City Workers Strike Knifed in the Back

SAN FRANCISCO, May 10—The 38-day-old strike of 1,900 S.F. municipal craft workers collapsed Saturday, representing a stinging defeat for Bay Area labor at the hands of the vicious union-busting Board of Supervisors. The responsibility for this fiasco rests squarely with the Central Labor Council (CLC) and the leaders of the striking crafts unions.

The strike which began over the issue of threatened cuts in city tradesmen's pay quickly became a pivotal test of strength between the labor movement and city bosses. Yet the CLC misleaders continually refused to mobilize S.F. union ranks for the necessary showdown battle, showing their April 6 general strike call to be an empty bluff.

More than any other recent U.S. strike, the San Francisco city workers strike has starkly revealed the role of the union bureaucracy as traitors to the working class, and its Democratic Party friends as sworn enemies of all labor.

The final back-to-work agreement was nothing but a smokescreen for total surrender. All the issues in dispute are to be turned over to an 11-member "study committee" consisting of an equal number of labor and city representatives, plus one mutually agreed-upon "neutral"...strike-breaking mayor George Moscone! In return, the supervisors agreed to remove Propositions E and K from the June 8 city ballot (Proposition E would require dismissal of striking city workers; Proposition K would spread the proposed pay cuts over three years.)

However, as we go to press, Superior Judge Robert Drews has nullified the agreement dropping the anti-labor propositions. The *San Francisco Examiner* today reported that "a group of city residents" including several attorneys had sought the court order. Later accounts indicate that this group is working in cahoots with hard-line anti-labor supervisors Quentin Kopp and John Barbagelata.

The final hours of negotiations were stalled over selection of the final member of the "study committee." The Board insisted on Democrat Moscone as the "neutral," but CLC leaders had a little trouble swallowing this final humiliation. Plumbers union leader Joe Mazzola complained, "Moscone's been seen on the television time and time again claiming the Supervisors are right and the unions are wrong" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 May). Moscone also brought in out-of-town scabs to repair broken water mains and dispatched police to break up anti-scab demonstrations. The irony is that Moscone was elected last November with the help of the labor leaders, who hailed him as the "friend of labor" successor to their pal Joseph Alioto. However, in the end CLC tops knuckled under and accepted the mayor as de facto arbitrator.

In actuality, the haggling over the composition of the "study committee" was simply face-saving for the labor traitors, since its recommendations are to be turned over to the Board of Supervisors for action by June 10. As supervisor Diane Feinstein gloated, the Board was able to "settle without putting any money on the table. I don't know of any jurisdiction that has been able to accomplish that anywhere" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 9 May).

An Orgy of Backstabbing

The final days of the strike were marked by an orgy of backstabbing as the union leaders tried to make separate deals with the Board. The stampede was

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Strike pickets face cops at S.F. city hall last month. WV Photo

Ulrike Meinhof Killed in West German Jail

Ulrike Meinhof Keystone

MAY 10—West German authorities announced yesterday that Ulrike Meinhof, one of the leaders of the Red Army Faction (RAF), referred to in the capitalist press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang," on trial in Stuttgart for alleged terrorist activities, was found hanged in her cell yesterday morning.

The circumstances of the Meinhof killing are suspicious in the extreme. Prison authorities labeled it a suicide, but then claimed to be "mystified" that no suicide note was found even though she had been heard typing the night before. Moreover, a UPI dispatch quoted the victim's sister saying Ulrike Meinhof had warned her against being taken in by any story of suicide: "She said if it ever were reported that she killed herself then I would know she had been murdered."

Today's *New York Times* stated that a prison guard had "found Miss Meinhof hanging at the window rails from a piece of her prison toweling." The official autopsy was performed instantly, without either the dead woman's next of kin or her lawyers having been permitted to examine the body. Moreover, although not one shred of evidence has been presented suggesting suicide, the "Justice" Minister of Baden-Würtemburg, Traugott Bender, has refused to permit an international commission to carry out an investigation.

Bender also stated that "the claim that Frau Meinhof was the victim of a planned murder is slanderous" and threatened legal proceedings against any defense lawyer who made such a charge.

The official suicide story has met with widespread disbelief and justified outrage. In Frankfurt some 600 demonstrators protested against the killing, but the demonstration was banned by the police, on the grounds that it "endangered public security." The cops proceeded to viciously attack and disperse the protesters.

From the outset it has been clear that the case against Meinhof and her co-defendants is a frame-up orchestrated by the Bundeskriminalamt (Federal Criminal Office) as part of a witchhunt campaign against radicals of every persuasion. The trial, in a specially constructed multi-million dollar security fortress, has been marked by reliance on notorious informers, police invasion of lawyers' offices, seizure of defense materials, prosecution of defense attorneys for "contributing to a criminal conspiracy." There has also been judicial gagging of the defendants, who are not permitted to confer with one another and whose attempts to make

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Provocateur's Last Assignment: "Assassinate George Jackson"

Spectacular Revelations in San Quentin Six Trial

Free the San Quentin Six, Victims of Cop Conspiracy!

MAY 7—During the nine-month-long trial of the San Quentin Six, evidence has surfaced of a brazen government conspiracy to assassinate imprisoned Black Panther leader George Jackson and other militant black and Latin prisoners held in the prison's notorious maximum security "Adjustment" Center (AC).

The case stems from what the prosecution labels an "abortive escape attempt" on 21 August 1971, allegedly by Jackson (who was shot down by guards that day) and other inmates. The assassination of George Jackson occurred just two days before his trial as one of the "Soledad Brothers" was to have begun. The San Quentin Six defendants are charged with murder and conspiracy in the deaths of three prison guards and two inmate "trustees." Despite suppression of defense evidence during the trial and last year's pre-trial hearings, the lid is gradually being pried from the government cover-up of its death plot against Jackson who, at the time of his murder, had served 11 years of an indeterminate "one-year-to-life" sentence for a gas station robbery of $71.

The most dramatic revelation so far in the trial occurred in mid-April as Charles Garry, representing defendant Johnny Spain, questioned admitted ex-agent provocateur Louis Tackwood. After establishing the witness' background as an agent for the Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) of the Los Angeles Police Department, the following exchange took place.

Garry to the witness: "Now, sir, can you tell the court and jury what was your last completed assignment here in the northern part of California?"

Tackwood: "To assassinate George Jackson."

Garry: "To do what?"

Tackwood: "To assassinate George Jackson."

Garry to the prosecutor: "You may cross-examine."

A stunned Judge Henry Broderick could only mutter "Wait a minute," while District Attorney Jerry Herman furiously demanded that the statement be quashed. After dismissing the jury, Broderick extensively questioned the witness concerning the "relevance" of his testimony. When defense attorney Robert Carrow justifiably remarked that the judge was essentially doing "discovery" work for the DA (i.e., helping the prosecution patch up its endlessly reworked case), the judge angrily fined the lawyer $500 for "contempt of court."

Under examination by Broderick, Tackwood's testimony, only part of which the jury was later permitted to hear, revealed that:

- The CCS knew in advance of plans by Jonathan Jackson, George's younger brother, to free several San Quentin prisoners – William Christmas, James McClain and Ruchell Magee – from the Marin County courthouse on 7 August 1970, and used the information to set them up for certain death.
- Tackwood was assigned along with a CCS plant in the Black Panther Party, Melvin Smith, to recruit Panthers from Los Angeles for an attempt in late 1970 to free George Jackson from a courtroom where a connected case was being heard. Jackson and the other Panthers would have walked into a death trap, but the plan fell through when a judge refused to allow the imprisoned militant to testify in the other trial.
- A later police plot involved smuggling inoperative weapons and phony explosives into the AC: a defective .38 caliber revolver was secretly given by CCS agents to a San Quentin guard on 2 August 1971, to be passed to (or planted on) Jackson.
- Two weeks before the murder of Jackson a meeting was held at the CCS office in Los Angeles, attended by FBI man Ed Burch and an agent named Barrens from the California attorney general's Criminal Identification and Investigation (CII) section. The meeting decided that an agent in the prison would approach Jackson and other known militants with a plan for an attempted break-out on August 23 during which the prisoners could all be gunned down with impunity. "We want him dead," police lieutenant Robert Keel said of Jackson.
- Due to distrust between CII and CCS, the state CII independently engineered a so-called "escape attempt" two days ahead of schedule, and Jackson was shot down on August 21.
- At a heated meeting of the entire 17-man CCS "black desk" on August 22, Tackwood was told that his assignment was completed. "CII fucked up," said angry police sergeant Robert Sharrett. "The dumb shits brought in a .9 mm and we had a .38. We're going to go and get the .38 and our man out," said Keel (quoted in *Black Panther*, 17 and 24 April).

Tackwood's startling testimony complements that of other defense witnesses. Ruchell Magee has testified that he saw Los Angeles police agents and guards from other prisons in San Quentin on August 21 and that guards in civilian clothes, some wearing masks, left the cell doors open that morning. Other prisoners testified that they saw guards with handguns (strictly forbidden in the prison) just before the so-called escape attempt.

The evidence presented by Tackwood and other defense witnesses has blasted the prosecution's jerry-built case to pieces. The state contends that radical lawyer Stephen Bingham—who subsequently disappeared—smuggled an 8-1/2 inch automatic pistol and two magazine clips past prison guards and a metal detector and passed them to Jackson, who hid them under an Afro-style wig. The inmate then supposedly secreted them back to his cell past guards who always carried out a thorough and degrading head-to-toe "skin search" before and after prisoners were taken to the visiting room.

The prosecution also maintains that Jackson attempted to escape by running 100 feet across a courtyard overlooked by a 25-foot-high wall, fortified by a gun tower! A prison guard testified on October 7 that he killed Jackson with one rifle shot "at his legs." The bullet allegedly entered his leg and exited through his head. That even contradicted the state's original contention that Jackson was shot by tower guards as he ran toward the wall where they were stationed. It also clashed with the statement at the time of the murder by San Quentin associate warden Park that "The only good thing that happened all day was that we got George Jackson, killed him. Shot him through the head" (see "Free the San Quentin Six!" *WV* No. 71, 20 June 1975, for further details about the case).

Capitalist Prisons on Trial

In nearly every respect, the trial itself is a microcosm of the racist barbarism that marks the bourgeoisie's concentration camps. The courtroom has been converted into a small-scale prison. Spectators pass through metal detectors and are searched, their names recorded and photographs taken. The defendants and inmates called to testify are shackled and handcuffed to special chairs bolted to the floor. Three armed guards stand over them at all times, and many more line the courtroom corridors. Prisoners are transported between the "Adjustment" Center and the courtroom in a prison-on-wheels, a bus with built-in cells where they are chained up. Until January they were led like animals into the courtroom by neck leashes held by guards.

Conditions in the AC are so abysmal that a federal judge found them to constitute "cruel and unusual punishment." However, the judge's order for such minimal amelioration as daily exercise time in fresh air and without chains has been stayed in higher court.

Of the 26 surviving AC prisoners, the six chosen to stand trial were all militants hated by prison authorities for refusing to submit to the inhuman degradations of prison life. For over ten years, San Quentin and Soledad prisons have been centers of struggle primarily by black prisoners, for elementary human rights. Protests, work stoppages and food riots have been directed against slave labor, punitive "strip cells," rotten food, sentencing and parole procedures, lack of recreational facilities and the indeterminate sentence. The San Quentin Six—Black Panther Johnny Spain, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate, David Johnson, Hugo Pinell and Luis Talamantez—and defendants in related cases have been close to the heart of the struggle, particularly among those whose prison experiences formed the basis for a growing radical political consciousness.

Dan O'Neill

Fleeta Drumgo (right), one of the San Quentin Six, was also accused, along with George Jackson (center) and John Cluchette (left), of killing a Soledad prison guard in retaliation for the murder of three black prisoners in early 1970. The two surviving "Soledad Brothers" were acquitted seven months after the assassination of Jackson.

Despite the flimsy, self-contradictory prosecution case, resting largely on the catch-all conspiracy charge, the cards are stacked against the six. Almost to a man, the defense eyewitnesses are black prisoners, who bravely testify at the risk of retaliation by sadistic guards. Testifying against them are mainly white prison employees, upholders of bourgeois "law and order." As the defense has successfully brought out, the trial is, in fact, an indictment of the prison system. Inmate witnesses, backed up by professionals acquainted with life in the cellblocks, have exposed the naked repression that passes for "correction" and "rehabilitation." Nevertheless, to secure an acquittal, the defense must crack through the prosecution's racist demagogy and

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Sanitation Union Scabs on NYC Building Service Workers Strike

Faced with the refusal of New York City sanitation workers to pick up garbage from the more than 3,000 apartment houses affected by the striking Building Service Employees Union, city hall hit on a new plan to "ease friction" between the two unions. John De Lury, head of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, was requested to instruct his members that they were required by law to remove garbage which had been "certified" as a health hazard. De Lury was only too happy to comply.

On Friday, May 7, Health Department inspectors accompanied the sanitation trucks from building to building, "certifying" garbage piles one by one and instructing sanitationmen to remove them.

While De Lury was doing eveything in his power to break the back of the strike, the apartment house owners made a wage increase offer of only half of what the service workers had requested and magnanimously dropped their outrageous demands for cuts in service workers' fringe benefits. According to eight city council members, the landlords can well afford to wait out the strike, as they are "getting a windfall since they have no payroll to meet while still collecting full rents." A tenant rent strike in support of the building service workers is clearly called for, as well as militant support from the rest of the union movement.

The willingness of the sanitation union leadership to agree to the selective removal of garbage is out-and-out scabbing, undermining class solidarity and posing a threat to the entire NYC labor movement. Sanitation workers must immediately cease collaborating with this strikebreaking decree by city officials! Like the "illegal" strike of the sanitation workers last summer, the service employees strike is being deliberately sabotaged by treacherous bureaucrats like De Lury. These traitors must be thrown out of the unions and replaced by militant leaders uncompromisingly committed to a class-struggle program. ■

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Free Mustafa Dzhemilev!

Tatar Dissident Imprisoned in Labor Camp

On April 15, Mustafa Dzhemilev, a leader of the Crimean Tatars, was sentenced in the Siberian city of Omsk to two and a half years in a labor camp for "slandering the Soviet state." Despite the refusal of a key prosecution witness to testify that the defendant had indeed made anti-Soviet remarks, the ruling bureaucracy was determined to victimize this 31-year-old militant for his courageous campaign to restore the rights of the Tatar people.

Last December 3, a press conference was organized in Moscow by well-known Soviet dissidents Andrei Sakharov (the nuclear physicist) and Pyotr Grigorenko (a former general in the Red Army) to publicize Dzhemilev's case. However, as Grigorenko's son Andrei, a close friend of the Tatar oppositionist, complained: "The journalists wrote their stories, but the world's newspapers

Mustafa Dzhemilev

Rouge

did not print them. Who, the editors must have asked, are the Crimean Tatars? And what does it matter if their leader is being martyred?" (*Times* [London], 9 January).

The oppression of Soviet Tatars by the Great Russian-chauvinist bureaucracy is one of the more shameful aspects of present-day Stalinism in the USSR. The Tatars, descendants of the Mongols who under Genghis Khan conquered Russia in the 13th century, were brutally expelled from their Crimean homeland by Stalin in 1944 on charges (now admitted to be false) that as a people they had collaborated with the Nazi invaders. (Over 40 percent of the Tatar population, or about 110,000 persons, perished during the forced march to Central Asia.)

At the same time, the Crimean Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, created in 1918, was dissolved on Stalin's order and incorporated into the Ukraine. Unlike the one million Volga Germans, who were expelled from their homeland in 1941 during a period of defeat and panic, the Crimeans, along with five other Muslim peoples from the nearby Northern Caucasus—the Karachai, the Kalmyk, the Chechen, the Ingush and the Balkar—were deported after the Nazi blitzkrieg had been irretrievably smashed.

As Khrushchev remarked in his famous "secret speech" to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, where he detailed some of Stalin's most horrendous crimes: "The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also."

The five Caucasian groups were subsequently restored to their lands and autonomous regions. However, today the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans are still exiled to Central Asia and are not allowed to return to their homelands and re-establish their autonomous republics, even though they have been officially exonerated of the charge of collective treason. In the case of the Crimea, the reason for this probably lies partly in the unwillingness of the self-serving bureaucrats in the Ukraine to hand back this lush resort area to its former inhabitants.

Dzhemilev: a History of Persecution

Mustafa Dzhemilev was born in 1943 in the Crimea and deported six months later with his parents to Uzbekistan. At age 16 he helped found the Crimean Tatar Youth League, which demanded the right of Tatars to return to the Crimea. In 1962 the League was broken up by the KGB and four members arrested. Dzhemilev was fired from his job. He later entered an agricultural college in Tashkent, where he continued to study the Tatar national question, but he was expelled for speaking to a youth group.

When he went to Moscow to appeal his expulsion, Dzhemilev was arrested and deported to Tashkent. In 1966 he was tried and sentenced to a year and a half of forced labor. Released after this term, he was elected a permanent representative of the Crimean Tatars in their negotiations with the government. In May 1968, on the eve of a scheduled demonstration in Moscow by Tatars on the 24th anniversary of their deportation, police rounded up most of the would-be demonstrators, including Dzhemilev, and sent them back to Central Asia.

Mustafa Dzhemilev also became active in the broader dissident movement and opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. According to Andrei Grigorenko, "It was in large part thanks to his efforts that misunderstandings were ironed out between the Moscow democrats and the leaders of various national movements in the USSR. Quite logically, therefore, he became one of the 15 founder-members, in 1969, of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR." Dzhemilev was arrested again in 1969 and sentenced to three years of forced labor. Released in 1972, he was re-arrested in 1974 and remains in prison.

Tatar Nationalism and Soviet Dissidents

The civil rights movement of the Tatars has played a significant role in the Soviet dissident movement. When, as a result of mass meetings in late 1967, several Tatar leaders were arrested, the Moscow-based dissident movement came to their defense. Dissident Aleksei Kosterin, who led the "neo-Marxist" current of which Pyotr Grigorenko and Leonid Plyushch are the heirs, came to be revered as a kind of heroic figure among protesting Tatars. At his funeral in November 1968, Tatar poet Muarrem Dzelyaloghly Martynov said:

> "... Following Lenin's tradition, you took the offensive against the enemy yourself.
>
> "'Let our party be just and then there will be no nationalism,' said our leader Lenin.
>
> "Sleep peacefully, most honorable of Russia's sons."
>
> —*Samizdat*

Pyotr Grigorenko and his son Andrei, as well as many other Russian and Ukrainian dissidents, have also made the Tatar cause their own. It was Plyushch who, following his recent emigration to Paris, brought international attention to the case of Dzhemilev.

On April 14, Sakharov together with his wife Yelena was arrested in events related to the Dzhemilev case. Having flown to Omsk to attend Dzhemilev's trial, Sakharov and his wife allegedly struck several militiamen in the courthouse who barred their entry to the "public" trial. The Sakharovs were released after confessing to the charge. (The Soviet bureaucrats are hesitant to incarcerate the darlings of the imperialist bourgeoisie.) On the same day, in Moscow, another dissident who is very popular in the West, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, received a relatively light sentence of only two years' exile. But Dzhemilev, who was tried on the same charge, was an easier target.

The creation of the Crimean ASSR, along with several other autonomous republics and regions, was part of the Bolsheviks' program to banish all forms of national privilege and do away with the hated tsarist heritage of a Russian empire that was a "prison house of peoples." Stalin's mass deportations of the Tatars and others were among his most terrible injustices against the Soviet peoples and a glaring proof of the degeneration of the first workers state in history.

Those who raise the banner of a workers political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucratic usurpers and return to the path of Lenin and Trotsky must be uncompromising fighters for the restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tatars—along with the Volga Germans and other oppressed minorities in the USSR—including the right to return to their homelands and restoration of their autonomous soviet republic. Mustafa Dzhemilev must be immediately freed! ■

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Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

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Jaime De La Isla, Chicano-Boricua Studies, Wayne State U '
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Lawrence Ferlinghetti, City Lights Books, S.F.
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Adam Hochschild, editor, *Mother Jones*'
William L. Hoover, Dept. of Soc., Kent State U '
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Militant Solidarity Caucus, Local 906, UAW*
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National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter
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New American Movement, U of Chicago*
David Newby, State V P , Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFT*
New York Unemployed Council
Richard Newhouse, state senator, Illinois
OCAW, District Council 8
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Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
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Henry Schmidt, Member of Bay Area Pensioners*
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Spark
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Studs Terkel, author
Rip Torn, actor/director
United Farmworker Support Committee, Madison, Wi
University of Chicago Student Government
United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)
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John F Weeks, Dept of Economics, U of Wisconsin*
What Sha Wants
John K Whitmore, Prof , U of Michigan'
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Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd
Bernard Wiltshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
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Marvin Zonis, Prof., U of Chicago*
Eddison J.M. Zvobgo, ZANU*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Partial listing

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribule financially should lill out lhe blank below and send to: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!

Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

☐ I pledge $_____ to help save Mario Muñoz (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permil your name or your organization's name lo be used lo internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

San Quentin Six...

(continued from page 2)

obstruction by the judge to convince a jury composed of 11 whites and a single black member.

Judge Broderick has consistently manipulated the trial in the prosecution's favor. Defense lawyers have charged him with literally dozens of instances of judicial misconduct. He has helped suppress vital links in the defense case and refused the defense access to CIA, FBI, Los Angeles Police Department and state CII files pertaining to the case and the defendants. He denied a motion to transfer the trial out of Marin County, where the bloody August 1970 escape attempt involving Jonathan Jackson is still a vivid memory feeding white hysteria. The judge forbade a unified defense against the conspiracy charge. He also demanded that Pinell, acting as his own lawyer, reveal all the areas his evidence would cover before it could be heard by the jury.

In contrast with the mountainous media coverage given debutante desperado Patricia Hearst, the bourgeois press has paid little attention to this case and, in some cases, has editorialized for the prosecution. San Quentin Six Defense Committee spokesman Gertrude Mayes told a *WV* reporter of a demonstration held at the federal building during the Hearst trial to protest the near blackout: "All the dailies as well as the national bourgeois press were going to attend it on their lunch hour.... but they just sat there in the press room and didn't bother."

"The *San Francisco Chronicle*," Mayes went on, "has said that they will not be back until the 'conviction' comes in," i.e., the paper has prejudged the defendants' guilt before the defense cases are even half completed. She added that:

> "The coverage that the press gives poor, oppressed people has always been minimum.... It gets to be a question of class and race that determines the policy and determines who gets assigned the stories. They have said here that nobody is interested in the case."

Clearly, the San Quentin Six are unable to get even the minimal accord of democratic rights which the Hearst millions could buy. Only a sustained campaign of mass protest involving black and working-class organizations can stop the government's attempt to railroad the defendants and cover up its own criminal conspiracy. Drop the charges! Free the San Quentin Six and jail the murderers of George Jackson instead!

Donations for the defense of these victims of bourgeois class "justice" can be sent to: The San Quentin Six Defense Committee, 3169—16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. ■

Build the Mario Muñoz Campaign!

The following is an interview with Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) spokesmen Toni Randell and Reuben Shiffman. Along with the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, the PDC is co-sponsoring the campaign to save the life of Chilean revolutionary trade-union leader Mario Muñoz. Muñoz, a leader of the Regional Miners Councils, was forced to flee Pinochet's terror following the bloody September 1973 coup. He is now being pursued by Argentine police with orders to shoot on sight.

Interview with the Partisan Defense Committee

***WV:* What is the background of the Muñoz case and how did the PDC get involved?**

RANDELL: The PDC first learned of the case when a group of South American exiles in Europe, the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, contacted us about Muñoz' plight. We feel that his case and other similar ones embody the fate of the tens of thousands of political refugees for whom Argentina was the last refuge. Not only is the bourgeois press painting the Videla coup as bloodless, but even the *Daily World* is saying that the coup is actually "in the basic interests of the people" because it supposedly promised to restore "constitutional foundations of government"! However, the truth is beginning to come out, and stories have been printed in leading newspapers—such as the London *Guardian* and *Times* and the Paris *Le Monde*—indicating that the Argentine generals are running wild. It was also announced last week by the Chilean MIR that one of its leaders, Edgardo Enriquez, has fallen into the hands of the Argentine junta.

The Partisan Defense Committee has been involved in defense work for Latin American prisoners for some time. Immediately following the Pinochet coup, an international outcry was made about the brutal torture of prominent leaders of the Popular Unity government in Chile. At that time we publicized the cases of MIRistas Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero in order to draw attention to the "far-left" prisoners who had been largely neglected by everyone else, as well as demanding the release of the more well-known figures like Communist Party leader Luis Corvalán. Also, last December we learned of the arrest of 13 Chilean, Argentine and British citizens in Buenos Aires, accused of running guns and otherwise aiding Chilean resistance groups. On a day's notice we initiated a demonstration at the Argentine Mission to the UN, in New York, to defend them. Two of the 13, Richard and Cristina Whitecross, have recently been released, but there is still no word on the remaining 11.

***WV:* What do you see as the significance of the Muñoz case?**

SHIFFMAN: First of all, it's important because people like Mario Muñoz are often overlooked in defense cases. Muñoz is not a prominent intellectual or some romantic figure who would be well-known outside of Chile and Argentina. Muñoz himself went to work at the age of 14 as a miner. The contract miners lead lives of abject poverty—many who did not die of diseases directly related to mining often died of lack of work, of lack of food and medicine. Muñoz is a genuine leader of the Chilean working class, who earned this leadership through championing the cause of one of the most desperate sections of the Chilean working class, consolidating a highly fragmented union movement, fighting for elementary union rights and at the same time mobilizing defense of Allende's government against reaction. After the coup in 1973 when he and thousands of other Chilean workers and peasants were forced to flee, in many cases on foot across the Andes into Argentina, he continued to aid these refugees during their difficult years of exile.

It's for these reasons that a special effort to publicize these cases must be made. Because these are not the people who, because of their academic connections or ministerial portfolios in the Popular Unity government, will automatically attract world attention. The only way they will receive support is through the means which more or less correspond to the way they've struggled all their lives, namely mass protest.

***WV:* What is the character of the defense work and what are the latest developments?**

SHIFFMAN: The work has two sides. We are attempting through demonstrations and publicity to bring the issue to the public, especially the working-class movement, and at the same time to gain endorsements from trade unions, various organizations and prominent people concerned for democratic rights to bring pressure to bear on the Argentine government to grant Muñoz and his family safe conduct out of the country.

RANDELL: In addition to the demonstrations held in New York City and Chicago in the last month, which together drew over 300 participants, there was a demonstration April 23 outside the Argentine Airlines office in Toronto. The main bulk of the participants were supporters of the Trotskyist League of Canada and Latin American militants. Another protest demonstration is being planned for the Bay Area in mid-May.

Internationally, we are gathering impressive support. In France in the last two weeks, the campaign to save Mario Muñoz has received endorsements from Pierre Broué, a historian and leader of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste; well-known photographer/journalist Michele Ray; writer Claude Roy; singer Catherine Sauvage; Louis Althusser, author of *Lenin and Philosophy*; Daniel Guérin; and Jean-Paul Sartre. In the city of Grenoble alone, a petition for Muñoz has acquired over 200 signatures to date. Elsewhere in Europe, the campaign was endorsed by Luis Vitale, leader of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (a Chilean sympathizing group of the United Secretariat), and at the *Was Tun* Festival of supporters of the United Secretariat in Germany the petition received 120 signatures. In England, the Whitecrosses have added their names to the list of endorsers, and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has endorsed the campaign.

There has been enormous labor support from Australia. In the last two weeks we've received endorsements from Bob Hawke, federal president of the Australian Labor Party; the Transport Workers Union of Australia; the Seamen's Union of Australia; the Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists; the Waterside Workers Federation of Australia; and the Ship Painters and Dockers union in Victoria. The deputy leader of the Labor Party has telegraphed the foreign minister, requesting an inquiry on the case by the Australian embassy in Buenos Aires. When the ALP was still in power, back in 1973, it made similar inquiries concerning the case of Van Schouwen and Romero, in response to requests from unions contacted by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.

***WV:* How do you explain the widespread support received so far?**

SHIFFMAN: It's important to see this campaign in the context of Chile today. The Pinochet regime has alienated all sectors of the population, including the Catholic Church and the main bourgeois party (the Christian Democrats), and has isolated itself internationally. Even most of the imperialist governments—who certainly want reactionary governments to defend the interests of capital—do not like these military juntas. Now public opinion, even bourgeois public opinion, is fearful that Argentina will go the way of Chile. That is why there is such an immediately favorable reception at this particular juncture to campaigns that raise the questions of democratic rights and political refugees in Argentina and Chile.

***WV:* Since its inception, the PDC has been fighting for the concept of anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense. What kind of response are you getting from the left and the labor movement in this campaign?**

SHIFFMAN: Well, as Toni said earlier, the Communist Party in fact supports the coup and therefore has not been very interested in defending the victims of the coup. On the other hand, you could say that where the labor movements in other countries with a strong social-democratic tradition have been approached, for an organization of our size and modest influence, we've received an enormously favorable response. In addition to Australia, in Canada the campaign has been endorsed by the Canadian Labour Congress, three New Democratic Party members of parliament, including NDP leader Ed Broadbent, and the NDP Vancouver Area Council.

But from the American labor bureaucracy we've received an enormously cold reception, demonstrating not only its isolation from its own rank and file, but also its isolation internationally. It's no accident that the AFL-CIO is known in Latin America as the AFL-*CIA*, and it has tended to behave accordingly in this case. In contrast, where the case has been raised on the shop floor, we've been received enthusiastically by the ranks.

RANDELL: In general the response has really been excellent. The PDC hopes that the Muñoz campaign will be a model of defense work, part of our effort to re-initiate the work begun by James Cannon in the early years of the Communist Party in building the International Labor Defense. It's significant, too, I think, that Martin Sostre, in the telegram that was read at the New York demonstration for Mario Muñoz, referred to himself as a "recently released class war prisoner." The early ILD always made clear which side of the class line it stood on, but in recent years no one talked of "class-war prisoners" until the PDC revived the term.

Throughout all the work on this case, we are making clear the partisan nature of the PDC, that we are concerned with all cases whose victorious outcome is in the interests of the working people. That is why we raise the demand, "Free all victims of right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina." We are not liberal civil libertarians: we draw a class line, and do *not* call for freeing *all* political prisoners, nor would we defend fascists if their civil liberties were denied.

***WV:* How's the campaign going financially?**

RANDELL: People who have supported the appeal have been very generous with their donations. But it's important to realize how expensive this kind of defense work is. Every time we call Australia it costs $50 at least, and the calls to Europe thus far are already well over $1,000. People have also been traveling, both in the U.S. and Europe, to get endorsements and documentation about Mario Muñoz.

So far, we've raised only about 15 percent of the amount we will need. And we'll be facing even higher expenses—for travel, for example—if the governments which have shown an interest in the case agree to grant asylum and assist in putting pressure on the Argentine junta to give Mario Muñoz and his family safe conduct out of the country. The PDC urgently requests that the readers of *Workers Vanguard* respond to the financial appeal by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, to make possible this vital campaign. ■

WV Photo

Demonstration in defense of persecuted Chilean workers leader Mario Muñoz at Argentine consulate April 22 in New York.

FUNDS NEEDED!

Send urgently needed contributions for the defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz to:

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Box 633, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013

Make checks payable to "Partisan Defense Committee," earmark for "MUÑOZ CAMPAIGN"

Doubleday & Co

Over 10,000 people gathered at San Francisco Civic Center to protest the bloody police attack on striking longshoremen on "Bloody Thursday."

Then, As Now, CLC Tops Were Main Obstacle to Victory

The 1934 San Francisco General Strike

University of California

"Bloody Thursday" in the 1934 S.F. general strike. Two unionists were murdered by S.F. cops in the "Battle of Rincon Hill."

The recently defeated San Francisco craft workers' strike induced many comparisons with the S.F. general strike of 1934. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) leader Harry Bridges, who played a key role in sparking the 1934 strike, remarked ironically at one point: "Well, I came in during a general strike, and it looks like I may be going out with one." Although this year's conflict never reached the proportions of the earlier struggle which proved the major event in making San Francisco into a union town for several weeks it teetered on the brink of becoming a general strike. It was above all the actions and inaction of Bridges and his cronies that stood in the way.

The most important of the lessons of 1934, confirmed this year as well, is the need to defeat and take leadership away from the treacherous pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. In 1934 Teamster president Michael Casey and Central Labor Council head Edward Vandeleur sold out the general strike. If the struggle for union recognition did not suffer an irremediable setback it was only because the leadership of a key section of the workers the maritime workers—was in the hands of rank-and-file militants who were able to at least conduct an orderly retreat. In 1976 every union was controlled by hardened bureaucrats—from CLC head John Crowley to Harry Bridges, the completely domesticated militant of yesteryear—and there existed no elected strike committees at all, a fact which is central in explaining the total rout of the workers. The whole bunch of labor fakers, moreover, give political support to the Democratic "friends of labor" who are among the most dangerous leaders of the union-busting crusade.

How It Began

The general strike of 1934 grew out of the shipping companies' determination to smash the reviving dock workers' union. In the years since the destruction of the AFL longshoremen's union in 1919, employers had a free hand in dictating working conditions on the waterfront. Longshoremen were forced to join a company union to get work, militants were blacklisted, the speed-up was grueling, and bribery and favoritism were the rule in the daily "shape-up." By the middle of 1933, however, partly under the impetus of the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA), of which section 7(a) purported to guarantee the right of union organization, there was a mass influx of longshoremen into the virtually defunct AFL union, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA).

The union's demands, which were circulated up and down the Coast and used as the basis for recruiting new members, included: union recognition, union-controlled hiring halls with preference for ILA members (closed shop), a six-hour day/30-hour week, and a wage increase from 85 cents per hour to $1 (with $1.50 for overtime). By early March 1934 the employers had already decided to oppose these demands unconditionally, provoke a strike and break the union. After an initial delay, a coastwide longshore strike began on May 9 and rapidly gained support from the other maritime trades, tying up shipping on the entire coast.

The shippers retaliated by using old-line AFL leaders, principally ILA president Joseph Ryan, to compel arbitration of the key issues. When that failed, they attempted to open the S.F. port by force. But the strike held solid for 80 days. When police killed two strikers and the governor sent in the National Guard, the result was a three-day general strike in San Francisco.

These events did not occur spontaneously, however. Supporters of the Communist Party and the "Albion Hall" group (named after their meeting place) around Harry Bridges, provided the driving force behind the struggle to build the union. It was these militant trade unionists who, while unable to present a program of consistent class struggle, pushed the strike forward. Their serious errors led to the betrayal of the general strike by the treacherous AFL misleaders, but without these militants the strike probably never would have happened in the first place.

The Communist Party, by that time a pliant tool of the Stalinist counterrevolutionary bureaucratic usurpers in the Kremlin, was still operating on the basis of the ultra-left sectarian "Third Period" line laid down by Stalin in 1929. Following this policy both the New Deal and the AFL union tops were denounced as "fascist" and dual unions were the order of the day. The Stalinist dual union on the West Coast waterfront was the Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU), composed of both seamen and longshoremen.

After 1933, however, the Stalinist line began to shift in an empirical reaction to Hitler's unopposed march to power in Germany. Already preparing to build "popular-front" alliances with liberal bourgeois politicians, the Stalinist parties began to reconsider working in the unions dominated by old-line bureaucrats. Thus when longshoremen flocked to their historic AFL union in 1933-34, CP cadres followed and were thus able to link up with Bridges' group, rather than being totally isolated in their own sectarian "red" union.

The longshoremen who began joining the ILA in 1933 faced difficulties at once. The employers defended the "Blue Book," a company union formed after the defeat of the 1919 strike, and fired workers for wearing ILA buttons on the job or for not having their "Blue Book" dues paid up. The newly elected ILA leadership advised workers to refer such disputes to the NRA administration, which promptly ruled that the "Blue Book" was a bonafide union! It was the "Albion Hall" group which actually built the AFL union by organizing job actions and a successful strike against Matson Lines in 1933, to reinstate four fired workers.

Membership dissatisfaction with NRA stalling was evident and a coast-wide ILA convention was called for February 1934. Bridges prepared for it by making a tour of the Northwest ports, discussing the issues and urging the election of militant delegates from the ranks. As a result, the convention adopted a democratic constitution and called for the federation of all unions in the industry, which drastically cut across craft-union prejudices. The inter-union solidarity prepared for by the militants at this convention was critical: seamen had crossed longshoremen's picket lines in 1919, while the longshoremen scabbed on seamen in 1921.

Following the employers' flat refusal to bargain—based largely on the assessment that the West Coast union was in the hands of radicals who had to be smashed—and the taking of a coast-wide strike vote, Bridges initiated an elected strike committee in the San Francisco Bay area. Delegates, who were elected from the docks and gangs on both sides of the Bay as well as from casuals totaled nearly 50 in number. The need for such a measure became even clearer when the head of the ILA Pacific Coast District, "Burglar Bill" Lewis, unilaterally called off the strike in March on a request from F.D.R.

The Key: Inter-Union Solidarity

The strike finally got under way on May 9, and inter-union solidarity of maritime workers was the key to its initial success. The MWIU led its members off the ships as they hit port. This sparked general walkoffs of seamen, even from foreign ships, and the eventual sanctioning of the strike by the AFL seamen's union. Other maritime crafts also walked off in sympathy and a joint strike committee, as called for by the ILA convention, was set up, with each union pledging not to return to work until the others had settled.

Shipping on the entire West Coast was halted.

Despite this militant maritime solidarity, support from truck drivers remained critical to the success of the strike. The shippers immediately recruited scabs—many of them students from the University of California, dubbed the "scab incubator" to unload the ships, while police armed with an anti-picketing ordinance kept the strikers at a distance. Over the vigorous objections of its president, Michael Casey, however, the S.F. Teamsters local voted not to move scab goods off the piers. By May 27, there were at least 25,000 workers out, and the San Francisco port alone was losing $100,000 per day because of the strike.

While maritime workers were marching on the Embarcadero, ILA president Ryan, a fossilized craft unionist who defended the "shape-up" system against hiring halls, flew into town at the request of government mediators and attempted to convince longshoremen to arbitrate wages and hours and accept a jointly controlled hiring hall (i.e., leaving control in the employers' hands) with no closed shop provision. Though roundly voted down in all ports, he proceeded to sign an agreement to this effect about two weeks later in San Francisco Mayor Rossi's office, pledging the longshoremen's compliance with the agreement. But the dockers rejected the deal, and Ryan was booed off the platform in the San Francisco local. More importantly, Ryan's treachery made the need for militant leadership clear, and the joint strike committee established earlier was empowered by the ranks to replace the regular executive board in handling negotiations.

At this point, city rulers represented by the S.F. Chamber of Commerce and the Industrial Association decided to open the port by force. Trucking goods from the piers to the warehouses was the employers' immediate tactical objective, so they focused on breaking Teamster support for the strike. Police formed cordons for scab trucks and attacked strikers. For two days clubs flailed, and on "Bloody Thursday," July 5, two strikers were killed by police bullets. The port was immediately occupied by the National Guard.

Bridges and the Communist Party (CP) had already begun agitation for a general strike in response to the employers' "open the port" declaration, and now the movement mushroomed, although stalling AFL leaders prevented immediate action. Bridges and 1,000 longshoremen and seamen were present at a July 11 Teamster meeting, despite protests from Casey and CLC president Vandeleur, who argued vigorously against the strike. Through rank-and-file pressure, Bridges was allowed to address the Teamsters, and an overwhelmingly pro-strike vote was taken following his speech.

Similar delegations of up to 75 strikers were sent to other unions throughout the city, with similar results. Sympathy strikes were declared by ship boilermakers, machinists, welders, butchers and laundry workers. By July 13, 32,000 workers belonging to 13 unions were on strike. Some of them, like the Market Street streetcar employees, put forward their own contract demands.

The Central Labor Council was rapidly being forced to revise its tactics under this intense pressure. Earlier in June it had passed a resolution demanding that the ILA "disavow all connections with the communistic element on the waterfront." However, to undercut the rising general strike sentiment after "Bloody Thursday" the CLC set up a Strategy Committee, which stalled for a week while supposedly "studying" the possible implementation of a general strike. The CLC also sent a whining telegram to the governor, saying that the National Guard wasn't necessary because the city police were well-equipped to do their job. And this, after they had just murdered two strikers!

General Strike!

The maritime strike committee had called a mass meeting for July 7, to which all Bay Area unions had been urged to send delegations for the purpose of implementing general strike action and forming a broad strike leadership. The support for a general strike was solid, but when the establishment of the officials' Strategy Committee was announced the maritime committee decided to postpone action in order not to undercut the CLC, which was apparently taking steps toward a general strike. This deferral by Bridges and his CP supporters to the Labor Council bureaucrats handed the strike leadership to labor fakers whose sole aim was to betray the strike. This was the critical mistake of the militants, from which disastrous consequences inevitably followed.

The CLC began to feel an increasing pressure for strike action. Finally, the Strategy Committee asked all city unions to send five delegates each to a meeting July 14, at which a vote of 315 to 15 authorized a general strike for July 16. A strike committee was *appointed* by the Labor Council, consisting for the most part of salaried union officials who were chummy with the top AFL bureaucrats.

On Monday, July 16, the city was seriously crippled, but the CLC began to sell out the general strike from the very first day. Employees of the Municipal Railway (Muni) were told to return to work on the grounds that striking would jeopardize their civil service status. Phone, telegraph and power workers were never called out on strike, leaving communications in the grip of the bourgeoisie. Printing union leaders dangled the restoration of a 10 percent pay cut before the eyes of union members, convincing them to stay at work. Moreover, since the CLC did not publish a central strike bulletin, the city's workers were totally dependent for news on the bosses' press, none of which supported the strike. A publisher's committee censored all newspapers to make sure the strike was slandered and red-baited from every column. The Hearst papers in particular were so vicious that several unions took boycott action and their members refused to read them!

Sheet metal workers were told by the CLC to repair police cars, a traitorous act providing direct aid to the military fist of the class enemy. While originally only a few services, such as hospitals and milk deliveries, were allowed to function, permits were soon given to hundreds of owner-operators of trucks, amid charges of scandals in issuance of permits. Numbers of restaurants were allowed to open, feeding the rich, while many small groceries were kept closed.

In addition, squads of police agents, posing as dissatisfied workers, were organized to carry out a vicious witch-hunt. On the second day of the strike (and with at least tacit support of the AFL bureaucracy), these provocateurs went on an anti-communist rampage, smashing the offices of the CP's *Western Worker*, the IWW and the MWIU. The police who "mopped up" after them arrested more than 300 "radicals" in one day. Militants were even pulled out of picket lines and victimized. These activities had a demoralizing effect on the strike, and the CP's isolation from the labor movement plus its tactical sectarianism made it difficult to mobilize a broad defense against these "red scare" attacks. Meanwhile, Bridges' strike committee had already undercut the defense by affirming that, while it was willing to accept support from any source, it was an "anti-communist" organization (Charles Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*, 1972).

Bureaucratic Sabotage

On July 17 the CLC strike committee presented a resolution to the city unions

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Shocked WL Supporters Pull Off Ex-National Secretary

Fred Mazelis Assaults Spartacist Militant in Cleveland

At a Cleveland shopping center last week, Fred Mazelis, former national secretary of the disintegrating Workers League (WL), physically assaulted a *WV* salesman. While WL thuggery is far from unprecedented, the frenzied attack so startled several of Mazelis' shocked supporters standing nearby that they rushed forward to restrain him and drag him away.

Mazelis initially appeared reasonable enough and bought a copy of *WV*. But when asked why he was no longer WL head and why the WL had changed its leadership so often in the past couple of years, Mazelis denounced the Spartacist supporter for starting a "non-political" argument.

Responding to another question, Mazelis defended the WL's political support to the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA. But when pressed about the MPLA's strike-breaking activities, Mazelis without warning put down his bundle of *Bulletins*, grabbed the SLer by the throat and began hitting him in the face. The SLer struck back effectively in self-defense and three WLers intervened to stop Mazelis' unprovoked attack. Mazelis began shouting to his comrades, "No, no! This is important!" Clearly beside himself, he told the SLer: "We kicked your ass in Los Angeles too.... This is just the beginning!"

Workers League gangster violence within the workers movement erupted several times recently in Los Angeles. On March 1 the WL held a meeting at Cal. State L.A. to publicize its shameful campaign to smear leaders of the reformist Socialist Workers Party as "accomplices of the GPU" in the Stalinists' assassination of Trotsky. When members of the Spartacus Youth League appeared at this "public" meeting, they were physically threatened and one was assaulted and choked. A supporter of the WL's Young Socialists told a campus employee to have the university police eject the SYLers on the grounds that not all of them were students.

The next week, when the same presentation was made at UCLA, an enraged David North, current WL national secretary, attacked a photographer and ripped her camera out of her hands.

Then two weeks later at a March 21 meeting of TUALP, the WL's fake trade-union front, at the Los Angeles Convention Center, Spartacist supporters were excluded, as were members of the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070, a class-struggle opposition within the public employees union. When one Militant Caucus member insisted on his right to attend, he was set upon by WL goons and struck in the face. As before, the WL enlisted the aid of the Convention Center management to expel the SL and Militant Caucus members, and the Los Angeles Police Department was called in to lend a hand.

These Stalinist hooligan tactics are completely alien to the Trotskyism which the WL pretends to uphold. They are the tactics of an impotent, paranoid sect which cannot defend its politics and is terrified of losing control of its membership. Labor militants and supporters of all left-wing political tendencies must defend the principle of workers democracy by repudiating the Workers League's despicable gangsterism and expunging such practices from the workers movement. ■

Protest Canada's Expulsion of Rosie Douglas

Rosie Douglas — Old Mole

Caribbean militant Roosevelt (Rosie) Douglas, who has been fighting deportation from Canada to his native Dominica since 1972, has been expelled under an order issued by Canadian Immigration Minister Robert Andras and Solicitor-General Warren Allmand declaring him a "national security risk." Earlier Douglas was imprisoned for 18 months for taking part in a 1969 demonstration at Sir George Williams University in Montreal.

Douglas went into hiding earlier this year to escape deportation and possible imprisonment, torture or even execution by the vicious government of dictator Patrick John on the tiny West Indian island of Dominica—the same government which framed up Desmond

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Soap Opera Social Democracy

Can Tim and Nancy at Last Find True Happiness in the SWP?

In a sickly-sweet feature interview in the 7 May *Militant*, former Workers League (WL) leaders Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields discussed their reconciliation with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The four-page spread is a disingenuous exercise in mutual backscratching in which "Tim" and "Nancy" play the injured innocents, duped lo these many years by manipulative sectarians, who have suddenly discovered with surprised delight that the friendly reformists of the SWP have been right about everything all along.

After being ousted in late 1974 from the fake-Trotskyist WL (which Wohlforth had launched ten years earlier upon leaving the SWP!), the duo came increasingly into the SWP's orbit. Although their incorporation into the SWP was no secret to anyone, the *Militant* interview is the first public display of the lengths to which Wohlforth has gone to disavow his political past and regain the SWP's good graces. And quite a spectacle it is: Wohlforth embraces the SWP's reformist line on every question with all the zeal of a repentant "reds" exposing the designs of extremism's sinister masterminds. This is the thrust of the article, right down to its just-folks *Readers' Digest*-like tone.

Wohlforth's path to self-righteous reformism was prepared by years of consummate cynicism as head of a tendency which, although claiming the mantle of "anti-revisionist" left opposition to the SWP, showed itself ever willing to shelve its pretended "principles" for any passing opportunist appetite. The WL's "theory" that in a situation of economic crisis wage demands are inherently revolutionary, for example, is no less an abandonment of the transitional program than the SWP's consistent reformism.

Still, there is something positively indecent about Wohlforth's conversion, for his "case" for the SWP rests simply on an indictment of the Workers League, that twisted parody of "anti-Pabloist Trotskyism." A naive reader of the interview would never guess that the WL was from its inception Wohlforth's creature.

In exchange for the ability to exploit Wohlforth's adhesion as a testament to the SWP's appetite to become the inclusive party of American social democracy, the *Militant* generously not only forgives Wohlforth his years of slander and gangsterism against external organizational competitors, but also alibis his arbitrary despotism as head of the Workers League tendency. The article approvingly allows Wohlforth to slough off onto the shoulders of the WL's international big daddy, Gerry Healy of the British WRP, all responsibility for the political banditry and Stalinist-like internal regime of the WL during Wohlforth's decade as its National Secretary. Wohlforth describes himself as "especially impressed" by the extent to which the SWP "has held its members over the years":

> "'This stood in such stark contrast to Healy's group,' Tim went on. 'There is such a fantastic chewing up of people. And, unfortunately, the Workers League found itself in many ways imitating his methods.'
>
> "Wohlforth feels that these methods drove a lot of members out of the organization...."

But where was Wohlforth when the WL "found itself" utilizing these methods? Wohlforth was the WL National Secretary! Glorying in his role as tinpot tyrant, Wohlforth ran the WL with such arrogant bureaucratism that the hemorrhaging of members had reached epidemic proportions before Healy reached in to remove his U.S. deputy.

When Wohlforth was purged from the WL in late 1974, spouting indignation about Healy's high-handed organizational methods and mouthing pieties about Healyite destruction of cadres, *WV* likened this hypocrisy to the piteous cries of a Jay Lovestone bemoaning the crimes of a Joseph Stalin. Wohlforth's lurid 39-page exposé of his fall from grace, reported in *WV* ("Wohlforth Terminated," *WV* No. 61, 31 January 1975) and later serialized in full in the SWP's *Intercontinental Press*, was an elaborate whitewash of Wohlforth's complicity as Healy's 12-year groveling lieutenant and junior partner.

The WL is notorious for "chewing up" its membership. There is a political basis for its orientation toward rebellious but politically naive youth, who are pulled in on an activist basis and propelled by crisis-mongering and get-rich-quick schemes for a couple of years until, demoralized and convinced that "socialism" is just another shell game, they drift quietly out of politics without ever challenging the cynical policies of the WL leadership. This is the Healyite "method," in deliberate counterposition to the Leninist conception of a party of dedicated and conscious revolutionary cadres.

Babes in the Woods?

Considering what passes for political education in the WL, it is conceivable that Fields—although in contact with the WL since 1966, a member since 1970 and eventually part of its Political Committee, according to the *Militant*—had actually been unfamiliar with the history of the SWP prior to the Wohlforth/Fields voyage of discovery beginning a year and a half ago. The *Militant*'s portrayal of her is as a self-described "activist" always skeptical of the WL for "not getting involved" and looking for ways to "help the Workers League break out of being a narrow, sectarian group that just criticized." But the treacle that drips from the mouths of "Tim and Nancy" in the interview is simply mind-boggling.

The incident which precipitated Wohlforth and Fields out of the WL was Gerry Healy's personal intervention into a WL summer camp, charging that Fields was "probably" a CIA agent and that Wohlforth had covered up the CIA connections of his companion's family. The WL investigation subsequently "cleared" Fields but she was barred from positions of leadership and Wohlforth was removed as WL National Secretary.

According to the *Militant* interview, "it became clear to me [Fields] that Healy's methods were wrong" only following this confrontation. Fields says she began rereading James P. Cannon's *Speeches to the Party* and, it seems, found eye-opening insights:

> "...'There is a lot of material in there on how you assemble the cadres of a party. Cannon talks about a "control commission," an impartial body that can conduct a calm, objective investigation of something like a reasonable suspicion that a party member might be a police agent.
>
> "'It's all in there. Before long I began to

MPLA Arrests Its Left Wing

MAY 10—Despite the rhetoric of "People's Power" and the window-dressing of advisory workers commissions in industry and people's commissions in the towns, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) continues to ruthlessly lash out at the slightest organizational or political expression of working-class independence. In early April the one-party bourgeois regime in Luanda launched yet another round-up of leftists and critics of MPLA policies. According to *Intercontinental Press* (10 May), by month's end the Angolan Directorate of Information and Security had arrested over a hundred political opponents.

Interior Minister Nito Alves, recently returned from Moscow, signaled the wave of repression with a speech ordering the immediate arrest of all supporters of the Maoist Angolan Communist Organization (OCA) and the "Active Revolt" faction within the MPLA itself. The Lisbon weekly *Expresso* of 30 April noted that Alves' speech "clearly alluded to the possibility of executions, made more probable by the recent creation of the revolutionary people's tribunal."

The most widely known figure caught up in the government dragnet was Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, former honorary president of the MPLA. With his brother Mario, a founder of the Angolan Communist Party in 1955 and one of the earliest leaders of the MPLA, Andrade has been a major internal opponent of the leadership of Agostinho Neto. In 1974 his Active Revolt group in the MPLA charged Neto with "presidentialism," "tribalism" and "regionalism" and opposed any dealings with the CIA-backed National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

According to the London *Economist* (April 3): "Active Revolt... has not cooperated with the Popular Movement since it became the government. It has a strong following in the university and among those who are loosely known as the movement's intellectuals." The arrested Active Revolt leaders include Gentil Viana, a former adviser to Neto, Rui Castro Lopo, a former commander of the MPLA's second military region during the guerrilla war against the Portuguese, Manuel Videira, a doctor who served on the eastern front during the war, and Hugo de Menezes, a member of the MPLA's steering committee in 1962.

In his attacks, Alves lumped the Andrade brothers' group together with the OCA, an organization which is reportedly influenced by Peking but, unlike the Chinese Stalinists, labels U.S. imperialism the "main enemy" in Angola. The interior minister reportedly announced that, "All obviously reactionary individuals—those who individually are known to belong to the OCA, either as advisers, writers, or propagandists, or those who have up to now been passionately loyal to the Revolta Activa or have shown such an attitude—will have to be immediately arrested" (*Intercontinental Press*, 10 May).

The *Economist* describes the MPLA's critics as "young Angolans and Portuguese under the influence of two far-left Portuguese parties, the Portuguese Democratic Union and the Revolutionary Movement of the Portuguese Proletariat." In a dispatch from Luanda, the *Guardian* [London] of 3 April writes: "The left-wingers have formed various clandestine groups and have demanded that the MPLA immediately form a Government of 'workers and peasants.' In the past month they have accelerated propaganda activities among labourers and in the poorer neighborhoods of Luanda."

Another target of the government crackdown is the *Jornal de Operário* ("Workers Newspaper") which reportedly "accuses the Popular Movement government of selling out both to the Russians (because it accepted Soviet military aid) and to the Americans (because it has asked the Gulf Oil corporation to resume oil production in Cabinda). The paper also attacks the Cubans in Angola as 'the new colonizers'" (*Economist*, 3 April). Numerous sources also report the dissidents have raised racially inflammatory slogans attacking the MPLA for including whites and mulattoes in its government.

While calling for military support to the MPLA against the CIA-engineered, South African-led imperialist power play in Angola beginning last fall, the international Spartacist tendency refused to capitulate to the leftist pretensions of Neto, Alves & Co. Rather than calling for "all power to the MPLA," as did the European majority of the self-proclaimed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), we underlined the need for an independent Trotskyist vanguard party of the proletariat. *WV* repeatedly warned that the MPLA sought to replace colonial rule not with a government of the workers and peasants, but rather with a regime representing the interests of the emerging Angolan bourgeoisie.

The current suppression of left-wing organizations and their publications, along with opposition elements inside the MPLA, is a striking confirmation of our earlier warnings. It is a continuation of the MPLA's attempts to break dock workers' strikes (in the spring of 1975) and its disarming of self-defense groups in Luanda's shantytowns last October. At that time, also, supporters of the Maoist-influenced Amilcar Cabral Committees and USec supporters grouped around *Revolução Socialista* were arrested and summarily deported to Portugal (see "MPLA: 'Nationalists of a New Type'?" *WV* No. 93, 23 January).

Faced with growing opposition among the working masses, who feel that national independence should not be a license for plunder by *nouveaux riches*, the bourgeois "People's Republic" of Angola is ruthlessly crushing all political opposition, including from militants who bravely fought against the Portuguese colonial army and the South African invasion. Those bogus socialists who called for political confidence in the MPLA are now reaping their bitter reward. ■

Tim Wohlforth WV Photo

have bookmarks stuck all over. Every night when Tim would come home, I would say to him, "Listen to this. This is what Cannon said'"

"'You would jump on me as soon as I walked through the door,' Tim said."

Even as theatre, this soap opera of home life among the ex-Healyites is unconvincingly maudlin, to say the least. As politics, it is flatly phony. Who is this "Tim" who was able to look with "fresh eyes" at his organization only after "Nancy" unearthed in Cannon's book the long-lost secret of the impartial control commission?

Originally recruited in 1957 to the Young Socialist League, a degeneration product of Max Shachtman's right split from the Trotskyist movement, Wohlforth broke from Shachtmanism and in 1960 was one of the founders of the SWP's youth group, as the *Militant* explains. He was the leading spokesman for the anti-revisionist Revolutionary Tendency (RT) which emerged within the SWP in the 1961-63 period. After carrying out an unprincipled split of these forces in 1962 under Healy's direct guidance, and provoking the SWP's expulsion of the RT majority led by James Robertson (which later evolved into the Spartacist League), Wohlforth functioned for ten years as National Secretary of the American Healyites after departing the SWP in 1964.

Wohlforth now spits on the part he played in the fight against the SWP's right turn to centrism, codified organizationally by its part in the 1963 reunification which formed the United Secretariat. Wohlforth explicitly attributes the SWP's "internationalism" to its "decision in 1963 to move toward collaboration with the forces in the United Secretariat of the Fourth International"—a "decision" which he opposed! He also solidarizes with the SWP's "wholly positive" (i.e., uncritically tailist) position on the Cuban revolution.

Needless to say the *Militant* interview makes no mention of the RT majority's evolved position on Cuba: the analysis of Cuba as a deformed workers state and the Trotskyist call for military defense of Cuba against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution, linked to the demand for proletarian democracy through soviets. Wohlforth and Fields confine themselves to heaping scorn on the Healyite "analysis" that Cuba remains capitalist—an "orthodox" reflex which denies reality, much to the delight of the SWP:

"'It didn't take us more than a few weeks to see that Healy was all wrong on Cuba,' Tim said.

"'Everyone who drops out of the Workers League immediately changes their position on Cuba,' Nancy added."

In July 1961 Wohlforth became the anti-revisionist forces' major literary exponent of the position that Cuba was a deformed workers state by authoring "Cuba and the Deformed Workers States" on behalf of the then-united RT. However Healy swiftly brought Wohlforth to heel and for the next 12 years he loyally expounded the Healyite "Cuba is capitalist" line. Now he asks us to believe that he and Fields suddenly discovered and solved the Cuba question in "a few weeks" in 1974!

Similarly, the interview presents Cannon's *Speeches to the Party* as the duo's real introduction to the Leninist conception of party-building. At the same time, though, it tries to imply that Cannon had always been one of Wohlforth's heroes:

"'While we can now see how we really didn't grasp much of it, we had always taken the history of the SWP very seriously and tried to train people in it,' Tim indicated. This general attitude toward James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the SWP, now became very important ..."

This is another shameless falsification. Back in 1964, as part of his "The Struggle for Marxism in the United States," Wohlforth had portrayed the founder of American Trotskyism as a parochial pragmatist and proletarian primitive:

"The primary concern of Cannon's from the moment he joined the [Communist] party until the moment he was expelled in 1928 was the American question. Cannon never evinced any interest in the great questions of Marxist theory and politics which occupied the major attention of the Communist International in this period....

"Virtually no one in the American party, *least of all* Cannon, either understood or was really interested in the great struggles going on within the CI and the Bolshevik party.. "[emphasis in original]

Thus Wohlforth sought to present himself as America's first real Marxist politician!

Nancy Gets a Job

In repudiating their political past, one of the biggest pills for "Tim and Nancy" to sugar-coat is their switch from the WL's hypocritical-economist "working-class line" to the SWP's line that the class axis is not primary and extra-class "liberation" movements (respectable black nationalism, pro-imperialist pacifism, bourgeois feminism) lead inevitably to "socialist" consciousness. Perhaps the most blatantly fraudulent description of Wohlforth/Fields' motion toward the SWP is the mechanism suggested to explain their enlightenment on the woman question.

Wohlforth and Fields need to justify their switch from the WL's sneering insensitivity to women's oppression (reflecting the WL appetite to cozy up to the labor bureaucracy on the basis of existing backwardness among sections of the working class) to the SWP's gung-ho tailism of the program of the liberal bourgeoisie (Equal Rights Amendment, abortion law repeal, government attack on union-won seniority rights through "preferential hiring" and "preferential layoff" schemes, etc.). With an apparently straight face the article explains:

"Their ideas on women's liberation changed in an unexpected way. While in the Workers League, both worked full-time for the organization.

"'Now Nancy was forced to take the most god-awful job, dominated by economic and social discrimination against women,' Tim recalled.

"The impact of the day-to-day world of a woman worker in New York City caused them to reconsider the Workers League's view that the women's liberation movement is a middle-class diversion."

What a magnificent gift to the reformists' stereotype of the hapless sectarian who sees the light when confronted at last by the real world.

Tim Discovers Democratic Demands

The programmatic core of the article (to the extent it has one) is a presentation of the archtypically reformist schema which portrays revolutionists as sectarians, not only indifferent to real struggles but even hostile to real gains. Thus, reforms (which are termed "democratic demands") and revolutionary struggle are presented as mutually exclusive:

"Some in the radical movement, Tim and Nancy noted, tend to ignore the needs of these [specially oppressed] layers and to play down the importance of democratic demands

"'They will counterpose a full socialist program to certain democratic demands....,' Tim said 'Or, if they consider themselves to be Trotskyists, they will often counterpose what we call "transitional demands."' "

Authentic Trotskyists do not "counterpose" the transitional program to reform demands, but rather to reformism. A reformist policy, such as that pursued by the SWP, aims at "winning reforms" through subordinating the proletariat to the class enemy, thereby building into the "reform" struggle not only the guarantees of its own impotence but also the reinforcement of bourgeois ideology and the seeds of future defeats and betrayals.

Wohlforth justifies the suicidal policies which the SWP pushes for the black people of Boston by contrasting them with the abstentionism of the WL:

"As they continued to review their experiences they began to reach the conclusion that Healy had always been unable to comprehend the significance of Black oppression in this country. That was what was really behind the abstention of his American followers from the Boston march."

The dichotomy is SWP reformism vs. abstentionism, and the villain is—again Gerry Healy.

In fact, under Healy's tutelage, the WL manifested the most obscene gyrations over the black question. From the initial failure to oppose the SWP's turn toward black nationalism in the early 1960's, the Wohlforthites oscillated back and forth from gross insensitivity to black oppression (the WL *Bulletin* once carried the headline "Black Caucuses Are Reactionary") to shameless tailing of militant black nationalists like the Panthers in the attempt to consolidate a following among lumpenized minority-group youth.

Wohlforth Comes "Home"

In exchange for his blanket endorsement of reformism SWP style, the *Militant* confers upon Wohlforth a full pardon for his sins, named and unnamed. There is not a word about the WL's notorious practice of exclusionism and physical violence against other ostensible socialists (which has included vicious assaults against SWP supporters). The *Militant* permits Wohlforth to disavow "the most recent chapter in Healy's strange history"—the scandalous campaign of baseless slander against the SWP's Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices of the GPU" (Stalin's secret police) in the assassination of Leon Trotsky. Sole responsibility is conveniently laid at "Healy's" doorstep, as if Wohlforth—who for ten years led his organization in the systematic application of violence and slander against political opponents—would somehow have hesitated to echo the villification of Hansen with the same zeal he displayed in slandering the Spartacist League as "the fingerman of the world capitalist class."

The SWP accepts the adhesion of this discredited cynic to buttress its search for new international bloc partners as the "United Secretariat" non-aggression pact fragments. One can surmise that the SWP looks upon Wohlforth as a possible lure for Alan Thornett's split-off from Healy's own organization in England and perhaps for Healy's main bloc partner until 1971, the OCI in France, with which the SWP has been negotiating. The appeal is clearly directed to bigger fish than the irreparably compromised Wohlforth.

Even as an opponent, Wohlforth rendered the SWP invaluable services, beginning with breaking up the left opposition to the SWP's degeneration and orchestrating the expulsion of the RT majority. Along with his mentor Healy, Wohlforth and his Workers League provided the revisionists with a ready-made horrible example, enabling them to equate all left opposition with idiot sectarianism and calculated organizational barbarism. Now he is ready to serve the SWP more directly.

Wohlforth's WL ceaselessly sought to climb onto the SWP's reformist handwagons, despite spouting a far more "leftist" line reflecting opportunist orientation toward a differing recruitment pool. Undeterred by its recurring penchant for stridently proclaiming political confidence in Ho Chi Minh's Stalinists, the WL could never resist the urge to tail the SWP's popular-frontist antiwar policy.

The Spartacist tendency in 1971 noted that the Healyites' often rabid "anti-revisionism" "has always had something of the character of a personal vendetta by a cast-off currently on the outs with bis masters." Healy's 1970 unity overtures toward the United Secretariat, his proclamation that the SWP youth would be the WL's "road to the American working class," exemplify the appetite beneath the bitter estrangement. Now it seems that Wohlforth learned his lessons better than Healy might have wished.■

Ulrike Meinhof...

(continued from page 1)

political statements are repeatedly ruled out of order. All have been incarcerated for years, much of it in solitary confinement; German law does not recognize habeas corpus, and so-called "protective" or "preventive" detention is a commonplace for victimized left-wing opponents of the Bonn regime.

The Baader-Meinhof show trial has been under way for a year, and has been expected to run for another two. But in the case of Ulrike Meinhof, killed in her jail cell, this slow juridical strangulation has been discarded in favor of a swifter method of retribution. This, too, is a part of capitalist class "justice."

The repressive guardians of bourgeois "law and order" must not be permitted to enforce their cover-up by intimidating critics with threats of legal prosecution. Stop the witchhunting show trials—Free the RAF and all victimized left-wing prisoners!■

Rosie Douglas...

(continued from page 7)

Trotter. However, late last month Douglas was captured by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, slapped in jail and quickly spirited out of the country.

Although he has been "allowed" to "emigrate" to Jamaica instead of being deported to Dominica as originally ordered, Douglas' expulsion represents an attack on all immigrants, the left and the working class as a whole which must be vigorously protested. It is part of the racist uproar over immigration touched off by the Trudeau government's "Green Paper" last year. Hoping to turn the workers' anger against "undesirable aliens," it proposes to reduce unemployment of "native" Canadians through the deportation of immigrants.

Despite sharp political differences with Douglas' reformist, "Third Worldist" politics, which place the struggle against racial oppression apart from and above the class struggle, nevertheless the Trotskyist League of Canada, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, has resolutely declared its solidarity with the victimized black militant and been active in his defense. Also, the Partisan Defense Committee financially contributed to Douglas' defense campaign.

Recent attempts by the Canadian government to deport or deny citizenship to militants like Douglas, as well as the campaign to tighten immigration laws in general, represent an attack on all working people. Left, labor and minority organizations must wage a broad-based campaign to beat back the racist, anti-communist offensive.■

S.F. City Workers

(continued from page 1)

started by Laborers Union head George Evanknvitch, who ordered a small number of workers back to work for the Housing Authority, called off pickets as an obscene gesture of "good will" and offered to send all 1,100 of his members back on the basis of the deal which was eventually accepted by the CLC. This would have left the other craft unions out alone.

Evankovitch was quickly followed by Larry Martin, head of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250A, whose 2,000 members have provided the muscle of the strike by shutting down the Muni mass transit system in solidarity with the craft workers picket lines. Martin hastily called a general membership meeting May 5 where the only proposal taken up was an executive board recommendation to return to work on conditions similar to those proposed by Evankovitch. Martin was widely reported to be urging a "yes" vote and promising city officials he would urge TWU members to cross craft workers lines if the ballot propositions were removed by the Board: "Do it tonight, we'll go back tomorrow," he was quoted as saying (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 May).

After the Muni drivers' meeting, Martin announced that the ranks had decided in a voice vote, by a two-to-one margin, to go back if the Board dropped "especially E, for us," strongly implying that TWU leaders were unconcerned about Proposition K. Talking to a *WV* reported after the meeting, union members confirmed that the Local 250A executive board recommendation dealt exclusively with Proposition E, thus stabbing the craft unions in the back. This piece of treachery reportedly lost on the first voice vote, and Martin had to ram through a second count.

In the meeting, Martin tried to scare the TWU membership with reports that the health plan was in jeopardy because of the city's failure to make premium payments during the walkout. He also implied that difficulties in getting welfare were due to craft workers' refusal to pull pickets off the welfare offices. Anxious to push through his sellout, Martin made sure no other counterproposals reached the floor, and a back-to-work vote by Muni drivers then set the stage for the final surrender.

The abject defeat of the craft workers puts Muni in a dangerous position as the deadline approaches for the transit contract in July. It also leaves striking Golden Gate bus drivers in the lurch, after being out for nearly a month. They are now in danger of being totally smashed. Only through absorbing the lessons of the recent defeat can the Board of Supervisors' union-busting rampage be stopped.

The strike could have been won, but doing so would have required overcoming narrow business unionism and launching a class-struggle offensive. It required a citywide general strike, drawing in all the ranks of S. F. labor against the strikebreaking Board, not only to defend the craft workers but also to insist on the unconditional right to strike, abolition of all the anti-labor propositions and reopening of all the city worker contracts, in order to reverse the sellout of non-craft municipal employees negotiated in March. It required organizing and electing strike committees to take control of the strike.

The Left and the S.F. Crafts Strike

The CLC's failure to implement its own general strike call demonstrated the inability of the labor bureaucracy to defend even the most minimal demands of the working class (no pay cut!) against a concerted employer offensive. More afraid of mobilizing its own ranks in a militant class confrontation than of losing a battle with the bosses, the sellout union brass must be ousted by a militant leadership based on a class-struggle program. Those who simply seek to pressure the bureaucracy, or to ignore its massive presence, will only lead the proletariat down to defeat.

As early as October 1974, the Spartacist League (SL) had organized a contingent to demand a general strike at an official labor rally against Proposition L (the "Feinstein amendment"), an earlier attempt by the supervisors to write a wage cut into city law. The CLC leaders' response was to form an electoral coalition with Democratic mayor Alioto to defeat the proposition at the polls. At that time virtually every left organization capitulated to the union tops' class collaboration, including the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU). At the October 1974 rally, Larry Martin denounced the call for a general strike and a TWU goon squad attempted without success to remove SL and general strike contingent banners.

The 1974 rally was a foretaste of things to come. During the recent craft workers strike, those "revolutionary" groups who had given a left cover to the union tops on Proposition L made a spectacle of their limitless capitulation before the CLC and/or mindless adventurism. As could be expected, the most shameless opportunists were the Communist Party, which has historic roots in the Bay Area labor bureaucracy and has repeatedly backed liberal Democrats. A leaflet issued by the CP early in the strike simply called for empty "unity" and denounced all criticism of the union leaders: "Name-calling attacks on trade union leaders does not contribute to that unity."

In addition, a prominent CP supporter in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) provided the most substantial "left" support to the CLC misleaders, sabotaging an effort by longshoremen to come to the aid of the craft strikers. At the April 22 meeting of ILWU Local 10, a three-part motion was presented by the class-struggle oppositional grouping around *Longshore Militant*. While the first two parts—calling for joining the picket lines and shutting down the port—were ruled out of order, the third part (for an "immediate mass meeting of city labor to launch an immediate general strike") managed to reach the floor. However, the CP supporter amended this so as to leave implementation up to the leaders of the various unions, in effect killing the motion.

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers party (SWP), which is trying hard to catch up with the CP's super-reformism, made its own contribution to the bureaucrats' efforts to bury the strike. The *Militant* has carefully avoided demanding a general strike so as not to offend the labor officials the SWP is courting. Instead, it has suggested such harmless diversions as "a one-day mass mobilization *on a Saturday*" (*Militant*, 23 April [our emphasis]).

Moreover, when the idea of elected strike committees began to pick up support in an ad hoc meeting of union militants at strike headquarters on April 20, *Militant* writer Nat Weinstein urged everybody to instead put more "input into the official strike committee" of the bureaucrats. Weinstein made several other noteworthy and disgusting comments during the strike. At one point, walking a picket line he told a *WV* reader that what the striking unions needed was "a modified defeat" to enable them to save face and retreat gracefully! And speaking at a Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco, he urged the bureaucrats to threaten the formation of a labor party in order to scare the Democratic Party supervisors into negotiations.

At a heated April 17 meeting of Muni drivers, Milton Chee, one of the authors of an earlier leaflet touted in the *Militant*, enthusiastically put on the floor an executive board motion that merely called for continuing to respect picket lines. It took rank-and-file pressure to force Chee to accept an amendment calling for a general strike. His only further contribution to the strike was to file a class action suit against the city to obtain food stamps. Not surprisingly, a U.S. district judge ruled against Chee on May 6.

For its part, the phantom Labor Party Organizing Committee, consisting largely of ex-supporters of the Workers League and created by the S.F.-area Socialist League (Democratic-Centralist), boasts that one of its supporters put forward the general strike amendment at the April 17 Muni meeting. Unfortunately, the SL(DC)'s publication, *Labor News*, "neglects" to mention that the original amendment called for *a return to work* if no general strike developed within 72 hours. Under pressure from the membership the author of the amendment was finally forced to withdraw this treacherous escape clause for scabbing. The duplicity of *Labor News* on this vital point mirrors its supporters' origins in the WL school of falsification.

Opportunism and Adventurism

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was quite active during the strike, but floundered aimlessly precisely because it has never been able to put forward a program to defeat the labor tops. Consequently PLP has oscillated from capitulating before the union bureaucracy (and especially aspiring bureaucrats) to ineffectual attempts to bypass it, just as it zig-zagged from blind loyalty to Peking to denunciation of China as one more imperialist country. As a substitute for a class-struggle program, PLP has nothing to offer but adrenalin.

At the beginning of the craft workers' strike, PLP was in transition from one of its periodic flirtations with the bureaucrats to another spurt of adventurism, coming out with one of its endless "horn yesterday" "self-criticisms." Referring to PLP supporters' activities in the SEIU strike committee in San Francisco, *Challenge* (15 April) wrote: "At the time, we were not clear that the union leaders were our enemies all the way down the line. We knew that they were corrupt, incompetent and sellouts, but not that they were the main agent of the ruling class."

For Progressive Labor, the solution for the workers was simple: "To halt the ruling class attacks on workers in S.F., all trade unions must break with the labor fakers, join the Progressive Labor Party and build the all-out fight to get rid of the bosses" (*Challenge*, 22 April). As a first step in this fantasy, trade-union supporters of PLP helped organize a demonstration at supervisor Quentin Kopp's house April 8. But the leaflet for the demonstration, signed by the "SEIU Joint Council Strike Committee," limited itself to the bureaucrats' demands!

The response of the Maoist groups in the crafts strike was abysmal. The October League played no visible role at all during the entire struggle. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP, formerly RU) actively opposed a general strike, arguing that the bureaucrats' half-hearted call was simply "an excuse to discourage workers from going on the offensive to extend the strike." Those who called for organizing a general strike were denounced by these fake-revolutionaries as "Trotskyite and other opportunist sects" (*Revolution*, 15 April)!

The RCP was reduced to "jamming the official strike committee," i.e., pressuring the bureaucrats into more militant tactics. The RCP-backed Concerned Muni Drivers (CMD) failed to counterpose elected strike committees to the sellout Martin leadership of the TWU. Instead the CMD limited its activity to obtaining unemployment benefits and food stamps. On May 5, the very day of the meeting where Martin pushed through the strikebreaking vote, its newsletter, "Dragging the Line," covered for the bureaucrats with the incredible claim that "victory is in sight.... The strike has been growing in effectiveness"! The CMD called for a "no" vote on the back-to-work motion, but had nothing to counterpose to Martin's defeatist strategy.

The Spartacist League, in contrast, neither tailed after nor pretended to bypass the sellout labor officialdom. Throughout the struggle the SL sought to link the fight for a citywide general strike against the Supervisors' union-busting drive to the crucial task of building a class-struggle opposition inside the unions, to oust the labor fakers whose do-nothing policies led straight to this disastrous defeat for San Francisco labor. Only by replacing the sellout bureaucrats by a leadership committed to the defense of the working class against the employers and their government can the tremendous power of the organized labor movement be unleashed. Oust the bureaucrats—For a militant leadership based on a class-struggle program—Forward to a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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1934 Strike...

(continued from page 7)

calling for arbitration of all issues in dispute. This passed the assembled body of delegates, over the protests of the maritime unions, by a hand vote of 213 to 180. The labor brass then met with General Hugh Johnson, head of Roosevelt's supposedly "pro-labor" National Recovery Administration, who had just denounced the strike in violent terms. With such "leadership," it was easy to call off the general strike only three days after it began. Even so, the vote was close and the ranks never voted to return to work.

With the general strike over, the Teamsters could then be pressured to end their strike on July 20, but only after verbal assurances from Casey that this would not mean handling scab cargo. Yet the next day truck drivers found themselves going through picket lines under armed guard, while Casey's goons helped police protect them from the strikers! This final blow forced the longshoremen to vote to accept arbitration on July 21 and return to work ten days later. In the intervening period, however, they provided a dramatic display of solidarity to other maritime unions. Although they had voted to go back, the longshoremen honored their commitment to stay out until all other maritime unions had also voted. When the maritime workers returned, they all marched across the Embarcadero together, as an unbroken group.

Although the general strike was sold out and the dockers were forced to accept arbitration of all their demands, the workers had built powerful union organizations and decisively smashed the company unions. The strikes strengthened the entire Bay Area labor movement with an influx of new members. And in the following months, maritime workers (both longshoremen and seamen) were able to establish the closed shop and union-controlled hiring halls through militant job actions, despite the fact they they lost on these points under the arbitration award.

Although the leadership provided by the Albion Hall group and CP was decisive at several points in preventing defeat of the 1934 strike at the hands of ILA chief Ryan and his cronies—and in laying the basis for the later creation of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific—both failed at the critical point to prevent domination of the general strike by the AFL bureaucrats. The AFL tops, in turn, after spending months trying to cram arbitration by Roosevelt's NRA down the throats of the longshoremen, only took over leadership of the general strike because they were afraid of losing control of their organizations.

The Communist Party admitted shortly afterwards that:

> "The Party, at the decisive moment when the bureaucrats stood isolated and the workers were rallying for the General Strike in the first meeting at which the General Strike leadership was elected, did not develop a struggle against the misleaders and saboteurs. It allowed them through this course to place themselves at the head of the General Strike and overcome their isolation by feigning support for the General Strike."
>
> —"Lessons of the Recent Strike Struggles," CP Central Committee, 5-6 September 1934

Thus at the same time as it was victimized for its ultra-leftism, the CP adapted opportunistically to trade-union militants within the maritime unions. The politics of the CP longshore fraction was indistinguishable from "rank-and-file" activists like Harry Bridges, who strongly distrusted the AFL bureaucrats but shrank from the task of challenging them for leadership at key points. Though militant, Bridges was never more than a practical trade unionist, ready to check the AFL leaders, but lacking a full political program for smashing the bureaucracy by building a class-struggle leadership.

Throughout the entire strike, although it lambasted the AFL, the CP refused to criticize Bridges' conciliationist failures. And within a few short months, the "fraternal" alliance between Bridges and the CP became part of the Stalinists' trade-union back-up for a "popular-front" alliance with Roosevelt, under which it ceased to play a militant role even on a trade-union level. Though persecuted for years as an "alien" and "Communist," Bridges was soon transformed into a trade-union bureaucrat.

1934 and Today

The few general strikes that have broken out in the history of the U.S. labor movement have been of a localized and defensive character. This was true of San Francisco in 1934 and characterizes the situation today as well. Responsibility for the defeat of these strikes lies squarely with the reactionary leadership of the unions.

This year's craft workers' strike proves once again the treacherous role of the legalistic and cowardly union bureaucracy, which acts as the labor lieutenants of capitalism in sacrificing the most fundamental union gains and betraying the most bitterly fought struggles. These class traitors' support for the bourgeoisie extends from obstructing the movement for a general strike to opportunistically seeking to take it over for the purpose of derailing it.

The task of revolutionaries is to begin now to lay the groundwork for ousting these dangerous fakers, by educating the working class in the need for uncompromising independence from the capitalists, exposing the betrayals of the present misleaders and providing militant leadership for the workers movement in its vital struggles. Only a strategy of consistent class struggle can lead to victory - the "realistic" conciliators have nothing to offer but defeat. ■

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Rubber Strike...

(continued from page 12)

has allowed one major tire producer, General Tire and Rubber, to continue production. Although its contract expires May 15 and its workers will presumably be drawn into the strike at that time, the operation of General Tire and several smaller URW tire plants (as well as some unorganized plants) has had a major effect in limiting the impact of the strike. At present only 65 percent of U.S. tire manufacturing capacity has been shut down.

URW officials have ordered union pickets to obey court injunctions against mass picketing. As salaried employees walked freely in and out of the Firestone plant in Akron, pickets told *WV*, "This is a dumb way to run a strike. Anyone can go in who wants to." Strikers also suspect scabbing. They reported seeing carloads of young and unfamiliar "workers" entering the plant and speculated that hourly jobs such as maintenance were being performed by strikebreakers.

In an effort to undercut membership restiveness, the URW bureaucrats have "permitted" a limited display of militancy. On May 3, six hundred pickets defied an injunction and blocked entrances to the Akron plants of Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone. Thousands of salaried employees were prevented from entering the company offices. The pickets remained until leaders of Locals 2, 5 and 7 pulled them off at the order of Summit County Common Police Judge Sam H. Bell. Similarly, a few unidentified pickets appeared before midnight on May 7 at the Seiberling plant owned by Firestone in Barbaton, Ohio, and almost every union member honored their lines. This was repeated at 6 a.m. on May 8. A single woman picket kept the noon shift out while workers congregated across the street.

However, such actions are being carefully monitored and orchestrated by union leaders—at no risk to themselves. The picketing at Seiberling was conspicuous by the absence of URW Local 18 officials (as well as of the cops), and workers told *WV* that production would be resumed the following Monday. Such sporadic and staged shows of militancy will not win the strike but only serve to dissipate the genuine anger of the rank and file.

International Boycott

Bommarito, who recently returned from a trip to Geneva, Switzerland, is currently ballyhooing his scheme for an international boycott against Firestone, which may later be extended to Goodyear. Genuine international labor solidarity among rubber workers could be a crucial element for a URW victory. However, the international boycott sponsored by the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Unions (ICF, which claims 5.5 million members in its affiliated member bodies) promises to be a token affair. Although ICF head Charles Levinson claims to be working toward common expiration dates in many countries for contracts with multinational companies, he says that such internationally coordinated labor actions are still a few years off. The Firestone boycott, while rejecting joint strike action, does include an appeal to Firestone workers abroad not to work overtime. However, such promises of international cooperation have not meant much in the past. Thus at the beginning of the URW strike, Japanese union leaders promised an "unlimited walkout" in solidarity with American rubber workers if the Big Four hadn't settled by April 26. This "unlimited walkout" turned out to be brief strikes against two tire companies which merely coincided with the URW strike and which Japanese leaders were busy settling during the ICF meeting!

Such mutual backstabbing rather than international solidarity is, of course, the rule rather than the exception among the reformist union bureaucracies, whose loyalties lie with their own national bourgeoisies rather than with workers in other countries. Bommarito and the URW leadership are no strangers to this conduct, either. They have regularly sold out the demands of Canadian URW workers for parity with U.S. rubber workers. (Not having a joint contract expiration date, Canadian rubber workers are now working!)

Furthermore, Bommarito has been one of the major supporters of protectionist legislation, which makes foreign workers pay for layoffs of American workers by limiting imports of rubber products. Moreover the main axis of the international boycott is not genuine labor solidarity, but an impotent consumer boycott of Firestone products, which appear under more than 300 brand names.

UAW

A major factor working in favor of the rubber companies was the stockpiling of tires before the strike by automobile companies—and the further augmenting of these supplies after the strike began. (There are persistent rumors of shipments of Canadian tires to American auto plants.) As long as auto assembly lines continue to run, there will be relatively little pressure on the Big Four to arrive at a settlement. While the exact size of company stockpiles is a carefully guarded secret, informed observers estimate that a major pinch will not be felt until June 1 at the earliest (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 May). Meanwhile, rubber workers are being forced to subsist on $35 a week strike benefits, and even these paltry funds will be exhausted after two and a half payments! This has forced the URW tops to call a special convention for May 27 to consider increasing dues to beef up the strike fund.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, has only paid lip service to the cause of the rubber workers. While endorsing the toothless Firestone consumer boycott, he has acquiesced to the stockpiling by auto companies which fundamentally undercuts the strike. Auto workers must come to the aid of rubber workers by refusing to handle the stockpiled tires and other struck rubber products. Such action was advocated by one group of auto workers, the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of UAW Local 906 in Mahwah, New Jersey. A spokesmen for the MSC told *WV* last week that it distributed a leaflet to union members criticizing UAW leaders, saying: "But a leadership that believed in solidarity *action* and not just words would mobilize the autoworkers to REFUSE TO HANDLE STRUCK TIRES!"

Of course, Bommarito as well as Woodcock has no intention of challenging the Taft-Hartley Act by calling for such concrete acts of solidarity. The weak-kneed conduct of the strike by the URW bureaucracy only prefigures a complete sellout at the bargaining table as well. On some issues, like jobs, the URW tops are not raising any demands whatsoever. In addition, Bommarito has already stated his willingness to sacrifice the c-o-l clause for the first year if the wage increase is big enough. At the Akron rally he bellyached about Firestone's paltry proposals on pensions, health and safety, but refused to commit himself to any specific contractual goals. Meanwhile Ike Gold, URW International secretary-treasurer, stated frankly that union negotiators "are not out to hurt the companies," but rather to win "a few pennies" for the workers. It is precisely such penny-ante class collaborationism that presents the greatest obstacle to a victory in the rubber strike. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with the Reactionary Offensive! Support the ERA!

Women's Liberation Through Proletarian Revolution!

One component of the current rightward political swing in the United States is an anti-women's liberation campaign which has manifested itself recently in the publication of a number of virulently male chauvinist books and articles such as *The Total Woman*, in the renewed efforts of "right-to-lifers" to deny women access to abortion and birth control, and in attempts to block ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (see "Reactionary Backlash Targets Women's Rights," *Women and Revolution* No. 11, Spring 1976).

The ERA, a simple statement affirming equality between men and women under the law, is an entirely supportable bourgeois reform. That this amendment, which appeared certain to achieve ratification a year ago, is now so hotly contested is a measure of an increasingly hard-line polarization on social issues in the U.S.

Opponents of the ERA –such as Phyllis Schafly, head of the ultra-rightist "Eagle Forum for God, Home and Country" – have saturated the country with scare-mongering leaflets warning that passage of the ERA will lead straight to sexually integrated public toilet facilities, the loss of protective legislation for women in industry and compulsory military conscription for all. Like the issue of abortion rights, the ratification of the ERA has become a rallying point for a broad spectrum of reactionary forces dedicated to the defense of the oppressive family structure and the enforcement of conventional bourgeois morality.

At the present time, 34 states have ratified the ERA, but ratification by four more states is necessary in order for it to become a constitutional amendment. The bourgeois-feminist National Organization of Women (NOW) has called for a demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, on May 16 to demand ratification and is sponsoring an "ERA Freedom Train" to Springfield for ERA supporters from the East Coast.

Unlike the Socialist Workers Party, whose real "program" for women's liberation is to become indistinguishable from NOW's legalistic tokenism, the Spartacist League does not present the ERA as the solution to women's oppression. As Marxists, we maintain that the fundamental precondition for women's liberation is not bourgeois legal reform but the replacement of the family as an economic unit through the socialization of household labor by a victorious proletarian revolution.

Nevertheless, every manifestation of the current backlash must be vigorously opposed and every genuine reform e.g., free abortion on demand, busing to integrate school facilities, the Equal Rights Amendment—must be supported. The mobilization of the working class around its historic interests—in counterposition to the racialist, national-chauvinist, sexist backwardness generated and nurtured by the sellout labor "leadership"—is a precondition for the construction of the proletarian vanguard party which must lead the working class to the conquest of state power.

—Support the ERA!

—For women's liberation through proletarian revolution!

WV Photo

Big Four Try to Starve Out Rubber Strikers

AKRON/CLEVELAND, May 8—An estimated crowd of over 1,000 striking rubber workers and supporters rallied in Akron today next to the Rubber Bowl. The event kicked off the official nationwide boycott of Firestone products as part of the United Rubber Workers (URW) strike against the "Big Four" tire companies. Though numerous URW dignitaries, including International president Peter Bommarito, were on hand for the occasion, militant workers who hoped to hear a strategy for victory in their strike went away disappointed.

After three weeks, the nationwide rubber strike against Firestone, Goodyear, B.F. Goodrich and Uniroyal remains deadlocked. The companies have not budged in their opposition to union demands on wages and pensions. Their offer for a cost-of-living (c-o-l) formula of 5-cents-per-hour increases in 1977 and 1978 if the consumer price index rises 7 points, and a maximum increase of 10 cents for an increase of 9 points in the CPI, is downright laughable. In a further provocative move they have continued their policy of cutting off SUB payments to 1,700 rubber workers laid off by Firestone, Goodyear and Goodrich.

URW president Peter Bommarito speaking at Akron rally May 8. WV Photo

The URW bureaucracy has retreated before the companies' hard-line stance. Although the union initially broke off negotiations because of the SUB benefits cut-off and asserted that affected employees would have to be completely reimbursed for all lost payments before any agreement was signed, it docilely returned to the bargaining table a day later with an agreement to arbitrate the issue.

Actually, only 70,000 out of 190,000 URW members are out on strike. Many of the remaining union members (as well as some employees of the Big Four) are concentrated in non-tire sectors of the rubber industry which traditionally pay lower wages. By keeping these workers at their jobs, the Bommarito bureaucracy is consciously sanctioning this inequity in pay scales. Furthermore, the URW

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 110 | 21 May 1976

Zionist Settlers Set Up Military Outposts on Stolen Arab Land

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Down with Zionist Expansionism!
Not Jew Against Arab, but Class Against Class!
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

AP

Funeral in the West Bank for Lena Hassan Nabulsi, Arab woman killed by Israeli security police.

MAY 17—Yesterday morning Lena Hassan Nahulsi, a 16-year-old Arab woman, was shot down on the staircase of an apartment house in Nablus by an Israeli soldier. Nablus is the heart of the densely populated northern portion of the Israeli-occupied West Bank known as Samaria.

Historically, Samaria was bordered by Galilee to the north and Judea to the south, extended to the Mediterranean and was once an ancient kingdom of Palestine. It is today the center of resistance to the repressive Israeli occupation. With a population of 80,000, Nablus is the largest city of the West Bank and has been the scene of particularly militant protests and strikes against the military occupation, every one of which has been brutally suppressed.

The latest wave of protests in the Arab towns and villages of the West Bank was scheduled to coincide with the 28th anniversary of the creation of the Zionist state on 15 May 1948—a state established through the usurpation of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs. In Nablus these protests continued into the following morning, when hundreds of students assembled in the eastern part of the city and attempted to march toward the main square. The march was broken up and the demonstrators dispersed by club-wielding Israeli soldiers. In what has become a pattern, the soldiers pursued the demonstrators down the narrow city streets and fired "warning shots."

According to the Israeli military governor, Lena Nabulsi was "accidentally" shot by soldiers dispersing stone-throwing youths. This explanation was rejected by the mayor of Nablus, Bassan al-Shaqa, who in a 16 May *New York Times* dispatch stated that Nabulsi had been arrested several times by the Israeli military for participation in anti-Zionist protests. He asserted that, after having taken part in that morning's demonstration, Nabulsi had been followed to the home of a friend by the soldier who killed her. In any case, the murder took place 30 minutes after the demonstration had been completely dispersed.

Lena Nabulsi was the daughter of a prominent Nablus merchant and a relative of former Jordanian prime minister Suleiman Nabulsi, who was responsible for the abrogation of Jordan's client relationship with British imperialism as Washington, D.C. gradually replaced London as the main patron of the Hashemites.

After Nabulsi's murder, a demonstration formed in front of her house and was again viciously broken up by the Israeli military, with two demonstrators wounded.

continued on page 10

Stalinists Support Generals' Takeover

The Bloody Repression Behind "Gentleman's Coup" in Argentina

MAY 15—Only the most foggy-minded liberals and groveling fake-left reformists are fooled by the sheep's clothing the Argentine military junta wore for its coup. Seven weeks have passed since Videla's "reluctant generals" took power and the last bastions of Peronism ignominiously surrendered, too cravenly helpless to lift a finger.

Though official information is selective, as the junta seeks to avoid "excessive publicity," the magnitude of the threat facing the Argentine masses becomes increasingly obvious. The *gorilas* have been carrying out their repression with escalating ferocity while still trying to maintain the public-relations facade designed to differentiate them from their despised Chilean counterparts.

Under a shroud of secrecy, the blows of vicious reaction rain down with terrible vindictiveness upon labor militants and leftists. Amnesty International estimates that 20,000-30,000 people have been arrested since the coup. The most elementary democratic rights are trampled underfoot by the military; the right to political asylum has been abrogated, with the Argentine authorities having apparently issued a "blacklist" of individuals who are not to be sheltered by the embassies (*Le Monde*, 15 May).

The plight of foreign political refugees—exiles from rightist terror in Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and elsewhere, for whom Argentina represented the only hope of a tenuous and miserable safety—is particularly perilous. Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez, arrested by the Argentine junta April 10, was handed over to the murderous custody of Chilean officials on April 27. Now being held at Monte-Maravilla in Chile, according to *Le Monde*, Enriquez is certainly undergoing the most barbarous torture—if indeed he is still alive. A broad campaign must be built to demand his immediate liberation from the blood-stained hands of Pinochet's butchers.

The Chilean and other refugees, driven from their homes by the persecution of military dictatorships, literally have nowhere to turn. In one incident reported in the *Washington Post* (30 March), 35 Chileans living in UN refugee centers in Argentina were seized and arrested. A letter appealing for solidarity with Enriquez (*New York Times*, 8 May) reported that in the first week after the coup three UN-sponsored hotels for exiles were raided and the refugees held for interro-

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Videla Delivers MIR Leader Enríquez to Chilean Butchers

PAGE 5

Editorial Notes

PL Tells How Mayor White Really Fights Racism

The red-starred May Day issue of *Challenge*, newspaper of the Progressive Labor Party (PL), carries a headline striking in its apparent incongruity. Amidst the hyper-militant "Smash the Bosses, Fight for Socialism" rhetoric, we discover "Boston: 100,000 Reject Race War," a fulsomely enthusiastic description of the April 23 "March Against Violence" organized by none other than Mayor Kevin White, who in PL's crude Marxoid terminology can be called the "boss of Boston."

Contrary to PL's assertion that "the March Against Violence proved that the immense majority of workers here do not want race war," the law-and-order demonstration proved only that the liberal politicians do not want trouble. Political careers and ambitions for higher office get washed away when blood flows in the streets.

For all of PL's notorious adventurist rhetoric, its crowing over this pious procession of the bourgeoisie demonstrates its underlying liberalism and political bankruptcy. With typical Stalinist contempt for the truth, *Challenge* features a front-page photo of the march captioned "Black and white construction workers rebuff ROAR fascists." PL "neglects" to mention, however, that construction workers, along with many state and city employees, were given time off with pay and strongly encouraged by their employers and by many union bureaucrats to articipate. PL also "forgets" to mention that the procession was explicitly designated as apolitical in order not to offend the racist anti-busing leaders whom White and other politicians begged to attend. Some "rebuff" to ROAR!

PL even managed to come out to the right of the ultra-reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on this question. *Challenge* self-righteously notes that "A Trotskyte [sic] group, the [SWP-dominated] National Student Coalition Against Racism, canceled a Boston cakewalk on April 24, because they were intimidated by the bosses and have no confidence in black or white workers." But if the SWP's proposed march—which was indeed another attempt by this fake-left outfit to prostitute itself to liberal politicians—was a "cakewalk," what was the April 23 march? The latter was not even pro-busing!

When PL first oriented its "peoples' organizations" (read "front groups") to liberal, single-issue, "anti-racism" campaigns, we noted that, despite continuing left rhetoric and occasional tactical zigzags, the organization had entered a period of extreme rightward degeneration. There is a class-collaborationist "logic" linking the SDS campaign to purify the universities by burning racist texthooks with the PL-dominated Committee Against Racism's "Freedom Summer" petition campaign (which requested the city to improve the schools and jail racist leaders) and with *Challenge*'s support to Mayor White's march. These gimmicks are aimed at pressuring the bourgeois state into reforming the capitalist system by attempting to rid it of racism, sexual oppression, imperialism and so on. Such a strategy has nothing in common with Marxism, which understands that these evils are part and parcel of capitalist class society and can be eliminated only by a revolutionary assault by the proletariat on bourgeois class rule.

Political Bedfellows for the MPLA

NEW YORK CITY—At a well-attended Spartacist League forum on "The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa" held here on May Day, supporters of several pseudo-Trotskyist groupings assailed the SL during the lively discussion period for refusing to recognize the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as the "progressive" representative of the Angolan masses.

Although these opportunists hold counterposed positions on the fundamental question of the political nature of the MPLA's Russian and Cuban sponsors, their common appetite to tail a momentarily popular movement served to unite them in vociferous opposition to the SL's intransigent insistence on the necessity for an independent working-class orientation in Angola.

Spokesmen for the Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC) and the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP)—both decomposition products of the cliquist disintegration of the Revolutionary Socialist League—charged the SL with capitulating to imperialism because of our refusal to give the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA unconditional military support against its rivals in the period preceding the South African invasion and the massive introduction of Cuban troops.

The SL insisted that the MPLA in power—like its nationalist competitors, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—would establish an anti-proletarian bourgeois regime. This position has already been confirmed: the "progressive" MPLA is now consolidating its rule by smashing the left and suppressing every form of working-class independence.

For the sake of consistency, the RMC and LRP—both of which spout the anti-communist position that the Soviet Union, Cuba and other bureaucratically deformed workers states are totalitarian "state capitalist" regimes—should have opposed the MPLA from the outset as a "pawn of red imperialism" not essentially different from the FNLA/UNITA "pawns of imperialism." But the methodology of opportunists is opportunism: never have these groups denounced "red imperialism" in public meetings on Angola. Instead, they rationalize their support for the MPLA on the ridiculous pretense that the massive influx of aid from "imperialist" Russia and the introduction of at least 12,000 crack troops from "capitalist" Cuba were inconsequential.

While the RMC and LRP capitulated to the MPLA *in spite* of its subordination to so-called "red imperialism," another speaker at the forum from the Communist Cadre (CC)—a recent spin-off from the therapy cult known as the International Workers Party—hailed the MPLA *because of* its reliance on the Soviet bloc. In the Stalinoid tradition of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, the CC claims that the "global class war" between the imperialists and the "workers states" compels the Soviet Union and Cuba to play a revolutionary role in Angola: "If Angola is not a workers state, I don't know what is," the CC speaker concluded with a declaration of his massive political ignorance. He was, however, unable to explain why the USSR and China were on opposite sides of the Angolan conflict in this "global class war."

For these capitulators to Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism, the realities of Angola—the preservation of capitalist property relations, the accommodation to imperialism, the anti-working-class policies of the regime—mean nothing. In fact, the CC speaker had the temerity to claim that "socialist" Mozambique continues to supply South Africa with contract labor, as under the Portuguese, simply as a means of smuggling "organizers" into the country!

The formal politics of the "state capitalists" and the "global class warriors" are certainly quite different. And their historic origins represent diametrically opposite responses to the pressures of U.S. imperialism: the "state capitalists" originated as a tendency capitulating to imperialism and refusing to defend the USSR against imperialist attack at the time of the Second World War, while the CC traces its roots to the Marcy tendency which, as a reaction to the Cold War, accommodated to Stalinism. Yet today both tendencies find common cause as apologists for petty-bourgeois nationalists standing opposed to the class interests of the Angolan workers.

Bureaucratic Scramble for Control

Bridges' Grip Loosens in ILWU Local 10 Elections

SAN FRANCISCO, May 16—After nearly six months' delay caused by outrageous bureaucratic intrigue, Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) finally completed its elections on May 15. The results show a significant decline in the influence of International president Harry Bridges, but unfortunately the main beneficiaries of the leftward shift were aspiring bureaucrats who are programmatically indistinguishable from Bridges.

The Local 10 elections took place in two parts, beginning with primary elections on April 17 and concluding with yesterday's balloting. Overall, Bridges was successful in getting only one reliable supporter elected in voting for several key offices, including president, vice president, secretary-treasurer, and representative to the Area Labor Relations Committee. In addition, several well-known militants won positions on the 35-member executive board: Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, publishers of the class-struggle organ *Longshore Militant* (*LM*) were re-elected with votes of 296 and 273 respectively, reflecting an improved position over last year. Archie Brown, a well-known Communist Party (CP) supporter, was also elected with 382 votes.

The shift in membership support away from union officials openly linked to Bridges is the result of deeply felt dissatisfaction with the class-collaborationist policies of the International. Longshoremen have found themselves increasingly without jobs, with many dockers working only one or two days a week, while the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP), which is supposed to provide longshoremen unable to get sufficient work with supplementary pay, has been sharply cut back. Meanwhile, the union hiring hall is being steadily eroded and work gangs are being eliminated. The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA, the employers' organization) has also made clear its intention to undertake a massive deregistration of both A-member (full status) and B-member longshoremen. Bridges has done nothing in the face of these attacks.

Bureaucratic Intriguing

Aware of his growing unpopularity, Bridges has attempted to maintain control over Local 10, the key local in the ILWU, through bureaucratic skullduggery. The current elections were preceded by the ouster from local presidency of Larry Wing, who has been a key figure among anti-Bridges bureaucrats in Local 10. Wing was removed from office on trumped-up charges of "malfeasance and misfeasance" stemming from his correct stance opposing ILWU raiding in 1975 of unions affiliated to the SIU. (In the April balloting Wing was vindicated of these charges for a second time by the membership, this time by a vote of 686 to 588.)

Elections were then held initially on January 10 by acting president Watkins, a pro-Bridges official, in defiance of the local executive board, which had ordered the elections postponed in order to include candidates who had been arbitrarily removed from the ballot, such as Larry Wing, Herb Mills and Andrew Delaney. Wing responded by the dangerous ploy of attempting to get a court order postponing the January 10 elections, thus inviting the government into the union. However, the elections were held anyway.

An angry membership meeting of January 15 ordered the elections rescheduled with all candidates restored to the ballot, but in a high-handed countermove, Bridges canceled the February 14 elections and announced that the matter would be resolved at a meeting of the International Executive Board (IEB). Apparently the IEB found the stalling too blatant and overruled Bridges. The primary elections finally took place on April 17 and the runoffs on May 15.

In the interim, the squabbling between pro- and anti-Bridges bureaucrats largely paralyzed the local. How-

ever the warring factions shelved their differences in order to stifle any class-struggle response among the ranks to the increasingly virulent employer attacks. When the PMA attempted to impose the "200 hours rule" (which would force longshoremen to work 200 hours per quarter to qualify for PGP benefits) in January, the local voted to strike. But the strike was scuttled at a January 22 local executive board meeting by both pro-Bridges forces and those supporting Wing.

Of all the would-be leaders, including the bunch just voted into office, only Gow and Keylor argued for a militant response. Their January 20 leaflet called for a coastwide strike to abolish the 200 hours rule and to "restore *all* cutbacks on boards, gangs and PGP" by demanding "jobs for all longshoremen through a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay" and immediate promotion of all B-men to A status.

Fight for Jobs

Meanwhile, new problems compounding existing ones confront the Local 10 membership. The local faces a severe financial crisis. A recent separate election returned control of the Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association, which owns the hiring hall, to pro-Bridges forces. A new attempt by this group to sell the choice property on which the hall is located to Bridges' old pal Alioto—whose family is deeply enmeshed in the shipping industry—could unleash more turmoil in the local (a major squabble in Local 10 was touched off earlier by such an attempt). In addition, there are rumors that Stan Weir's 12-year-old law suit against the union and the PMA has been settled, and this could mean a financial disaster for the local as well.

While reformists like Archie Brown have been pushing schemes like "work or wages" (an improved PGP!), none dares face the necessity to strike against the contract in order to win anything. Again, only Gow and Keylor have called for a strike linked to the demand for elected strike committees to guard against sabotage by Bridges.

The Local 6 warehouse contract expires on June 1. Already Local 6 is involved in bitter strikes such as at Nestle's, while the use of police as scabherders has become more blatant since the defeat of the SF craft workers' strike. Bridges has allowed the warehouse strikes to become isolated just as he deliberately let the SF city workers go down alone. A recent vote by the ILWU Local 34 (clerks) stewards' council calling for not handling Nestle's products points the way forward. But the bureaucracy has repeatedly ignored similar calls for labor solidarity. Only a new class-struggle leadership based on the program of *Longshore Militant* can unite the membership and succeed in turning back the employers' offensive. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Chicago Trial Confirms FBI Killed Hampton, Clark

FBI Chief Kelley's Whitewash Fails "De-Hooverization" a Fraud

Lawyers for the survivors of the 1969 Chicago police raid which killed Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark have laboriously unearthed a mass of evidence exposing the FBI's role in masterminding the hit-squad conspiracy. Meanwhile, in yet another of the rituals of contrition that dominate post-Watergate bourgeois politics, FBI director Clarence Kelley sought to distance himself from the crimes of his notorious predecessor, J. Edgar Hoover.

In a pettifogging little sermon delivered in Fulton, Missouri on May 7, Kelley admitted that some of the federal snoopers' activities "during the twilight" of Hoover's iron-fisted reign had been "clearly wrong and quite indefensible." "We are truly sorry we were responsible for instances which now are subject to such criticism," said the oh-so-humble Kelley.

Under pressure to clean up the FBI's image after the report of the Church committee had condemned the bureau's "counter-intelligence" programs (Cointelpro) as "illegal and immoral," Kelley promised the FBI would never again operate "without accountability." But lest he trample on the flat feet of too many old Hoover-loyal agents, Kelley tempered his self-serving apology for more than a decade of harassment, provocation and murder with the claim that the FBI's "wrongful uses of power" were generally "good-faith efforts to prevent bloodshed and wanton destruction of property" (*New York Times*, 9 May).

Noting that "there is no record that the agents who directed and engaged in such programs were prosecuted for their crimes or even faced administrative discipline," the 12 May *New York Times* editorialized that "it is difficult to be entirely comfortable either about the FBI or the liberties of American citizens." If the *New York Times* is not "entirely comfortable," imagine how the blacks, leftists and labor militants who are the regular targets of FBI harassment view the attempted sanitizing of America's secret political police!

While Kelley tries to launder FBI dirty tricks and the liberal bourgeoisie sweats itself into a genteel lather over the "uses of power," the FBI's filthy work continues to be uncovered. The no-holds-barred criminality routinely practiced in the enforcement of bourgeois "law and order" has been exposed again in the $47.7 million civil damages suit brought in the Hampton-Clark case (see "Jail Murderers of Hampton and Clark!", *WV* No. 99, 5 March 1976). Despite suppression of FBI documents, the stone-walling "I don't recollect" testimony of government witnesses and the complicity of the judge in covering the FBI's blood-stained tracks, the plaintiffs' lawyers have exposed the direct links between the Hampton-Clark murder raid and Hoover's orders to "destroy, discredit or otherwise neutralize" the Panthers as a central goal of Cointelpro.

The plaintiffs faced an uphill struggle. When the trial opened in early January, Judge Samuel Perry ordered the government to turn over relevant Cointelpro files on the Illinois Panthers but allowed the FBI, i.e., the defendants, to delete "sensitive or immaterial" information. Arguments over the plaintiffs' demand to see all the files dominated the first two months of the trial.

The game was given away in mid-March when Roy Mitchell of the Chicago FBI's Racial Matters Squad inadvertently mentioned a report by agent provocateur William O'Neal which was not recorded in any of the material submitted to the plaintiffs. The trial was halted and the embarrassed judge ordered the missing documents procured. A foot-high stack of withheld files produced that afternoon still did not yield the missing report.

The next day, four cartloads of documents were hauled into the courtroom. The new material took up no less than 40 feet of filing space. But the judge refused a motion to delay the proceedings until the plaintiffs could review the mountain of new evidence (*The Black Panther*, 24 April). Judge Perry, who had already presided over and dismissed charges in the earlier criminal trial of the cops who were the actual triggermen in the Hampton-Clark slaying, continued to run interference for the 28 local and federal cops now on trial. He denied a motion for a mistrial and refused to rule on contempt of court charges filed against the FBI defendants and their Justice Department lawyers. "Just leave me alone," barked the irascible judge.

The judge then claimed that the new documents were "useless" or "only about one percent useful" to the plaintiffs, whose attorneys replied by citing a few samples. One report by an FBI agent, written shortly after the death raid, requested a $300 bonus for Panther infiltrator O'Neal. Other documents established that all the known weapons in the Panthers' apartment had been acquired legally, thereby disproving the official justification for the raid. The records also indicated minute FBI scrutiny of Hampton from the time of his involvement in the NAACP in 1967 until his death.

Fred Hampton UPI

Such revelations provide the context for Kelley's shoddy attempt to divorce the FBI's current activities from its past "mistakes." Even the cautious report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities admitted the investigation had been unable to determine "the extent to which Cointelpro may be continuing" and cited at least three such operations carried out since the formal dismantling of the programs in April 1971 (*New York Times*, 9 May). The bureau's "black bag" burglaries are known to have continued at least into 1975, two years after Kelley's appointment.

Last fall it was revealed that the FBI "has maintained a file on most of the 15,000 names of individuals once targeted for detention in a declared national emergency" (*New York Times*, 25 October 1975). A former FBI informer, Joseph Burton, told the *New York Times* (24 February 1975) that from 1972 to 1974 he had been employed by the bureau to set up a bogus "Marxist-Leninist" collective in Tampa, instigate violence during street demon-

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AP

Dennis Brack/Black Star

Late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, left, a hard act to follow for FBI Director Clarence Kelley, right.

Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

AUSTRALIA
Australasian Meat Industries Employees Union
Laurie Brereton, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales
A E Bull, Sec'y, Waterside Workers Federation of Australia*, Melbourne branch
Hon Dr Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party (ALP)*
Hon Dr Moss Cass, House of Representatives, ALP*
Senator Ruth Coleman, ALP*
Federated Engine Drivers and Fireman's Association of Australia, Victoria and New South Wales branches
Senator Arthur Gietzelt, ALP*
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Seamen's Union of Australia
Ship Painters and Dockers Union, Victoria
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Waterside Workers Federation of Australia

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Black Education Project
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H Dubedout, meyor of Grenoble
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Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana, New York
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William M Shepherd, Prof of Economics, U of Michigan'
Carl Shier, Internationel Representative; UAW'
Socialist Party S Central Wisconsin local
Roney L Sorenson, Alderman Dist 5, Madison, Wi
Martin Sostre
Spark
Stan Steiner, author *La Raza*
I F Stone
Student Government, University of Illinois*, Circle Campus
Doris E Strieter, Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile'
Willie Tate, defendant, San Quentin Six
Walter Teague, Friends of Indochina
Studs Terkel, author
Tom Thompson, editor, *Los Angeles Vanguard*
Rip Torn, actor/director
United Farmworker Support Committee, Madison, Wi
University of Chicago Student Government
Arturo Vazquez, Latin American Studies Dept. U of Illinois', Circle Campus
Virgil J Vogel, Sec'y, Socialist Party of Illinois*
Anthony Walsh, National Lawyers Guild*
Warehouse Militant, S F
John F Weeks, Dept of Economics, U of Wisconsin*
What She Wants
John K Whitmore, Prof, U of Michigan'
Sidney E William, Youth Vision Integrity'
Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd
Bernard Wiltshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee
Howard Zinn
Marvin Zonis, Prof, U of Chicago'
Eddison J M Zvobgo, ZANU'

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

☐ I endorse*
☐ My organization endorses*
the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Muñoz!
Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!
Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!
Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____
Organization _____
Address _____
_____

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.
☐ I pledge $_____ to help save Mario Muñoz. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee. Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

MIR Leader Extradited to Chile

Free Edgardo Enríquez!

Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez

Lotta Continua

Edgardo Enríquez has been delivered into the blood-stained hands of the Chilean secret political police by the Argentine military junta. Enríquez, a leader of the far-left Chilean Movimiento Izquierdista Revolucionario (MIR—Revolutionary Left Movement), was working clandestinely in Argentina when he was arrested April 10. On April 27 he was handed over to the Chilean authorities for extradition. Now being held at Monte-Maravilla in Chile, he is probably undergoing savage torture and faces execution. The only force which will free him is a massive campaign of international protest. Edgardo Enríquez must not die!

Edgardo Enríquez Espinoza, 34 years old, was working in Argentina with the Junta of Revolutionary Coordination (which includes the MIR, the Argentine ERP, the Uruguayan Tupamaros and the Bolivian ELN), according to a 22 April communiqué of the MIR's Exterior Committee in Costa Rica. Seized along with him was Regina Marcondes, a Brazilian national. A member of the MIR since 1965 and of its leadership, Edgardo Enríquez is the brother of former MIR secretary-general Miguel Enríquez, who was killed by the Chilean military in 1974.

The ferocity of the repression in Pinochet's Chile has embarrassed the international bourgeoisie, which prefers greater discretion on the part of imperialism's lackeys. General Videla's Argentine junta hopes to avoid following Pinochet into public-opinion quarantine, and is seeking to hide its brutalities behind a mask of "moderation." This smokescreen must be exposed. Videla's henchmen have handed Enríquez over to the bloodthirsty butchers who stridently proclaim their war to the death against guerrillas and left-wing and labor militants.

Behind the Videla regime's lies and censorship, a reign of savage terror has been unleashed against Argentine radicals and unionists and against the thousands of political refugees who fled to Argentina to escape Pinochet's butchers and their counterparts in Brazil, Uruguay and elsewhere. Two days after the March 24 coup, the Argentine junta decreed its intention to expel foreigners who "abused...traditional Argentine generosity" or were involved in activities which "affect social peace, national security or public order" (*Argentina Information*, April 1976).

In the name of preserving this "public order" of official police-state terror and rampaging extra-legal ultra-rightist assassination squads, UN refugee camps are raided and refugees turned over to the merciless grip of the police of their respective countries, who are given free use of Argentine police stations to carry out their "interrogations." This is the reality behind Videla's cynical "respectability" ploy.

Our sharp disagreements with the MIR's futile guerrillaism and class-collaborationist orientation of seeking a common program with bourgeois opponents of Pinochet's dictatorship will not impede our anti-sectarian solidarity with Edgardo Enríquez and all the victims of rightist terror.

The reactionary military dictatorships have joined forces to track down and murder the exiled leaders of the Latin American working masses. Videla's henchmen have delivered Enríquez into the hands of his torturers; his life hangs in the balance. All labor militants and socialists, all those concerned with justice, must raise their voices now in united and forceful protest against this atrocity. Freedom for Edgardo Enríquez! Freedom for all class-war prisoners!

Messages of solidarity and support may be sent to: Office for Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Chile, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. ■

May 15, 1976

PDC TELEGRAM

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
General Caesar Guzetti
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Ambassador Rafael Vazquez
Argentine Embassy
1600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Minister of the Interior
General Caesar Benavides
Government Building
Santiago, Chile

Demand official statement on status and whereabouts of Edgardo Enriquez, Chilean, and Brazilian national Mrs. Regina Marcondes, arrested Buenos Aires April 10 by Argentine armed forces. We protest their arrest, demand that their human rights be respected, and call for their freedom.

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

USLA Sectarians Pull Out in Anti-Communist Panic

Build the Campaign to Save Mario Muñoz!

MAY 18—The campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz, Chilean miner, workers' leader and hunted refugee, has enlisted the active support of many labor leaders, leftists, prominent individuals and organizations committed to the fight against bloody right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina. Public protests have been organized in several countries. Most recently in the U.S., a demonstration was held at the Argentine consulate in San Francisco yesterday. Among recent U.S. endorsers of the campaign are well-known Bay Area attorney Charles Garry and National Lawyers Guild president William Goodman.

A petition circulated in France and Germany has obtained many signatures. In Grenoble, France, where the petition was signed by 647 people, mayor H. Dubedout personally lent his support. In France the campaign has also been endorsed by the Parti Socialiste Unifié, Jean-Paul Sartre, the Association Française des Juristes Démocrates and Pierre Lambert, veteran leader of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. The 15 May *Le Monde* carried an article on the dangerous plight of Chilean refugees trapped by the coup in Argentina, noting the manhunt which imperils Muñoz.

The extreme urgency of the situation has brought together in defense of Muñoz many who hold sharply counterposed positions on many political questions. Hatred for the blood-stained torturers of the Pinochet and Videla juntas runs so deep that a broad array of forces, in spite of their differences, are collaborating in this exemplary international defense campaign.

USLA Withdraws Endorsement

In a campaign characterized above all by the spirit of non-sectarian mobilization, an ugly incident this week of sectarian abstention stands out in sharp contrast. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), dominated by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), withdrew its previous verbal endorsement.

USLA spokesman Mike Kelly informed the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC—joint sponsor of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz) on May 17 that his organization was withdrawing support because of the campaign's "sectarian" character. Surely this is an outrageous example of the criminal blaming the victim for the crime! USLA—not the broadly-supported Muñoz campaign—is guilty of sectarianism, a necessary by-product of its appetite for liberal bourgeois respectability.

Kelly objected specifically to a demonstration at the Argentine consulate in New York on April 22 (for which USLA had mobilized nobody). He complained that the Spartacist League and others among the 175 demonstrators, who included supporters from nearly a dozen different organizations, ended the rally by singing the "Internationale." With rare candor, Kelly explained that USLA would not take part in a defense effort with organizations who "openly advocated communism."

In other words, as a precondition for supporting defense campaigns USLA explicitly demands the suppression of groups which advocate revolutionary politics! In pursuit of respectability, USLA has now launched a despicable red-baiting attack on the Mario Muñoz campaign, its class-struggle sponsors in the PDC and particularly the participation of the revolutionary Trotskyists of the SL.

USLA's ignominious, red-scared exit belies even its claim to a civil libertarian defense of the democratic rights of victimized militants. Simply stated, USLA will participate only in coalitions dominated by liberal bourgeois politics. Unlike the civil libertarians who are supporting the campaign, the sneering anti-communists of USLA have cut and run.

The question of drawing a class line in defense work stands at the heart of the SL's and PDC's long-standing disagreement with USLA's main slogan, "Free All Political Prisoners." USLA has never repudiated in principle the defense of reactionary and fascist political prisoners, and indeed its parent organization, the SWP, actively champions the "right" of fascists to propagate their genocidal doctrines.

This so-called "civil liberties approach" inexorably leads USLA to subordinate itself to the sensitivities and self-serving interests of bourgeois politicians while criminally refusing to take part in defense activities where all participants are free to put forward their politics. Always willing to take up the cause of prominent intellectuals and former members of the Unidad Popular government in Chile, USLA pulls back from the defense of Mario Muñoz, a genuine leader of the Chilean proletariat and left critic of the Salvador Allende government. The message is clear: red-baiting and not defense against right-wing terror defines the work of USLA. It is this sort of shameful sectarianism which underlines the need for the PDC's class-struggle defense orientation. ■

The National Question in Yugoslavia

Hans W. Silvester

Market day in Peć, Kosovo-Metohija autonomous province, a predominantly Albanian area.

Part 2 of 2

As part of its efforts to overcome national antagonisms between the peoples in Yugoslavia during the partisan struggle against Axis occupiers in World War II, the Communist Party (CPY) again recognized the right of self-determination, which had been dropped when the party became Yugoslav patriots in the popular-front period of the late 1930's. The second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation, in 1943, decided upon a federal structure for the post-war state, and the institutional framework was set up with the passage of a constitution in late 1945 establishing the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ):

> "a community of peoples equal in rights who, on the basis of the right to self-determination including the right of secession, have expressed their will to live together in a federative state."
>
> —Article 1 of the FNRJ constitution, quoted in Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question*, 1968

The federative state included six republics: Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia; the latter containing the autonomous region of Kosovo-Metohija (heavily Albanian in population) and the autonomous province of Vojvodina. Five nations were recognized, the Serbs, the Croats, the Slovenes, the Macedonians and the Montenegrins. Later a sixth "nation" was recognized, the Muslims.

Concentrated mainly in Bosnia and Hercegovina, many of the latter are descendants of Bosnian nobility, the Bogomil heretics of the Middle Ages, so persecuted by their Christian brothers that they embraced Islam during the Turkish occupation. Although not a nation in the Marxist sense, the Muslims constitute a distinct grouping. The official classification of them is a reflection of the perceptions of the populace, who are still deeply influenced by centuries of Ottoman rule when nation and religious affiliation were held to be identical. The classification of the Montenegrins as a separate nation is also debatable. Nonetheless, Tito's policy of devolution, according many political and economic decisions to the various republics, has encouraged the expression of Montenegrin nationalism.

Ill-Fated Balkan Federation

While the ending of pogroms and murderous national conflicts was a historic achievement of the Yugoslav revolution, the antagonisms among the South Slav peoples cannot be overcome within the borders of present-day Yugoslavia. Already in the 1870's, Serbian socialists had put forward the proposal for a Balkan federation extending from Rumania to Greece. The Second International later took up the demand as the only way to pull the fuse from the Balkan powder keg, which continuously threatened to explode as a result of a great-power scramble to control the peninsula.

Following the devastation of the first imperialist world war, sparked by Balkan tensions, the nascent Communist International insisted that the bourgeoisie was unable to transcend national rivalries and a Balkan federation would only come about through proletarian revolution. When the Bulgarian Narrow Socialist Party (the "Tesnyaki")—before the war the closest of the European socialist parties to Lenin's Bolsheviks—changed its name to Communist at a May 1919 congress, it issued a call for a Balkan Federation of Soviet Republics (Joseph Rothschild, *The Communist Party of Bulgaria*, 1959).

With CPY leader Sima Marković downplaying the national question in general—and rejecting the call for an autonomous Macedonia in a Balkan federation in particular—the Balkan-Danube Communist Federation hardly got off the ground. Later, after Stalin had Marković ousted as Yugoslav party chief in 1925, the demand for a federation was ritually repeated by the CPY but remained a dead letter. It was abandoned altogether in the popular-front period, when each national party swore its commitment to defend the inviolability of every inch of soil awarded its respective country by the imperialists at Versailles.

After World War II, with Tito's partisans reigning supreme in Belgrade and the Russian army occupying Bulgaria and Rumania, the call for a Balkan federation regained currency. However, the underlying motivations of the different Stalinists had nothing to do with attempting to resolve the national question or with the struggle to oust the domestic bourgeoisie and extend proletarian rule throughout the strategic peninsula; on the contrary, their aims were purely bureaucratic. Thus the Yugoslav Communist Party favored the plan because it assumed that as the largest component, and with the prestige of having conquered power on its own, it would control any federation; Bulgarian leader Grigori Dimitrov, in turn, hacked federation because he considered Tito his protégé; and Stalin saw it as a means to control the rebellious CPY!

The Titoists' commitment to the Stalinist ideology of building "socialism in one country" was clearly demonstrated in the demise of plans for a Balkan federation. Although a peninsular federation would have provided the framework for an equitable solution to the thorny Macedonian problem, the Yugoslavs dropped their earlier demands for Macedonian unification after the Greek Communist Party (KKE), under pressure from Stalin, abandoned guerrilla struggle against the British occupation troops in 1945. Although CPY agitation around the Macedonian minority in Greece was revived in 1946, all mention of self-determination for the peoples of the Aegean region was once again dropped toward the end of that year under pressure from the KKE.

As for the federation plans, they were shelved as a consequence of Tito's bureaucratic split with the Kremlin in 1948:

> "In March the Yugoslavs informed the Bulgarians of their decision, taken after the February conference with Soviet leaders in Moscow, to oppose the establishment of a Balkan federation....
>
> "Following the outbreak of the dispute with the Soviet Union . . . overnight Belgrade became the staunch defender of the status quo in the Balkans...."
>
> —Shoup, *op. cit*

This abrupt shift by Tito was matched by an equally abrupt about-face by Stalin, who just prior to his break with Tito had opposed federation, fearing it would undercut Soviet influence in the Balkans. Following the split he demagogically insisted on federation with the intent to bring the Titoists to heel.

Macedonia

The decision by the CPY to accord the Macedonians status as a nation has been the subject of bitter discord between Yugoslavia and both Bulgaria and Greece. Thus in 1974 Yugoslav commentators bitterly assailed the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* for "having falsified the history of the Macedonian people" by supporting Bulgaria's current position that there is no historically separate Macedonian people and that Macedonian history is really Bulgarian history.

Disputes on the Macedonian question, often punctuated with pistol fire, have been raging for nearly a century. Possession of the region has been hotly contested by Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbs ever since the breakup of the Ottoman empire.

It is a fact that the bulk of the Macedonian Slavs were drawn into the struggles of the Bulgarians for national independence from Turkish rule and that Bulgarian influence has always been extremely strong among them. But even among the Macedonians themselves there has been a great deal of ambiguity about their national identity. For example, Gregor Prličev, the outstanding Macedonian poet of the 19th century, was educated in Greek schools and wrote his first major work in the Greek language. Later he rejected Hellenism and battled in Macedonia against Greek influence in the church.

Yugoslav Information Service

Assembly line at "Red Banner" auto plant at Kragujevac near Belgrade.

Later still, he emigrated to Bulgaria and became a librarian in the Bulgarian national library in Sofia, where he unsuccessfully tried to translate the *Iliad* into Bulgarian.

Similarly, the nationalist Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), which carried on guerrilla and terrorist operations against the Serb monarchy of interwar Yugoslavia, was from its inception split between an "autonomist" wing and one desiring unification with Bulgaria. Yet even IMRO "autonomists" such as the Macedonian national hero Goce Delčev wrote in the Bulgarian language.

During the Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia in World War I large numbers of the Macedonian petty bourgeoisie were given posts as civil servants or teachers by the Bulgarian occupation authorities. With the return of large areas of Macedonia to Yugoslavia after the war and in reaction to Belgrade's policy of forced Serbization these forces flocked to IMRO and launched a bitter resistance. IMRO itself was to degenerate following a bloody split in 1924 in which the pro-Bulgarians ousted the "autonomists," eventually ending up little more than a tool of the Bulgarian far right.

Reoccupation of the area by Bulgarian troops in World War II was at first greeted by the populace as a liberation. But this time the civil servants and teachers were Bulgarians imported from Bulgaria proper, causing considerable disgruntlement among the Macedonian petty bourgeoisie. As the occupation continued the Macedonians became increasingly disenchanted with their Bulgarian and German occupiers.

By following a policy of guerrilla struggle against the occupation forces (a policy resisted by the Bulgarian Communist Party) and stressing that Macedonia was a nation entitled to its national rights, the CPY was able to counter the early pro-Bulgarian sentiment (which had led a section of the CPY's Macedonian cadre to go over to the Bulgarian CP!) and by the end of the war achieve wide popular support.

A separate Macedonian republic was established shortly after the war and agreement was obtained from the Bulgarian CP to unite the Macedonians of the Pirin region of Bulgaria with the Yugoslav Macedonian republic. The Yugoslav Stalinists also moved to create a somewhat artificial literary language from a southwest Macedonian dialect which bore the least resemblance to Serbian or Bulgarian. Eventually the government moved to encourage the Macedonians to form their own Macedonian Orthodox Church, and in general did all it could to promote Macedonian national consciousness.

The test of the CPY's Macedonia policies came in 1948 during the break with the Comintern and the consequent shattering of hopes for a Balkan federation. Preferring Titoism to Bulgarian Stalinism, the Macedonian party organization rallied to Tito to a greater degree than any of the other parties.

Nonetheless, the Tito-Stalin split and the defeat of the Greek revolution leave the Macedonian people divided between Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece. While many observers contend that Tito's policies led to the crystallization of a Macedonian nation after the war and point especially to the fact that the Macedonian language created some 30 years ago is taking hold, the democratic resolution of the question awaits a successful socialist revolution in Greece and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies in Belgrade and Sofia.

The Albanian National Minority

One of the peoples which has paid the price for Tito's cultivation of Macedonian nationalism has been the Albanian minority residing in western Macedonia. As a people they have been systematically discriminated against in the new republic. This region and the autonomous province of Kosovo-Metohija, also bordering on Albania, contain over one million Albanians, i.e., nearly half the population of Albania proper. The Kosmet is the most backward region of Yugoslavia and, from the time of the Tito-Stalin split up until the purge of secret police chief Alexander Rankovič in 1966, was under the dominance of the Serb and Montenegrin minorities living in the area.

With the easing of pressures after 1966 the Albanians began to demand more autonomy and rights. In 1968 riots against the Tito government occurred in both western Macedonia and the Kos-

B Charlon

Josip Broz Tito

met. These protests aimed at forcing better conditions for Albanians from the central government and were successful in obtaining a greater measure of home rule. Constitutional guarantees were given to develop the Albanian minority's cultural life. Belgrade dropped its control over higher education, and in 1969 an independent University of Priština was established.

These measures have not quieted protest, however, and the past several years have seen the rise of Albanian nationalist sentiment. While only a tiny minority of Yugoslav Albanians has publicly supported fusion of the Kosovo and western Macedonia into Albania, this above all reflects a distaste for the far more repressive and economically backward Hoxha regime in Tirana rather than loyalty to Belgrade.

Marxists should, of course, recognize the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to fuse with Albania. The border in this region was established by military conquests of the Serb bourgeoisie in 1913 and in no way reflects the national borders of Albania. Such a fusion would disrupt neither the geographical nor economic unity of Yugoslavia.

The Tito bureaucracy, however, is committed to the sacred soil grabbed by the Serbian monarchy in the Balkan Wars. Four of the leaders of a December 1974 demonstration in favor of incorporating Kosovo into Albania have been sentenced to prison terms of from three to nine years for attempting to overthrow "the constitutional order and territorial integrity" of Yugoslavia.

The Major Problem—Dinar Nationalism

Far more serious to the stability of Titoism are the not-so-distant rumblings of the old Serb-Croat conflict, fueled for this round by the conditions created by Titoism's policies of economic and political devolution. Following its break with Stalinism the Tito bureaucracy has for various reasons (see "Titoism in Trouble," *WV* No. 91, 9 January 1976) pursued a course of economic and political decentralization which limited the party's ability to control the trajectory of the economy. The economic reforms of 1965-66 ushered in the period of "market socialism" under which the individual firms, operating on a "profit" basis, competed with each other and were permitted to buy and sell on the international market. This left party organizations in a weakened position, since market criteria to a large degree supplanted politics and planning as determinants in many decisions about the economy.

Under "market socialism" the powers of the republic bureaucracies expanded enormously, along with a burgeoning in the numbers, wealth and power of non-party petty-bourgeois specialists. Concomitantly there was a growth of petty-capitalist entrepreneurs, villas on the Adriatic and other perquisites of privilege. By 1970-71, "market socialism" had brought galloping inflation, structural unemployment, widespread economic corruption and a resurgence of nationalism.

The contribution of "market socialism" to the growth of "dinar nationalism" is quite simple. Investment tended to drop in the poorer republics because of the low return it yielded. A simple glance at the capital/output ratios for the developed republics in comparison to the underdeveloped republics illustrates the magnitude of the problem. This has led to a lineup in which the bureaucrats from the industrialized republics of Croatia and Slovenia have tended, in their majority, to oppose developmental investment in the backward areas. The underdeveloped regions in turn, demand more attention to central planning and oppose "market socialism."

The differences in investment returns reflect substantial differences in income and living standards:

> "It may be an exaggeration to say, in the words of a Belgrade economist, that Yugoslavia has India and West Germany in one country, but it is not far from the truth if one substitutes Austria and Syria. In respect of living standards, cultural development and historical experience, Ljubljana has more in common with Graz or Salzburg than it has with Priština, and the Moslem peasant from Kosovo would feel more at home in Damascus than in Ljubljana."
>
> —Fred Singleton, *Twentieth-Century Yugoslavia*

Economic decentralization has given many Slovenian and Croatian bureaucrats appetites for "market socialism in one province." The confiscation by the central bank of 90 percent of the enterprises' foreign exchange earnings, with some of it going to finance and/or maintain an inefficient "political" factory in Macedonia or Montenegro, is termed "economic discrimination" or "plunder." Such attitudes find a natural culture medium among the intelligentsia and non-party specialists and very rapidly spill over into out-and-out nationalism and xenophobia.

In Slovenia, while there is a great deal of resentment at "carrying" the burden of the underdeveloped regions, there are no illusions that Slovenia can go it alone. The Slovenes are a nationally compact and homogeneous group, acutely aware of their tiny size and cognizant of the fact that outside of Yugoslavia they would be a tiny morsel to be gobbled up by bourgeois Italy and Austria. Most Slovenian nationalism finds its outlet in agitation around the Slovene population living in Austrian Carinthia.

Croatia is an entirely different matter. "Market socialism" has ignited traditional Croatian separatist yearnings, which have been voiced and encouraged by sections of the Croatian bureaucracy. An example of this resurgence of nationalist sentiment may be seen in the 1967 move by Croatian party tops to add their voices to those demanding that a constitutional amendment rank Croatian as a distinct language on an equal level with Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian. The 1954 Novi Sad declaration had sought to declare Serbo-Croat the standard literary language. In 1971 the Croatian intellectual literary and cultural society Matica Hrvatska withdrew its signature from this agreement, denouncing "linguistic unity" at any price and proclaiming the agreement had been rendered null by history.

The student strike and riots in the Croatian capital of Zagreb in December 1971 were closely related to this growing nationalist resentment, which had been smoldering for some years. Yet in September Tito had myopically proclaimed following a tour of Croatia that Croatian nationalism was a "myth." This was not the view of Croatian party leaders Mika Tripalo and Savka Dabčević-Kučar, who together had for some time been buttressing their positions by catering to the resentments and cultural nationalism blossoming in Croatia, posing as defenders of Croatian interests against depredations of the central government in Belgrade.

Tito's swift reaction in purging the offending party leaders and his subsequent moves to restore "democratic centralism" in the party and to bring Yugoslav society back under more direct party control are indicative of the alarm the Zagreb events caused in the central party leadership. The crackdown and purges launched in 1972 are still going on.

"Cominformism and Nationalism"

Yet Tito and his cohorts have had to proceed cautiously. Opposition to "market socialism" is most strong among the bureaucrats of the less developed republics and it is no accident that this is where the "Cominformists" (pro-Soviet bureaucrats) tend to be found. Thus, overlaying the national resentments is a political polarization that requires the Titoists to attempt a delicate balancing act. Tito's crackdown on the Croatian right was accompanied by repression aimed at keeping in line elements of the bureaucracy with a taste for Soviet-style Stalinism.

The bureaucrats in Moscow, of course, have been making the most of the situation—lending a sympathetic ear to Croatian nationalism while intriguing with the "Cominformists" in the Serb and Montenegrin parties. Even the fascist Ustashi claims to have discovered sympathy in Moscow for its struggle for an independent capitalist Croatia!

Some bourgeois commentators have raised the possibility of a partition of Yugoslavia, with Croatia and Slovenia breaking away and undergoing capitalist restoration while Serbia and the less developed regions would come under Soviet domination. Needless to say this would be an utterly reactionary development, although the Soviet Stalinists could well favor such an arrangment. (During World War II, Stalin himself had agreed to a scheme whereby he agreed with Churchill that British imperialism and the USSR would share 50/50 in influence in postwar Yugoslavia. The arrangement was upset by Tito's unexpected victory.)

Titoism at an Impasse

Nearly 28 years have passed since the Tito-Stalin split. In that time the liberal Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia has attempted to construct "socialism in one country with a human face." In its own terms it has failed. Now the Tito bureaucracy finds itself compelled to repress centrifugal tendencies tearing at it that were brought into being by its own policies of the last two decades.

The rekindling of national animosities is a threat to all the working masses of Yugoslavia and a signpost of the failure of Titoism. The Yugoslav Stalinists came to power in a struggle in which they were forced to combat the nationalist poisons of capitalist Yugoslavia, and the defeat of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a tremendous easing of national oppression.

Now, despite the bureaucracy's policies of cultural-national autonomy for the various South Slav nations, nationalism has flared up anew. While they have not reached the feverish level

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Argentina...

(continued from page 1)

gation, and there have been reports of buses carrying as many as 1,300 persons back to the Chilean secret police. The case of Mario Muñoz Salas, a Chilean miners' leader still being hunted by the Argentine junta, dramatizes the extreme peril facing the countless political exiles trapped in Argentina.

AAA Rampage

At the beginning of May—even as the founder of the murderous Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), former social welfare minister José Lopez Rega, was indicted along with Isabel Perón for misuse of public funds—the presidential press office ordered local newspapers and radio stations to stop reporting the discovery of the telltale bullet-riddled bodies, frequently tortured, burned or dynamited, found almost daily in vacant lots, rubbish dumps or roadside ditches. Financed from social welfare ministry funds under Lopez Rega, the AAA cop terrorists have tortured and assassinated thousands of suspected leftists and union militants in the last several years and have been busier than ever since the March 24 coup. Thirty bodies were found in one weekend alone, and the death count since the coup probably numbers several hundred.

Concern over the rising death toll has been expressed in Argentine newspapers. Though the junta's demagogic pronouncements frequently couple the "democratic" bourgeoisie's favorite theme of the state's claimed right to an exclusive monopoly on the use of force with that of its "respect for human rights," it de facto sanctions and protects the terror campaign of the AAA, as did the Perón regime. Police, hospitals and mortuaries, as well as the media, have been ordered to give no official information on political murders in cases where the victims are suspected leftists. "Only official announcements of clashes involving security forces and 'political delinquents' are authorized now" (*New York Times*, 2 May). The government censors claim that this is not censorship, but a "security measure" to keep the press from magnifying the actions of guerrilla groups, which the military asserts "are reduced to hit-and-run killings of isolated policemen or ambush attacks on poorly protected victims, such as business executives." As a government press official explained, "This is a state of war and the Government has the right to use this method to prevent enemy propaganda" (*London Times*, 26 April).

"Political Delinquents"

News embarrassing to the regime becomes "enemy propaganda" by "political delinquents," a category which covers all opponents of the regime, including those who demonstrate every intention to accommodate the new rulers, like the Peronist union leaders and the Communist Party, which critically supports the junta. The war being waged against the Argentine working class, to destroy its organized power and immiserate its masses to prop up floundering capitalism, requires a far more systematic brutality than can be implemented by the para-police squads of the AAA.

Official secrecy also covers the armed forces' systematic raids and roundups of targetted suspected "political delinquents," who are often sadistically tortured in confinement. The police and various branches of the armed services carry out their raids autonomously, and continue to compete for "most wanted" prisoners. No lists of those detained are released by authorities. It took weeks for the information that MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez, arrested April 10, had been turned over to Chilean authorities. According to a recent press release by the Authentic Party (political arm of the Montoneros), outlawed under the Perón regime, the junta's practice is to quietly arrest militants, in increasing numbers, often taking them from their homes in nocturnal raids to hold them incommunicado, with confirmation of arrest coming only weeks later, if at all. It is thus frequently impossible to tell whether the "disappeared" are victims of the government security forces or of the AAA. Every day brings more stories from parents of arrested youth, especially members of the Peronist youth movement, who report that their children have not been found in prisons or police offices after being arrested by men showing police credentials.

Labor Besieged

When leaders of the Communist Party called on General Videla in early April to affirm its loyalty to the junta and protest the ungrateful army's raids on the party's Buenos Aires headquarters that left two party members dead, Videla responded that he was powerless to prevent such incidents. According to the *Guardian* [London] (14 April), "He is said to be equally unhappy, and equally impotent in the face of summary trials of trade unionists which take place daily in distant provinces, more or less at the whim of local military commanders." Cited as an example of the arbitrary atrocities taking place is the man in Mendoza sentenced to eight years in jail for cursing a policeman who held him up for questioning in a routine traffic check.

Beneath the bonapartist strongman's revolting disingenuousness, the military is clearly internally divided, not on the program it plans for the working class, but on how to best go about accomplishing it. Richard and Cristina Whitecross, British citizens recently released after five months in Argentine jails, confirm the strength of the Pinochetists among the Argentine admirals and generals. Some bourgeois commentators claim that divisions within the armed forces have kept the junta from clearly defining a whole series of issues, from the appointment of a new chief of police, a post vacant since the coup, to what to do about the trade unions.

The present configuration of leaders is by no means assured and the impatient *gorilas* straining at their leash would dispense with the rhetoric of "moderation" and any pretense at "civilized" repression. Thus the Videla-Agosti/Masseri triumvirate skillfully plays the "soft cop/hard cop" game. An indication of the strength of the most rightist elements is the reappearance of Jesús Cappellini, ringleader of the Catholic fundamentalists of the air force, who staged the dress rehearsal coup against the Perón government in December. The air force rebels were united not only by their opposition to the Perón government and the "Communist menace," but by their belief that the rise of Communism was a direct consequence of the Reformation. Now under the tutelage of the notorious Pinochetist General Menendez, Cappellini has been named to head the Córdoba air force garrison and training school.

Meanwhile, the factories of Córdoba have been among those where the first incidents of tentative resistance to the junta's brutal regimentation of labor have taken place. According to the Mexican daily *Excelsior* (1-14 April—translated by People's Translation Service), 17 workers were arrested for holding a work stoppage at a U.S. auto plant on April 9. The plant was surrounded by troops and police who entered and arrested union delegates when 4,000 workers stopped work in the painting section of the plant, demanding their now forbidden rest break. A May 13 communiqué from the Authentic Party reports 330 workers arrested in some 20 factory raids in recent weeks. In the most massive labor confrontation since the coup more than 1,000 workers out of the 8,000 at IKA-Renault near Buenos Aires were suspended for 24 hours for staging a slowdown according to a May 7 report. Apparently the workers were protesting the junta's productivity drive and ban on union activity.

Argentine police — Informations Ouvrieres

As the junta took power it put the unions into receivership, freezing their bank accounts, arresting their leaders, shop stewards and rank-and-file activists. Military intervenors replaced elected leaders and troops occupied union offices as strikes and collective bargaining were outlawed and protective labor legislation and safety regulations suspended. The doors of the unions that spearheaded labor struggles in the past year were sealed, including the Metal Workers (UOM), Union of Automotive Machinists (SMATA), Textile Workers Association (AOT), Construction Workers Union (UOCRA) and the Press Federation (*La Opinión*, 27 March).

Though Videla's labor minister hypocritically promises the eventual return of the unions to their elected leaders, military tribunals are now in session to try Peronist civil servants and trade unionists on charges ranging from corruption to possession of arms and explosives. The AAA offensive had made possession of weapons, now outlawed, a necessary elementary measure of self-defense for labor activists. For precisely the "crime" represented by arms allegedly found when the Bakers' Union was raided six trade unionists and a minor government official were sentenced to terms ranging from three to ten years on April 8, in the first official court martial proceeding. Hugo Gonzalez, a leader of the Bakers' Union in Buenos Aires, received the maximum sentence of ten years. Two other members of his union got seven and five year sentences, while three textile unionists and a former labor ministry inspector received three years each.

The harsh sentences and massive use of troops and cops to contain the slightest suggestion of labor resistance reflect the junta's fear that the smallest spark could ignite a massive explosion, that the pre-revolutionary situation that has existed in Argentina since the 1969 "Cordobazo," has not been defused. The military took power to rule directly, as opposed to indirectly as had been the case throughout the Perón regime, precisely in order to behead and dismantle the mass organizations of a working class which has repeatedly struck back with strike waves and near-insurrections against the economic and political crises which have beset Argentina's successive military and civilian regimes for decades.

"Shock Treatments"

When Videla isn't reiterating his pledge to annihilate "political delinquents" and "subversive criminals, in whatever form," economy minister Martinez deHoz dominates the news with promises of rising unemployment and prices and falling consumer purchasing power. "Austerity, productivity and sacrifice" are demanded from the workers in order to carry out his policy of a "return to the principles of private enterprise."

Though he rejects identification of his economic policies with the notorious "shock treatments," that have demolished Chile's economy since 1973, deHoz's subordinates include a "Chicago Boy," from Milton Friedman's University of Chicago school of "free enterprise" that supplies Pinochet with economic advisers. A member of an Argentine ruling-class family which owns enormous expanses of mineral- and oil-rich Patagonia, as well as real estate in Buenos Aires, deHoz has all the appropriate credentials for his post. He is a leading stockholder in the Acindar steel monopoly, in which U.S. Steel holds a minority interest, and owns stock in Pan American World Airways as well. Educated in the U.S. and Britain, he is a close friend of David Rockefeller and headed the economy ministry under José Maria Guido, the civilian puppet installed by the military after the overthrow of Frondizi in 1962.

Predictably, a spectacular stock market boom greeted the coup with a vote of confidence. As trading dwarfed record levels with prices soaring up to 300 percent on a wide range of stocks, deHoz announced his economic measures. Price controls were removed as wages were frozen. To encourage foreign investment he projected liberalization of the exchange rates and promised a quick solution to disputes created by nationalizations of foreign holdings under the Perón regime. Foreign oil companies have been invited to explore and develop Argentine oil fields under contract to the state oil company.

Increased rates for state services and state enterprise products are to make these companies self-sufficient. Those that fail to meet profitability standards will be returned to private hands. Already the price of gasoline and electricity have increased by 30 percent. Prices for all basic necessities, including food, have soared with the lifting of price controls. The state has ended its control of foreign trade to restore private trading, and farm prices have been increased to encourage exportable production in an attempt to decrease the $9 billion foreign debt.

The federal deficit is considered the main problem behind the world record inflation, 713.4 percent from May 1975 to April 1976. Tax changes are to create revenues to cover an increased percentage of government spending; by this year only 20 percent of government expenditures were paid from tax revenues, down from 80 percent in 1970 (*New York Times*, 6 April).

Last, but not least, deHoz projects doubling unemployment to at least 6 percent of the workforce of ten million. Warning that if inflation continued at the March rate unchecked it would be 4,600 percent higher in December 1976 than in December 1975, he has begun implementation of a plan to reduce the government payroll by laying off several hundred thousand employees from all levels of government and state enterprises. Dismissed workers are to receive one month's indemnity for each year on the job.

The measures speak for themselves. If anything, the term "shock treatments" is an understatement. DeHoz himself has warned, "You cannot put the brakes on a car going 1,000 miles an hour without the passengers going through the windshield." The only "passengers" whose safety concerns him belong to the capitalist ruling class.

Rolling Out the Red Carpet

The Argentine military was handed the initiative by the criminal passivity of the workers' own leaders. The way to the junta's reactionary coup was paved by the betrayals of those who pretended to working-class leadership, from the right-Peronist CGT labor confederation tops to the Communist Party (PCA) to the "Trotskyist" social democrats of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Argentine counterpart of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party), not to mention the guerrilla groups.

Among the junta's first acts was a decree suspending the activities of all political parties and outlawing six ostensibly leftist parties, including the PST and Politica Obrera. The long-discredited PCA was not declared illegal, though its headquarters in various cities have been raided with two casualties and many arrests. Within days of the coup the PCA debased itself to the limit with a statement saluting the junta for "its respect for representative democracy, social justice, the reaffirmation of the state's role in controlling society, and the defense of the capacity for national decisiveness" (quoted from the *Militant*, 23 April).

The American CP's *Daily World* (30 March) all but called the junta "progressive," along the lines of its characterization of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, and announced the PCA's willingness to cooperate in paving the way "towards the establishment of a military and civilian government on a broad coalition basis." It is little wonder that Argentine workers generally view the CP with sneering contempt, reserving more sympathy for the guerrilla activists of the Montoneros and the PRT/ERP (Revolutionary Workers Party/People's Revolutionary Army).

However, as "authentic" Peronists, unlike Isabel Perón, the Montoneros all but openly called for a military coup, seeing the generals as a "lesser evil" than Isabel Perón and her "lopezreguista" cohorts. The attitude of the PRT/ERP was similar and the statements of its leader Mario Roberto Santucho indicate that the PRT/ERP thinks the coup signals the advent of an inevitably victorious Vietnam-style "people's war."

"After Videla—Us!"

The guerrilla movement is not the Argentine junta's ultimate target for repression. It is, however, the military's principal avowed target for annihilation—and among its excuses for the coup. The reactionary officers, who claim some tactical differences over how to best go about smashing the organized power of the working class, are united in their blood vendetta against the guerrillas.

Embarrassed by the war in Tucumán, among other things, the officers consider their casualties at the hands of the guerrillas as yet unavenged and their manhood challenged, despite the bloody repression waged with a free hand under a declared "state of siege" for some time. Shortly after the coup the army in Córdoba proudly announced that PRT political secretary Eduardo Guillermo Castellano Soto had been killed by a military patrol.

Even more significant, in the absence of a proletarian revolutionary party, the guerrillas have made some inroads in the industrial working class. The kidnapping of intransigent management, for example, has on occasion brought speedy settlement to deadlocked labor negotiations and disputes, infusing such tactics with a certain superficial appeal. But most often, the "guerrilla" label was bestowed upon labor militants and rank-and-file leaders as a pretext for the government, often in league with the Peronist union tops, to arrest striking workers en masse, intervene in the unions and get rid of rank-and-file leaders and factory committees that would defy the sellout official bureaucrats.

The coup represents a mortal threat to the Argentine guerrilla groups, which anticipated its arrival with "leftist" spontaneist illusions which can only be described as suicidal. In a March 3 *El Combatiente* article Santucho discusses the imminent coup:

> "The PRT also upholds that the fundamental issue is not to fear the military coup because, as we have pointed out before, the step which the military intends to take is an irrational adventure condemned beforehand to a resounding failure...
>
> "...Each crime and abuse will generate greater resistance and the Armed Forces will be obliged to mobilize all their power, which every day will become more inadequate. In short, the Military Dictatorship will be completely isolated, confronting a determined people who will rise up massively in favor of the revolutionary struggle....
>
> "...the two roads they [the military] could choose in the actual moment—democratization or a repressive coup—both favor to varying degrees the revolutionary forces."

Santucho's proclamation precisely parallels that made by a leading German

Newsweek

Mario Santucho, leader of the PRT/ERP.

Communist Party parliamentarian, Remmele, who told the Reichstag as Hitler stood on the brink of power in the early 1930's, "Let Hitler take office—he will soon go bankrupt, and then it will be our day." And the Nazis walked into power without determined opposition from the strongest workers party in Europe to massacre the working class and six million Jews.

In his tireless campaign to get the German CP to unite with the social democrats against Hitler instead of attacking them as "social-fascist" greater enemies, Trotsky demonstrated that those leaders incapable of preventing bonapartists from sweeping into power will be even less capable of sweeping them out, for "resistance" is not a mystical phenomenon as the PRT/ERP would have it. As he said of Remmele's boasts:

> "'We are the victors of to-morrow', Remmele brags in the Reichstag. 'We are not afraid of Hitler assuming power.' This means that the victory of to-morrow will be Hitler's not Remmele's. And then you may as well carve it on your nose: the victory of the communists will not come so soon. 'We are not afraid' of Hitler's assuming power—what is this if not the formula of cowardice turned inside out?"
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, *What Next?*

The bravado of the PRT/ERP faced with the imminent coup is but an admission of powerlessness to prevent it. Having done nothing to prepare the masses politically to break from their illusions in the bonapartist Perón regime which paved the way for Videla's takeover, the PRT/ERP can only console itself with comforting excuses for its political bankruptcy.

The PRT/ERP's petty-bourgeois adventurist guerrillaism goes hand in hand with class-collaborationist popular frontism. While the PRT/ERP doesn't go so far as to get down on all fours to lick the jackboots of the military like the PCA does, it is perfectly ready to create lethal strategic alliances with the "democratic" bourgeoisie. *El Combatiente* of May 1975 applauded the landowners' Radical Party of Ricardo Balbin:

> "Our party hails the positive resolutions of the Radical convention, which are an important contribution to the democratic struggle in which our people are engaged; at the same time, we emphasize the necessity to unite the forces of all political currents, progressive and anti-imperialist, democratic and popular...advancing toward the concretization of the democratic and patriotic front, indispensible tool to successfully structure the people's struggle."
>
> quoted from *Informations Ouvrieres*, 28 April-5 May

Though it mentions in passing the desirability of a "new Peoples and Workers Revolutionary Government," the explicitly stated goal of the PRT/ERP's guerrilla actions is simply democratization, for it accepts the basic tenet of classical Stalinism that the socialist revolution comes in installments, initiated by a democratic capitalist stage.

Santucho's article on the imminent coup laments that it is "very difficult" to mobilize the masses against the coup given the unpopularity of the Perón government. It was "very difficult" because it was very late! The construction of a united front of workers organizations for defense of the labor movement; deepening the struggles of the insurgent masses to prepare the necessary offensive against capitalism itself; the forging of the proletarian vanguard party to fight for socialist revolution, not in the name of, but *over the corpse of* Peronism—this is and has been the burning task of revolutionists.

The guerrillas and the PCA aren't the only ones that failed the test. When the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) criticizes the PCA for allying with Perón instead of warning the workers against Peronism, it is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. The SWP's co-thinkers in the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) offered to vote for the Peronist FREJULI in 1972 if 80 percent of its slate were workers. Not only did it then promise to "fight for the continuity of the [Perón] government" and sign a joint declaration with the bourgeois parties to support the "institutional process," but it condemned the guerrillas as the "mirror-image" of the AAA.

The PRT/ERP's mythical "total war of prolonged [and headless] resistance" is suicidal substitutionism. The collapse of Peronism in the absence of a proletarian vanguard built through the destruction of Peronist and popular-frontist illusions led not to a "war of resistance" but to a defeat for the Argentine working masses, now under attack by the military junta. But the decisive battles lie ahead. The task for revolutionists remains the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party of the proletariat that can mobilize the masses to wrest power from the junta and replace the dictatorship of capital with a workers state.■

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Israel...

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Later that afternoon the funeral was held, attended by many West Bank village mayors and leading Arab families in addition to Nabulsi's friends and fellow militants. The funeral was followed by more demonstrations and stone-throwing confrontations with Israeli soldiers.

Military Outpost "Settlements"

The outpouring of anti-Zionist protests in the West Bank is fueled not only by the brutal and humiliating foreign armed occupation, but also by the provocative sprouting of Gush Emunim squatter settlements. Gush Emunim (Band of the Faithful) is a Jewish clerical-fascist movement which claims, as the "inalienable right of every Jew to every part of the land of Israel," the entire West Bank and Suez isthmus. This poisonous movement inscribes upon its banner the further foreed dispersal and ultimately genocide of the Palestinian people in order to conquer the whole of "Eretz Yisrael."

The "official" settlement plan of Israel's misnamed "Labour" Party (the largest Zionist party in the government, formed from the fusion of the Mapai, or Israel Workers Party, with various Zionist splinter groups in 1968) is based on the 1968 "Allon Plan," named for Israel's foreign minister and deputy prime minister, Yigal Allon. It calls for concentration of settlements along an 8 to 12 mile wide "security belt" along the Jordan River which constitutes the eastern border of the West Bank, in sparsely populated areas of Judea (the southern portion of the West Bank) and especially around Jerusalem, which Israel clearly intends to annex.

Thus Israel's "settlements policy" is entirely determined by Zionist considerations of military security. Since the 1967 war, 68 settlements have been established with official Israeli sanction: 25 in the Golan Heights, 17 along the Jordan Valley, five in the Hebron vicinity (in Judea), four around Jerusalem and 14 in the Gaza strip, and three along the Gulf of Aqaba. None of these is economically viable, but the debt-ridden Israeli government has already invested $500 million in their development. The settlements serve entirely as border guards and as the front-line in Israel's conflict with neighboring Arab states, as Zionist prime minister Yitzhak Rabin made explicitly clear in a tour of the Jordan Valley settlements last month.

Israel's expansion if it annexes settlements in occupied areas.

Galilee, the First "Occupied Territory"

The "Labour" Party's "official" position opposes Jewish settlements in Samaria where most of the West Bank's 700,000 Arabs live. The experience of Galilee has taught the Zionists the perils of trying to create a "Jewish state" with a large Arab minority.

Galilee was not allotted to Israel under the U.N. partition scheme of November 1947. It was conquered by Israel in the 1948 war and ruled for 18 years by a military administration fundamentally no different than that which exists in the West Bank today. It was only in 1966 that Galilee ceased being an "occupied territory" and the military administration was lifted, allowing Galilee at least the pretense of self-government.

However Galilee continues to be an Arab ghetto. The aims of the Zionist regime in Jerusalem toward Galilee are contradictory. On the one hand it attempts to "Judaize" Galilee through encouraging Jewish settlement; on the other it deprives Galilee of development funds and social services, leaving it the poorest part of Israel. Thus the Jews who are able to do so leave. Presently Galilee has an Arab population of 210,000 and a Jewish population of 60,000.

The Zionist threat to expropriate Arab land in Galilee to develop the Jewish settlements of Carmiel and Upper Nazareth is bitterly resented and led to the "Day of the Land" general strike of March 30. Plans to expand Upper Nazareth are threatened by more than Arab opposition. Many apartments already built there stand empty. The town was supposed to be settled by Russian Jewish emigrants, especially from Georgia. But correspondence from disgruntled friends and relatives who settled in Galilee (and in some cases subsequently returned to the Soviet Union) appears to have been a more successful deterrent to Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union than Stalinist intimidation.

Zionist Expansionism: How Much?

The "Labour" Party therefore opposes Jewish settlement in Samaria—which could only be the forerunner of outright annexation because it does not want to double its already existing Arab minority of 445,000 (plus 45,000 Druzes). Allon and Rabin further wish to leave open Samaria as a "territorial concession" for a future Israel/Jordan peace treaty which would turn the majority of West Bank Arabs back over to the suzerainty of the Hashemites (their pre-1967 occupiers) while ringing the West Bank with Jewish settlements and military bases.

However Gush Emunim—supported by the "Labour" Party's governmental coalition partner, the National Religious Party (NRP) of orthodox rabbis and religious fanatics, and by the right-wing opposition bloc, Likud, led by Manachim Begin, perpetrator of the infamous Deir Yassin massacre wants settlements in Samaria precisely in order to thwart any possibility that Israel will relinquish any portion of the West Bank.

David Rubinger/Time

Israelis erected steel gates in Nablus to enforce curfew.

The NRP, which holds the balance of power in the Israeli parliament (Knesset), is able to exercise pressure disproportionate to its strength. Thus Gush Emunim launched its squatters into the heart of Samaria. Seven times they were evicted from the Nablus area. However, backed by the growing pressure of the NRP on the unstable "alignment"-dominated government (the bloc between "Labour" and the self-proclaimed "socialist"-Zionist Mapam), the eighth attempt was met with gentler treatment from the military. The 120 settlers were "temporarily" resettled in the Kadum army camp a few miles west of Nablus and were given trailers and construction materials to build their own water supply system. Thus, irrespective of "official" statements, Kadum was built in collusion with the Israeli military administration into a permanent West Bank settlement.

Israeli "settlement" policy—both the "official" Allon Plan and "illegal" Gush Emunim squatters—has escalated the seething discontent of West Bank Arabs into open protest, even when open protest is met by the mass terror of the Israeli military. It also contributed to the sweep of West Bank municipal elections by candidates known to be sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the pro-Moscow Israeli Communist Party (Rakah).

Militants like Lena Hassan Nabulsi certainly saw in the Gush Emunim settlement at Kadum, only a few miles from Nablus, a symbol of the humiliation and oppression of the Palestinian people which was embodied in the very creation of Israel. This was reinforced by the provocative Gush Emunim two-day march through the heart of the West Bank. The 20-mile march ran from Beit El near Ramallah to Jericho. Many of the 20,000 marchers carried submachine guns.

Arab counter-demonstrations, even when far from the march route as were those in Nablus, were brutally dispersed by the Israeli army. In Nablus a protest by youths was broken up with tear gas. Once again Zionist ferocity in pursuing demonstrators was indiscriminate. Three people were wounded, including 55-year-old Zayid Taher Ajba, who died on the way to the hospital. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (21 April) "the dead man's personal physician, Hatem Abu Ghazaleh, said Tuesday that the shooting victim was an amputee who walked with crutches and had poor eyesight. It was implausible, the physician said, that the man would have been capable of rioting."

Zionists Squabble over Kadum

Finally the government scheduled a debate on Kadum for May 9. The Mapam mobilized its "kibbutzniks" and other supporters for an anti-Kadum rally of 20,000 in Tel Aviv on May 8. Mapam has threatened to leave the government unless the Gush Emunim squatters are evicted from Camp Kadum.

But amidst the Mapam rally's denunciations of right-wing Zionism, what went unsaid was that Mapam often used the methods of Gush Emunim and mass butcher Begin to build its kibbutz movement. Especially following the 1948 war, Mapam grabbed Arab land and blew up adjacent Arab villages to carry out its "socialist experiment" in a countryside soaked in the blood of the reactionary war for Israeli "independence"—an "independence" dependent upon how quickly U.S. defense contractors deliver Lance missiles and the latest Phantom jets and tanks and how much the Zionist lobby can squeeze out of Jewish philanthropy and Congress to pay for them.

The 10-hour cabinet debate on May 9 threatened to move the Kadum squatters to an "approved" new settlement site in the West Bank. But to win the abstention of the three NRP ministers, Rabin promised dozens of new settlements in the occupied Arab territories in the coming years. The Camp Kadum squatters held their own news conference to announce, "We will not agree to any decision that will mean the dismantling of the settlement" (*New York Times*, 11 May). Thus the squabble within the Zionist establishment continues.

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Israel must immediately and unconditionally get out of the occupied territories. Yet, as Palestinian nationalists will be quick to point out, the pre-1967 borders of the state of Israel are also, as in the clear case of Galilee, "occupied territories." The Hebrew nation was forged through the forcible dispersal and destruction of the Palestinian nation.

A truly democratic resolution of the just national claims of the Palestinian people cannot be achieved either in some West Bank mini-state or through the denial of the Hebrew people's right of self-determination. The so-called "democratic secular Palestine" of the PLO, which projects the peaceful cohabitation of Hebrews and Arabs without the prerequisite of a socialist transformation, would lead merely to another Lebanon. Only within the context of a socialist federation of the Near East can the just national claims of the Palestinians be equitably and democratically resolved. ■

Boston...

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sites demanding an increase in the proportion of minority workers to 50 percent.

Although many of the demonstrators insisted that race had no bearing on the dispute and a few black union members were present, the rally itself took on a distinctly racist character through the menacing presence of the Marshals. Anti-busing demagogue Louise Day Hicks spoke to the crowd, denouncing "these Third World people who want nothing but chaos." White promised increased numbers of cops to guard construction sites in the ghetto and threatened to cut off city funds to "any agency...engaged in any violence."

The possibility of a hook-up between the fascist-inspired vigilante gangs of the South Boston Marshals and the racist gun-toting bureaucrats of the construction unions is a supremely dangerous development. This is particularly so in Boston where blacks are a small proportion of the workforce, unlike Detroit, Cleveland and other cities with a high concentration of blacks in strategic industrial unions like the UAW. The Marshals' racist terror mobilizations imperil the democratic rights and the very lives of oppressed minorities. For the corrupt union tops to permit these vicious gangsters—whose ultimate program is racial genocide and the smashing of the trade unions themselves to pose as "defenders of organized labor" brings the seething South Boston cauldron ever closer to boiling over into outright race war.

The paramilitary racists are labor's worst enemies. Only a month ago two black bus drivers were brutally beaten by a gang of racist punks, as were three white drivers who came to their co-workers' assistance. For more than a year three heavily integrated locals of the Amalgamated Meatcutters have been unable to hold meetings in their Andrew Square union hall because of repeated harassment and vandalism by white hoodlums. In a period of sharpened class struggle, proto-fascist formations like the Marshals will be wielded directly against the organized labor movement.

The union-busting program of the TWWA plays into the racists' hands and reinforces backward white workers' fears that minority workers can only advance at their direct expense. The TWWA is pressing its demands for quota hiring of minorities and has directly challenged the construction unions by demanding recognition of the "Third World Jobs Clearing House," an organization financed with federal funds through the city-administered CETA program, as the only legitimate "hiring hall" in minority neighborhoods.

The TWWA pushes for the allocation of jobs along narrow ethnic lines. David Lee, head of the Community Task Force on Construction which works closely with the TWWA, stated in a May 8 press release that "it is outrageous for suburbanites to come into Boston to work on construction sites at a time when 12% of the Boston residents are unemployed." TWWA leader Leo Fletcher told a *WV* reporter there were too many "aliens" taking away Boston workers' jobs.

The TWWA claims to be a "labor organization." But it has no contracts and admittedly is making no efforts to organize the large numbers of non-union contractors—not a few of which are minority-owned—whom the craft union bureaucrats are basically unwilling to organize. Indeed, if it did so it would promptly lose the backing of the Contractors Association of Boston. South End state representative Mel King, Deputy Mayor "Jeep" Jones and other black capitalist forces. In practice, the TWWA's "job actions" are simply appeals to the government and private contractors to break the construction trades unions, which the TWWA has also taken to court.

Bureaucratic Racism

The job trusting policies and criminally racist record of the construction union tops has made the unions vulnerable to government-backed schemes to use minority workers for union busting. The bureaucrats fan the flames of race-hatred in a situation of massive unemployment in the construction trades that they have done nothing to combat. In October 1974 the annual convention of the Massachusetts State Building and Trades Council unanimously adopted a resolution opposing Boston's court-ordered school desegregation program. Building trades union bureaucrats were prime movers last fall in the passage of an anti-busing resolution by the state AFL-CIO (later rescinded on orders from George Meany). Cleary and other construction union big-wigs have been frequent speakers at anti-busing rallies.

Boston's construction unions have a long record of confining blacks to unskilled jobs or excluding them altogether. Minorities represent only 7 percent of the building trades unions, and of these, the overwhelming bulk are in the less skilled laborer, painter and mason crafts. Union training programs are totally inadequate, and government programs almost non-existent. A small sheet-metals training program at East Boston High School was virtually destroyed this year by racist assaults on black students. By the time a court order moved it to another high school, only three or four black students were left in the program.

Unionized construction workers, white and black, have a right to defend their jobs and union hiring halls. But the bureaucrats' policies—ignoring the needs of black workers and seeking a de facto bloc with the bosses' cops, racist politicians and a gang of reactionary thugs who have no place in a labor struggle—can never defend the construction workers. What is required is the forging of a new union leadership committed to a class-struggle program of unity of all workers through a union-led struggle for full democratic rights and economic advancement of the doubly oppressed minority workers.

Construction workers must fight for jobs for all through shortening the workweek at no pay loss and through union-controlled public works programs to build more schools, hospitals and other socially useful construction projects. Union skills training programs must be qualitatively expanded to make possible a large increase in black and minority access to the skilled trades. Wage differentials between skilled and unskilled construction jobs should be decreased, exorbitant union entry fees must be abolished and union membership must be opened to all construction workers, employed and unemployed. Workers on non-union construction sites must be aggressively organized to extend union rights, pay scales and conditions and root out scabbing. All state interference in union affairs and prerogatives, including union-busting "affirmative action" programs, must be opposed.

Through mass marches and militant actions at scab sites, local construction workers have repeatedly demonstrated a willingness to fight the politicians, contractors and corporations whose crisis-ridden economy has thrown 15,000 building tradesmen out of work in Massachusetts alone. It is precisely this militant impulse which pro-capitalist union tops like Cleary hope to divert into fratricidal racial confrontations.

Instead of supporting the racist anti-busing movement and accepting an alliance with the rabid South Boston Marshals, the construction unions must unite the labor movement and the besieged black working people to defend busing, stop racist violence and drive proto-fascist hooligans out of Boston. ■

Hampton, Clark...

(continued from page 3)

strations, disrupt the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and spy on locals of the United Electrical Workers and AFSCME. During the trial of American Indian Movement leaders of the 1973 Wounded Knee reservation occupation, AIM's chief security officer, Douglass Durham, blew his cover as a paid FBI informer.

The public relations face-lift being attempted by Kelley cannot hide the fact that the bourgeoisie's hired goons commit murder and mayhem with virtual impunity. In periods of labor insurgency or renewed political radicalization, the ruling class will not hesitate to unleash its agents for new outrages in defense of its institutions and property. No "reform" of the bosses' government can end these crimes. The armed fist of the oppressors must be smashed by the power of an organized and politically conscious proletariat prepared to take the reins of power ■

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Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 7)

of the interwar years and flow from very different sources, the outbreaks of national antagonism are a serious warning. What stands behind the new nationalism and regenerates it, day after day, is the Stalinist bureaucratic deformation of the Yugoslav political economy along with the Titoist policy of "market socialism."

"Market socialism" has created and is creating enormous pressures upon the bureaucracy. It has generated whole layers of petty-bourgeois specialists and technocrats, many of whom have managed to amass substantial savings and even small fortunes. These layers are not simply content with spending their substantial savings upon Mercedes Benzes, summer houses or trips to exotic resorts. They dream of amassing more money by investing their savings as capital. And many of the individual enterprises, operating on a "profit" basis in the market (but compelled to turn over substantial portions of their earned surplus to the central government), are keen to expand and require more operating funds.

It was such impulses that compelled the now-purged Slovenian prime minister, Stane Kavčič, to write:

> "Instead of going on holiday to the Fiji islands and spending a million there, the person concerned could give that money to an enterprise dealing with capital investment, which could give him interest and perhaps even something extra in addition, depending on the profitability of the investment concerned."
>
> –Singleton, pp. 295-296.

An idea of the pressure to which Kavčič was responding can be gleaned from the following facts. Immediately prior to the economic reforms of 1965-66, the government held roughly 40 percent of all savings in Yugoslav banks, with the holdings of individuals amounting to around 10 percent. Today, private individuals hold roughly 45 percent of all savings and government holdings have dropped to nearly zero! At present there is little outlet for realization of individual return on these savings, but "market socialism" is clearly generating the conditions for nucleation of a capitalist restoration movement...the growing over of a section of the bureaucracy into conscious anti-socialist elements.

The bankruptcy of Titoism and its failure to resolve the national questions only serve to demonstrate that even in those exceptional circumstances where they have overthrown the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists—of all stripes—are incapable of fully solving even democratic revolutionary tasks. Tito's acquiescence in Stalin's sabotage of the Greek revolution has left a quarter million or more Macedonians under capitalist oppression. Moreover, the inability to wage any but an isolated *nationalist* struggle against Kremlin overlordship meant that the 1948 break with Moscow effectively shelved all hopes for a Balkan federation. The divided Albanian and Macedonian populations are today pawns in the inter-bureaucratic squabbling of Moscow, Peking and Belgrade.

Now even the great achievements of the Yugoslav revolution—the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the overcoming of bloody national conflicts which racked bourgeois Yugoslavia—are themselves threatened by the bureaucracy's fostering (largely against its own will) of centrifugal forces. The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and, given the regional economic differences, one which may well be cloaked in the form of a "national liberation" struggle. This is the legacy of Titoism, of Stalinism "with a human face." It is a legacy that the working masses must overcome by constructing a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of carrying through a workers political revolution to oust the Tito burcaucracy and thereby create the conditions for international extension of the revolution. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Labor Solidarity Against Racism and Union Busting!

End Discrimination in the Construction Trades!
For a Shorter Workweek at No Loss in Pay to Create Jobs!
For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Offensive!

Racist Attack at Boston Construction Site

Construction workers rallied around racist Louise Day Hicks at City Hall on May 7.

BOSTON, May 15—The dangerously inflamed racial polarization of Boston was the backdrop to an ominous incident of racist violence on the morning of May 7. The South Boston Marshals, Klan-inspired armed thugs who have spearheaded brutal attacks on black people and pro-busing militants, joined with construction trades union bureaucrats to assault spokesmen for the "Third World Workers Association" (TWWA), a community-based pressure group of mostly black construction workers, inside a construction trailer at a building site in the South End.

The paramilitary Marshals are seeking to exploit the construction trades confrontations as an extension of their racist terror campaign against Boston's black population. The traitors who head the construction unions accepted the Marshals' anti-TWWA overtures and some 85 maroon-uniformed Marshals and union bureaucrats surrounded the Barletta Construction Co. trailer and, shouting racist obscenities, attacked the blacks. William Cleary, president of the Association of Building Trades Unions, added fuel to the situation with the threat that "there'll be blood on the streets" (*Boston Herald-American*, 10 May).

Later that day, 2,000 building tradesmen marched on City Hall shutting down construction sites throughout the city. Pushing through police lines into the lobby, chanting "We Want White," they demanded to see the mayor. A reluctant Kevin White was compelled to address the tense and angry crowd, who booed him repeatedly. The demonstration was hastily organized to protest the perceived threat to unionists' jobs from the TWWA, which has been holding "job actions" at ghetto construction

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Edie Fox WV Photo

Edie Fox Fired at Dodge Main

Defend Victimized UAW Veteran Oppositionist!

DETROIT—In an outrageous company victimization, longtime UAW activist Edith Fox has been fired by Chrysler after 28 years at its Hamtramck Assembly Plant, better known as Dodge Main.

Charged with punching out a fellow worker's time card, Fox was hauled into management offices several days later and then discharged on May 3. With contract negotiations coming up, the company is not concerned with a petty infraction of its arbitrary rules, but is perpetrating a provocative victimization of a well-known oppositional unionist.

In an interview with WV, Fox pointed out that foremen's time sheets make the clocking procedure in auto plants merely a regimenting redundancy. Many workers clock co-workers' cards and management generally looks the other way; occasional crackdowns seldom result in more than a few days of disciplinary layoff. Fox also indicated that in this case only one time card had been punched, not two, showing that the whole incident was entirely accidental. But Chrysler has jumped at the chance to make this infraction the pretext for ending nearly three decades of oppositional activity by a popular union militant.

Edie Fox was hired into Dodge Main in 1948. Walter Reuther was then consolidating his bureaucratic grasp on the UAW through an anti-communist campaign that ultimately drove many pioneer militants out of the union. Fox nonetheless maintained a high level of activity as a pro-socialist militant in Local 3's traditionally turbulent political life. In the early 1950's, she participated in the still dynamic Flying Squadrons, facing Detroit's brutal mounted police in the Square D strike, among many others. In predominantly white and Polish Hamtramck, she joined in efforts to integrate the bars and restaurants that ring Dodge Main. In 1954 she led Local 3's Unemployed Committee, the UAW's first unemployed committee since the 1930's.

Emerging as a respected woman leader in a predominantly male industry, Fox was elected to numerous union positions. She has served several terms on the Local 3 executive board and was a Chief Steward for ten years, the first woman in her local elected to that post off the assembly line. She was also elected a plant committeeman and was a delegate to many UAW conventions.

Edie Fox, along with her late husband Art at Ford River Rouge's Tool and Die Unit, were politically supported for many years by the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party. In the 1960's, as the SWP abandoned any perspective of class-struggle politics, the Foxes became leaders of the United National Caucus (UNC), the UAW's only nationwide opposition group. But the maneuverist UNC never transcended its skilled-trades parochialism and reformist program, confining itself to pressuring the UAW bureaucracy around minimal economist demands and crossing the class line to take union officials to court.

But our sharp disagreements with Edie Fox and the UNC in no way detract from our solidarity with Fox against Chrysler's witchhunting victimization. In the last few years, Dodge Main management with the backhanded support of the sellout UAW bureaucracy has fired prominent Communist Labor Party supporter General Baker (then a leader of DRUM), UNC activist Pat O'Brien, assistant steward John Merskey and many others. UAW militants must demand: Hands Off Edie Fox! Reinstate Fox with Full Back Pay! Stop the Victimizations of UAW Militants! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 111 28 May 1976

Solid Wall of Racist Reaction in Primaries

Ford Targets Boston Busing

MAY 24 In a concerted attempt to channel mass discontent growing out of economic depression conditions into a racist "backlash," the capitalist candidates for the U.S. presidency have unanimously signaled their opposition to any measures defending democratic rights of oppressed minorities. The lack of any significant policy disputes in the 1976 primaries is the reflection of a solid wall of racist reaction presented by the political representatives of the bourgeoisie.

From liberal Democrat Morris Udall to conservative Republican Ronald Reagan, all the presidential hopefuls have turned thumbs down on school desegregation through busing. Even the candidates who demurred at Jimmy Carter's brazenly frank "ethnic purity" remarks hastened to add their "technical" agreement with the peanut boss's opposition to government action to integrate white enclaves. George Wallace has lost his voter appeal not only due to physical infirmity, but also because his opponents have co-opted his barely veiled segregationist program.

The latest cynical maneuver to appeal to and whip up the backlash vote was Gerald Ford's attempt last week to lend oil Reagan's threat on his right flank. The vehicle was a carefully timed announcement that U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi will shortly enter a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the Boston Home and School Association's appeal of court-ordered school desegration in that city. Hard-pressed by Reagan's recent string of primary victories, Ford allowed news of the planned federal intervention to be leaked a scant five days before the critical May 18 Michigan vote.

This was also less than two weeks before the election in Kentucky, where implementation of a Louisville busing plan has been met with repeated mob violence. Besides adding fuel to the Boston racists' boiling cauldron, the brief will reportedly request Supreme Court reconsideration of the 1971 Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education case which is the major precedent for most federal court-ordered busing plans in recent years.

Boston anti-busing leaders were

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Jimmy Carter's New Breed Racism from the "New South"

MAY 24 Jimmy Carter squeaked by Morris Udall in the May 18 Michigan primary, with a margin barely exceeding 2,000 votes. Carter's poor showing in Michigan was a surprise to the press, which noted that he had received the active support of Leonard Woodcock and the UAW political apparatus, Detroit mayor Coleman Young and all three of the big auto bosses. Carter's Michigan campaign, moreover, had been better organized and financed than that of the limp Utah liberal.

Not unexpected, however, was Carter's success among Michigan's black Democratic voters. He carried Detroit, with its largely black population, by a three-to-two margin. Carter's support from blacks continues despite his reactionary nativism and overtly racist "slip" in defense of "ethnic purity."

In primary contests set in the context of a racist consensus of both capitalist parties, Carter's well-oiled respectable racism is apparently seen as no better or worse than the standard fare of "benign neglect" for oppressed minorities. But why has Carter found the black wing of the Democratic Party so amenable, even enthusiastic, for his candidacy?

Woodcock, Henry Ford, Young and Jesus

Jimmy Carter is a dangerous man. Behind the toothy smile and know-nothing evasions of the "enlightened" Southern politician lurk sinister social views in combination with a narcissistic messianism. That he is the favorite of the black sections of the Democratic Party leadership is testimony to the unspeakable cynicism of their claims to represent the interests of the black masses.

Detroit's black mayor Coleman Young stumped for Carter with a dinner for black Baptist ministers, announcing that Carter "could win, could put an end to the attitude of neglect toward black people that had dominated Washington since 1968" (*New York Times*, 15 May). As is typical in bourgeois politics, the way in which things were said is more indicative than what was said. Young's pitch to the pillars of petty-bourgeois

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DECLARATION OF FRATERNAL RELATIONS

between the international Spartacist tendency and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile

I

The events of 1970 to 1973 in Chile posed, and continue to pose, a fundamental test of the revolutionary capacity of all who claim to speak in the historic interests of the working class. The self-proclaimed socialists who bound the exploited masses to the "constitutionalist" officers and "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie through the Popular Unity (UP) coalition acted as a roadblock to revolution, and therefore an accomplice of counterrevolution. The first task of those who would prepare a proletarian insurrection to sweep away the bourgeois state, today in the hands of the blood-drenched Pinochet dictatorship, must be to draw the lessons of the Allende popular front. Only in this manner can the masses be broken from their treacherous reformist and centrist misleaders who paved the way for the coup of 11 September 1973. At that time the bourgeois popular front was replaced by another form of capitalist rule, the bonapartist military junta, which balances between the fractions and cliques of the middle and big bourgeoisie, reflecting the pressure of the major imperialist powers.

Already in late 1970 the Spartacist tendency warned,

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

Tragically, there was no Trotskyist party in Chile to galvanize the workers around the Marxist program of class independence, and the *Spartacist* warning proved all too accurate.

II

As Trotsky remarked in 1935: "In reality, the Popular Front is *the main question of Proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Mensbevism."

The largest purportedly revolutionary organization formally outside the UP coalition, the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), was incapable of presenting a class opposition to the popular front. While attracting a layer of militant youth fundamentally from the petty bourgeoisie, and periodically criticizing the Communist Party (CP), the MIR never broke from the Popular Unity. Following the September 1970 elections it called on the masses to support Allende; today the MIR is part of the popular front in exile, seeking to "broaden" the class-collaborationist coalition by including even Christian Democrats. The individual heroism of many MIR militants cannot hide the political bankruptcy of these Chilean Castroites, the left cover of the popular front.

Nor did the Chilean disciples of the several self-proclaimed "Fourth Internationals" present a Trotskyist policy of irreconcilable hostility to popular frontism. The sympathizers of the "United" Secretariat (USec) were either mired in perpetual "deep entry" in the Socialist Party (the traditional graveyard for pseudo-Trotskyists in Chile) or fawningly crawling after the MIR. (In fact,

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Fitzsimmons Paves Way for Strikebreaking Injunction

Midwest Parcel Strike Crumbles

CLEVELAND – The strike of Midwest United Parcel Service (UPS) workers collapsed May 17 as picket lines were dismantled in the face of sweeping court orders obtained by the company. A week later UPS employees are still working without a contract.

Capitulation to the injunctions occurred rapidly in key UPS hubs. In Cleveland, picket lines were dismantled immediately after strikers were served with the injunctions by federal marshals. In Detroit, rank-and-file strike leaders agreed to call off the picketing following a meeting with officials of Teamsters Local 243.

The rout was prepared by the treacherous Teamsters (IBT) bureaucracy of Frank Fitzsimmons, which previously had ordered UPS workers to return to work even though a new contract had yet to be negotiated, claiming that the old contract was being extended. This made it easy for the company to get the injunctions, since it provided a convenient "legal" basis to outlaw the strike. In the face of this company union collaboration, the resistance of rank-and-file strikers, who overwhelmingly opposed the deal and maintained effective picket lines for several hours in defiance of Fitzsimmons' back-to-work order, soon fell apart.

Then the union brass asserted to the membership that the IBT had reached a "tentative agreement" with UPS. According to United Parcel workers interviewed by *WV*, the terms of this agreement leave UPS employees with conditions markedly inferior to those granted IBT freight workers under the recent Master Freight Agreement (MFA). Although the wage settlement for full-time drivers parallels the MFA, other grievances such as forced overtime and the strict personal appearance standards decreed by UPS were simply ignored. Only minor changes were made in the wording of the present rules that permit supervisors to do union work. The status of part-timers was unchanged, except to allow those with greater seniority rights to bid on the few full-time positions that open up. The category of part-timers, with their second-class rights and benefits, is thereby maintained, leaving intact the company's major weapon in eroding union standards at United Parcel.

UPSurge

The only ostensible opposition to the Teamster bureaucracy is the UPSurge group which, however, has failed to channel the massive dissatisfaction with sellout IBT hacks into a class-struggle response. It has passively adapted to the changing moods of the membership and displayed considerable confusion and indecisiveness during the strike. Thus initially UPSurge hailed the fact that it had forced Cleveland Local 407 officials to grant a "rank-and-file" strike committee. Later, however, the group was forced to admit that this committee was powerless and had been essentially ignored. UPSurge leaflets issued the morning of May 17 boasted of the solid opposition to the IBT's return-to-work order, yet only hours later the picket lines were hastily dismantled with the opposition group's cooperation.

In particular, UPSurge demonstrated a disgusting capitulation to legalism. Its May 17 Cleveland leaflet asserted: "Arthur Fox, attorney for PROD [a "professional drivers organization"], says there is no way the union can legally call the old contract back from the dead. It was terminated and can no longer be extended. It is completely legal to refuse to return to work under this sellout." Having been disarmed by this legalistic "advice," the confusion of workers in the face of the injunctions a few hours later is not surprising! A May 21 Cleveland UPSurge leaflet openly admitted the group's lack of a class-struggle strategy in an incredible "explanation" for taking down the picket lines: "If it hadn't been for an illegal, unfair injunction, we'd be well on our way to a damned good contract," it moaned. Sure, and if it weren't for mortality, we'd be well on our way to eternal life!

UPSurge leaders have consistently assured their supporters that Fox's legal-beagle braintrusting was a more potent weapon than a class-struggle program. Fox is a two-hit anti-communist who opposes the presence of "socialists" in rank-and-file union groups and tells militant workers that the bourgeoisie's laws are on their side. His political program is focused around taking union officials to court. He pushed through a motion at a January 10 steering committee meeting of the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC, a parallel grouping to UPSurge) which opposed "political change by any means other than by lawful, constitutional procedures."

Fox's "expert" advice did not prevent United Parcel from obtaining sweeping injunctions outlawing the picketing, but only succeeded in disarming Teamsters with this legal cretinism. Major class battles are not won by observing legal niceties, but rather by mobilizing workers in militant mass struggles. IBT members should remember the powerful 1970 wildcat against Fitzsimmons' sellout. At that time, Ohio governor James Rhodes mobilized 3,700 National Guardsmen in an attempt to smash Teamster flying squads that were dealing with scab truckers on the state's highways.

The government and its courts are instruments of the class enemy. Those who preach reliance on them, or who use them against opponents in the labor movement, are traitors. It is no little irony that the same federal court in Cleveland that handed down the anti-strike injunction previously issued a decision ballyhooed by UPSurge, prohibiting IBT officials from interfering with the distribution of oppositional literature.

Reject Business Unionism

The Detroit freight wildcat and the UPS strike have followed similar patterns. In both cases, resistance to the bureaucracy's strikebreaking back-to-work movement collapsed almost immediately after court injunctions were handed down. TDC and UPSurge, the de facto "leadership" of the rank-and-file opposition, bear responsibility for leaving the union members unprepared to meet this threat. This was a direct result of their ultra-reformist, legalist program. During the brief national Teamsters walkout, TDC went so far as to urge union members to send telegrams to that arch-enemy of labor, Gerald Ford, begging him not to "become a strikebreaking president."

Workers Power

UPSurge doomed itself to impotence from the outset with its refusal to transcend narrow business unionism. Out of respect for the "sanctity of the contract," UPSurge refused to call on United Parcel workers to join the IBT freight workers strike only a month before its own contract expired, thus cutting itself off from a far more powerful ally. Even after the Midwest UPS strike began, it merely counseled strikers to hold out until the Eastern Conference UPS contract expired May 31, refusing to demand that these workers immediately enter the strike.

Some would-be Marxists, in particular the International Socialists and their organ *Workers' Power*, have continually glorified this obeisance to legalism and "practicality" by TDC and UPSurge, calling it "class-struggle unionism." This is a fraud! Genuine class-struggle unionism has nothing in common with such miserable belly-crawling reformism. Unless UPS workers repudiate this strategy and mount a militant mass response to the government's strikebreaking, they will suffer more defeats. Teamsters need a leadership armed with a program not only for union democracy and militancy, but including a call for a break with the bosses' parties, independent labor political action and a workers government. ■

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Whispering in the Right Ear of the Labor Bureaucracy

SWP Says No to General Strike in S.F.

A Bay Area Militant Labor Forum May 14, entitled "Lessons of the S.F. City Workers' Strike," exposed the super-reformist Socialist Workers Party's craven policy of whispering "responsible" advice to the labor lieutenants of capital. During recent weeks most of the whispering was done into the *right* ear of the bureaucracy.

When a bus driver from the audience noted that many rank-and-file strikers saw the need for implementing the Central Labor Council's call for a general strike, *Militant* writer Nat Weinstein answered with a tirade *against* the general strike call.

"It's true I said I was against calling for implementation of a general strike," Weinstein emphasized. Such a call only "served the interests of the employers," according to Weinstein, since the labor bureaucrats have not prepared for such a strike and were only bluffing. The defeatist Weinstein concluded that "the strike was lost from the beginning" because of the bureaucrats' ties to the Democratic Party. (Presumably, therefore, the SWP is against *all* strikes until the labor bureaucracy breaks from the Democrats and forms a labor party!) These cringing reformists find it impossible to even conceive of creating elected strike committees to take control of the strike from the bureaucrats, as occurred briefly during the 1934 general strike.

As a fitting conclusion to the forum, Muni driver Milton Chee, whose leaflets have been touted in the *Militant*, read a statement of support to the Muni drivers' union (TWU Local 250A) president Larry Martin, who was running for re-election. In the wake of the city workers' defeat, Martin faced a right-wing opponent named Paul Clark who had advocated crossing the city workers' picket lines.

But Martin himself was little better. He did absolutely nothing to implement his own memberships' vote in two separate meetings calling for a general strike and subsequently lied about a 72-hour ultimatum Muni drivers had given the CLC to implement the general strike. Martin also indicated during the strike that if the board of supervisors had made suitable offer, he would have ordered TWU members back to work. If Muni workers did not scab it was a testimony to the class solidarity of the ranks and no thanks to Martin.

Having no revolutionary perspective, Chee announced that "as a revolutionist" he was supporting Martin: "Martin is to be commended for his role in leading the union in carrying out support to the strike." Ironically Martin has been part of the Democratic Party machine for years, but even this "minor" fact does not prevent Chee from supporting Martin. After all, at least Martin was against the general strike! Martin defeated his right-wing opponent in a run-off election on May 18, by a vote of 746 to 498, but this only leads the Muni drivers back where they started, thanks to opportunists like Chee. ■

For A UAW Solidarity Strike – Shut Down Canadian Tire Plants!

All Out in Rubber Strike!

MAY 25 The nationwide strike by 60,000 rubber workers against the "Big Four" tire and rubber companies entered its sixth week today with no settlement in sight and new threats mounting against the hard-pressed membership of the United Rubber Workers Union (URW). While management refuses to budge at the bargaining table, the URW has been hard hit by the decision of its General Tire and Rubber locals in Akron not to join the strike following the expiration of their separate contract on May 15.

Incredibly, the URW leadership of Peter Bommarito & Co. was totally unprepared for the last-minute defection of Nathan Fraschel, president of General Tire Local 9, who agreed to an extension of the contract and as we go to press is still keeping his membership at work. "It looks like a crack in our united front," admitted Bommarito. "I don't know what happened" (*Business Week*, 31 May). The Local 9 action violates an explicit union decision and could dangerously weaken the strike in the face of company intransigence. The business press is already chortling that a substandard separate settlement at General could further undercut the already limited bargaining demands of URW leaders for the Big Four. Rubber workers must mobilize to shut down General immediately through mass picketing and preparation to defy injunctions!

Meanwhile, the auto industry continues production on overtime schedules despite earlier industry "estimates" that tire stockpiles would run out in three weeks to a month. This greatly strengthens the hand of the rubber giants, since the URW strategy was to force a shutdown of auto to bring pressure on the tire companies to settle. Continued operation by the auto companies raises an ominous danger that the relatively small URW could be starved into submission. Bommarito and his cronies must bear the responsibility for this development, having earlier confidently predicted that auto companies would feel the pinch by mid-May. It now looks like the stockpiles will be good at least until the middle of June. No attempt to prevent stockpiling was undertaken by the URW leadership prior to the strike.

WV Photo

URW "strategy" in rubber strike is impotent consumer boycott. Militant unionists must demand an industrywide strike, including Canada, and solidarity strike action by the UAW.

Insufficient preparation for the strike is also reflected in the call for a special convention of the union this week in Chicago to pass a special dues increase to bolster the failing strike fund. URW strike benefits are down to $25 per week and expected to end entirely soon. The combination of the failure to dent auto production and the dwindling strike fund no doubt contributed to the strikebreaking decision of General Tire local leaders to keep their members working, since the strike is beginning to look like a drawn-out and possibly losing proposition. General should have been pulled out with the rest of the big companies, and the strike fund strengthened prior to the strike.

Shutting down auto is a crucial ingredient to victory in the rubber strike. UAW militants must demand an immediate, nationwide auto solidarity strike. No handling of any tires until the rubber workers win! Both UAW and URW leaders will gutlessly echo the bosses' denunciation of such a tactic as an "illegal secondary boycott," yet the capitulating policies of these leaders promise only a slow strangulation of both rubber and auto workers (whose contract expires in September). Both rubber and auto unions were built with "illegal" sitdown strikes, and saving the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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KKK Cross-Burnings in L.A.

MAY 16 The burning cross, dreaded symbol of the fascist Ku Klux Klan, has been set aflame sporadically but with increasing boldness in the Los Angeles area in a campaign of Klan-inspired terror. The most recent target of the white-supremacist ritual violence was a Jewish family living in the suburban San Fernando valley. In the early hours of May 7 they found their front lawn ablaze with a gasoline fire in the shape of a cross.

Stunned, they did not report the incident until the next day when they learned that a black family in nearby Reseda had been terrorized by the burning of a wooden cross. In the last three weeks, as many as seven such night-riding attacks have been reported in what appears to be an ongoing, organized campaign against blacks.

Press Association

1948 Klan rally, Wrightsville, Georgia. Such demonstrations were meant to intimidate blacks and keep them away from the polls.

Redondo Beach has been the scene of escalating white-hooded vigilante raids. Two cross-burnings occurred there last week at black families' homes. A poster nailed up in the vicinity read "White Man Wake Up" and gave the address of a KKK bookstore in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the Redondo Beach post office box of the "Christian Patriots." Other cross-burnings occurred last week in the Culver City district of Los Angeles. Nearby Bell, Cudahy and Woodland Hills witnessed other incidents earlier this year.

The burning cross has been the symbol of racist terror in the U.S. since William Simmons, on Thanksgiving night 1915, led his 12 disciples up Stone Mountain outside Atlanta, spewing forth his gospel of "race purity" and patriotism, to burn a wooden cross, thus inaugurating the modern KKK. In the bloody hands of white-sheeted vigilantes, the burning cross was no mere ritual. It has been one of the main weapons of intimidation of this largest nativist fascist movement in the U.S. For those whose homes are surrounded by the hooded Klan vigilantes in the dead of night, the burning cross is a very personal threat, suggesting the Klan's entire repertoire of torture and humiliating persecution: tar and feathering, being run out of town, flogging and ultimately lynching to the orgiastic thrill of a frenzied subhuman mob.

In response to the intensifying racist atrocities, a rally was held in Redondo Beach sponsored by the United Citizens Emergency Action Committee, a liberal coalition composed of the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Urban League, California Fair Housing Congress and others. The largely white audience of 300 heard speakers call for the government to outlaw the KKK.

The entire rally was a testimonial to simpering patriotism. It began with the singing of "America the Beautiful." Rev. Clayton Russell, the coalition's chairman, proclaimed "We are the real Americans" and noted that cross-burnings "make America look bad."

The ultra-respectable tone and pitch to the government were taken up by Rev. Al Dortch, supporter of the Communist Party-backed National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and by Manuel "Tank" Barrerra of the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR). Barrerra, formerly the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for L.A. County Sheriff, called for a "vigil" to watch over black homes, stressing "we will not be provoked," and demanded the arrest of criminals.

But vigils appealing for protection from the cops are exactly what will not protect black people against the rising wave of racist terror! One of the reasons the night-riding KKK does its murderous extra-legal "work" in white hoods is that its racist vigilante squads usually include members of the local police. It has long been the Klan's official policy that it is "assisting law enforcement." Before a 1921 Congressional investigating committee, Klan founder Simmons insisted the KKK could not be guilty of "lawlessness" when "one of the tenets of the order was assistance of authorities." The liberal "solution" of calling on the capitalist state to suppress the fascist menace can only backfire—again and again the bourgeois authorities have demonstrated that "anti-extremist" legislation will be wielded far more frequently and harshly against the left than against the paramilitary right.

While SCAR joins the liberals in hand-wringing opposition to the increasingly bold fascist mobilizations, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its captive SCAR have been the most vociferous defenders of the alleged "rights" of the fascist scum to organize. When KKK ringleader Scott Nelson appeared at the University of Houston

continued on page 10

Carter . . .

(continued from page 1)

respectability, the black ministers, was meant to gain pulpit endorsements for Carter as the Georgia farm boy who, Young explained, had "known black people all his life."

Young drawled, "you know Carter is a farmer...because he pronounces it law-muh." Stressing the country-cousin routine, Young went on, "He'll be in town and he's staying at my house at y'all's house." He made it clear that his motivation is the simple adage of American capitalist politics: nothing succeeds like success. "The train has left the station," he proclaimed; selling tickets to a Carter rally he added, "But I do have some tickets."

That Sunday most of these ministers probably urged a vote for Carter, who had perhaps already inspired their confidence with his claim to a connection to Jesus. A member of a segregationalist Southern Baptist church with a burgeoning membership of 12.7 million, Carter is strongly identified with evangelical Christianity. He told a receptive black Methodist congregation in Buffalo, "I believe I can be a better president because of my faith" (*New York Times*, 11 April).

At a time when the black masses are so disaffected from bourgeois electoral politics that only a small percentage bother to vote even in national elections, an even smaller percentage vote in primaries. Thus the "extraordinary influence of the black Church, which since the days of slavery has been an important organizing force and a veritable ideological yoke upon the aspirations of the black masses.

Gerald Ford doesn't want to be left out of the religious revival. Last Sunday Ford gave the U.S. electorate a taste of the probable campaign oratory if he runs against Carter when he said, "we must recover transcendent qualities of spirituality and morality" (*New York Times*, 24 May). He then quoted the bible: "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart and lean not on thine own understanding."

No wonder Carter and Ford want voters to "lean not on their own understanding." It doesn't take too much understanding to realize that both parties have approximately the same program to protect the fetid system of capitalism at the expense of the working people of the U.S.

It is not only the post-Watergate anti-political ethos that the candidates are trying to appeal to. The twin parties of capital, in accord on the most important political issues and unable to take even a demagogic political debate, welcome a contest based on personalities and smiles, on piety and speaking in tongues. The fact is they want to avoid crucial political issues altogether. What about unemployment, inflation, rotting ghettoes, the threat of inter-imperialist war? The labor tops and black leaders, whose commitment to capitalism is unshakable, are reduced to advocating a choice based on "spirituality," or more specifically, Democratic party loyalty. All other things being equal, a winner is best, or as Coleman Young put it, "Mr. Carter was the best 'horse' to ride to the Democratic Convention."

Up-North Liberal, Down-Home Racist

Carter has long experience in wooing both black voters and white racists. The Georgia electorate spans rural towns where the White Citizens Councils still thrive, and Atlanta, a modern city with a large black petty bourgeoisie. During his successful 1970 gubernatorial campaign the peanut man from Plains, a tiny town in southwestern Georgia, proved adept at rapidly shifting gears to appeal to different voting blocs.

Running against "progressive" former governor Carl Sanders and a black lawyer, C.B. King, who split the white-moderate and black vote between them in the Democratic primary, Carter let his hair down while stumping the small towns. "I'm basically a redneck," he told one local reporter. He attacked Sanders as a Humphrey liberal and accused him of selling out to "big unions" by favoring repeal of open shop laws. Five days before the primary, Carter made a well-publicized visit to a whites-only private academy that had been set up to avoid integration of the public schools. The implications were unmistakable when the candidate announced he was there to "reassure Georgians of my support for private education" (*Harper's Magazine*, March 1976).

Carter ran with the ax-wielding symbol of segregation, Lester Maddox, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, and the support of Andrew Young, black fifth district Democratic congressional candidate. When speaking before predominantly white audiences, Carter defended Maddox' refusal to support Young for Congress: "That is his right.... I think there are things that transcend party unity." Repeatedly asked if he himself supported Young, Carter's typically slimy evasion was, "I don't live in the Fifth District" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 10 October 1970).

Carter was sufficiently reactionary to win the support of aged racist Senator Richard Russell and Augusta party boss Roy Harris, leader of the White Citizens Councils and Wallace's number one man in the state. The gubernatorial candidate went out of his way to paper over any differences with Maddox. Carter told a "Maddox appreciation dinner" in Columbus that his running mate was "the essence of the Democratic Party.... I am proud to be on the ticket with him. Despite reports you have heard, there has never been any difference between us in the primary" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 27 October 1970). Running a gubernatorial campaign that was less overtly racist than the preceding primary, Carter simply left the white supremacist vote to be corralled by his running mate. Maddox, who had paved the way to his term as governor in 1966 by driving black people out of his restaurant with an ax handle.

Carter ran a hard-line "law and order" campaign, attacking his Republican opponent for favoring legalized gambling and abolition of the death penalty, promising to upgrade the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and "stamp out the drug problem." Only months after the murder of students at Kent State, the candidate told newsmen that he would not hesitate to give the National Guard live ammunition and shoot-to-kill orders if "absolutely necessary" to put down campus unrest (*Atlanta Constitution*, 27 October 1970).

With his eyes already on the White House, the new governor did indeed attempt to cultivate a moderate liberal image with platitudes, a smattering of reforms and a portrait of Martin Luther King hung in his office. During the last two years of his term he began actively exploring his presidential possibilities, leaving the day-to-day administration of the state in the hands of Maddox.

Although he now tells black audiences that the Vietnam war was "racist," in April 1971 Carter proclaimed "American Fighting Men's Day" in Georgia, described My Lai mass murderer William Calley as a "scapegoat" and condemned Calley's conviction as "a blow to troop morale" (*New York Times*, 21 May).

In 1972 Carter publicly threatened to support a one-day school boycott against a desegregation plan in Augusta unless the state legislature called on Congress to initiate a constitutional ban on busing. A month before the Democratic national convention, he urged that Wallace be the vice-presidential nominee. He campaigned to prevent a Democratic Party criticism of Nixon's war policies and in 1972 sponsored a resolution at the Democratic Governors' Conference urging Democratic candidates not to make an issue of the war because, as he explained to *Harper's* journalist Steven Brill, "We should have appreciated and supported Nixon's efforts." As leader of the "Stop McGovern" forces, he nominated saber-rattling Senator Henry Jackson at the convention.

Carter remains consistent. Just as he tried to appeal to the "New South" liberals and blacks as well as the racist vote by alternately embracing and distancing himself from Maddox, he has pulled a similarly slick stunt on the national level with George Wallace. In a letter to a Wallace voter explaining why he nominated Jackson rather than Wallace in 1972, Carter reveals the kind of "spirituality" that makes him U.S. presidential material:

> "I have never had anything but the highest praise for Governor Wallace. There are times when two men working toward the same end can accomplish more if they are not completely tied together. I think you will find that Governor Wallace understands this."
>
> *Harper's*, March 1976

Break with the Democrats and Republicans!

Black working people will face two overtly racist alternatives in November, dished out by the capitalist class and its black hangers-on. Black politicos like Coleman Young and Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson, who have found a comfortable niche for themselves at the expense of blacks and all working people, will certainly find it more difficult to sell Jimmy Carter to the ghetto black masses than to the compliant middle-class black clergy. But the profoundly disaffected black working people once again have no alternative except to vote with their feet. The ossified and racialist labor bureaucracy which purports to "lead" the millions of black union members, including its "progressive" wing exemplified by the UAW's Leonard Woodcock, joins the ministers in urging support for Carter.

The late Malcolm X once compared the "difference" between Goldwater and Johnson to the difference between an "honestly growling wolf" and "a fox who could have them [black people] half-digested before they even knew what was happening." The failure of the 1960's civil rights movement to transcend reformist tokenism, the collapse of that movement's more militant offshoots into merely a black version of cynical ethnic maneuverism, the naked treachery of the union tops who claim to represent black workers—all have given the black masses no perspective except the suicidal alliance with the "moderate" Dixiecrats.

Tony Spina/Detroit Free Press

Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter posing with supporters at $500-a-plate dinner in Detroit. From left: General Motors president Peter Estes, UAW president Leonard Woodcock, Carter, Detroit mayor Coleman Young, Chrysler board chairman John J. Riccardo and Ford chairman Henry Ford II.

The burning necessity is for a labor party based on the trade unions which can provide a class basis for political unity between black and white working people. All the big business candidates have a program to "solve" the economic crisis at the expense of the workers and poor. All have a program tailored to the racist backlash. A workers party based on the organized strength of the unions and championing the rights of doubly oppressed social strata would find a ready response among black people. Such a party could weld the ghetto to the factory in the struggle to transform society through the expropriation of the capitalist class and the rule of a workers government. ■

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Militant S.F. Teamsters Strike Associated Freight

For A Joint West Coast Warehouse/Transport Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO—In the wake of the defeat of the San Francisco city workers strike, West Coast employers have intensified their anti-union offensive. The brunt of this assault is currently being borne by the Teamsters (IBT) and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). With contracts coming up in these unions, the companies clearly want to smash the fighting spirit of the workers. The bourgeoisie's campaign to soften up the ILWU and IBT is not being fought with ordinary weapons. For the first time in years cops are being used extensively to break picket lines, federal marshals have been summoned and even the FBI is on hand.

Teamsters Strike Associated Freight

Teamsters in California are on strike—officially sanctioned by the International—against Associated Freight Lines. In the Bay Area Teamsters were somewhat less resistant to the recent trucking settlement than in other regions, largely because the local contract supplement maintained local gains such as the union hiring hall and the fixed starting time. Associated, however, is refusing to accept the negotiated contract terms, including some provisions of the master contract.

An official strike bulletin dated May 18 from IBT Local 70 (East Bay) described the situation: "Associated Freight Lines separated from the National Master Freight Agreement and through separate negotiations sought a substandard contract that provided for less wages and conditions, including flexible starting times." The bulletin continues, "On May 10, 1976 Associated Freight Lines retaliated and permanently replaced (fired) all the Teamsters and replaced them with SCABS, and hired professional union-busting guards with guns and dogs to protect them."

Reports are circulating that Associated is receiving subsidies from Pacific Mountain Trucking and Delta Trucking Lines. In addition to the private guards and local police, the company terminal in San Francisco is guarded by U.S. marshals and other federal agents. When a *WV* reporter attempted to take a picture of the scene, his film was destroyed by five men claiming to be FBI agents. However, the next day *WV* was able to take photos showing the riot police and private guards at Associated.

At some company terminals, as in Oakland, scab trucks have been moving, but the S.F. terminal has been shut down tight by the militant tactics of IBT Local 85. There have been sporadic reports of private guards being sent to the hospital, as well as the strikers being injured by baton-wielding guards or threatened at gunpoint. On May 18 the company obtained two sweeping injunctions from a Santa Clara county judge—one limiting the number of picketers, and another barring picketers within 2,000 feet of *any* company terminal or its *trucks*! Three days later Teamster ranks responded by appearing at Pier 80 to shut down all trucking operations. Although the lines were broken by local cops backed up by customs officials and federal marshals, trucking was disrupted as picketers chased the scab trucks. Not surprisingly, these militant tactics were denounced by Local 85 leader Ray Talavera, who said the picketing was unauthorized and who threatened disciplinary action against Local members (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 May).

WV Photo

Cops and company guards at struck Associated Freight depot in San Francisco.

Nestlé's Strike

The ILWU strike at Nestlé's chocolate plant is already over ten weeks old. The walkout of 114 workers began on March 12 over the contract issue of catch-up raises, and since then the company has clearly demonstrated its intention to break the strike. Unless the strikers are backed by solidarity actions of truck drivers, warehousemen and longshoremen refusing to handle Nestlé's products, they will be isolated and defeated.

There have been some demonstrations of union support for the Nestlé's workers. On May 20, ILWU Local 34 clerks stationed at Pier 80 managed to turn away a container of scab Nestlé's products and forced the shipping company awaiting the delivery to agree not to handle nine other Nestlé's containers.

However, according to a May 21 leaflet issued by five ILWU militants (Bob Carson, Local 34 executive board; Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, Local 10 executive board; Bob Mandel, Local 6 general executive board; and John Dow, Local 6 steward)—the Local 6 warehouse leaders have actually ordered their members to handle scab Nestlé's products at Thrifty. The leaflet praises the actions of the clerks at Pier 80 and the refusal of Local 6 warehouse workers and several stewards at Thrifty Warehouse to handle Nestlé's products on May 19.

The leaflet reveals that "Local 6 BA [business agent] Abba Ramos then ordered the workers to handle scab goods on the grounds that since they had been received they had to be worked!" Not to be outdone, Local 10 executive board member Archie Brown has been pushing the impotent consumer boycott of Nestlé's products proposed by the bureaucrats as an alternative to militant hot-cargo tactics. To the defeatism and strikebreaking of Ramos and Brown, both well-known Communist Party (CP) supporters, the militants' leaflet replied that "carefully coordinated action by the Stewards' Councils and memberships of the warehouse, longshore and clerk locals can still shut Nestle down tight."

Negotiations in Warehouse

Rapidly approaching is the June 1 contract deadline for 25,000 northern California warehouse workers represented by a joint negotiating alliance between the ILWU and Teamsters. In anticipation of the upcoming negotiations, employers have launched a series of vicious assaults against the unions, in particular ILWU Local 6. This includes not only the current Nestlé's strike, but also the recent Local 6 strikes at Clinical Specialties and Victor which were broken by police scabherding. The defeat suffered by Victor office workers resulted in the first open shop agreement signed in ILWU history.

As employers have intensified their strikebreaking they have become more intransigent at the bargaining table. The Distributors Association has sneered at the official union wage demand of $3.25 over three years, standing firm on its insulting offer of 48 cents over three years!

The response of the Local 6 leadership headed by Curtis McClain has been to retreat, attempting to stifle the militancy of the rank and file. Regular membership meetings, which have been well-attended and combative, were abruptly canceled. At strike vote meetings held on May 19-20, militants got one third of the vote when they argued for "no contract, no work." Unfortunately, McClain & Co. were able to push through a weak-kneed motion to strike only "when and if necessary," and in so doing making it emphatically clear that they were not serious about fighting even for their own inadequate official bargaining proposals. Reportedly the bureaucrats have already reduced the wage demand by 75 cents and abandoned the demand for full cost-of-living protection.

In an attempt to keep iron-fisted control over the bargaining, Teamster chief Fitzsimmons has sent in as IBT chief negotiator William Grami, who was his leading hatchet man in the raiding campaign against the Farm Workers. Playing on apprehensions among ILWU members about the corrupt and goon-ridden IBT bureaucracy, McClain is trying to use the "alliance" with the Teamsters as a club against his own union members, claiming that militant action on the ILWU's part would scare off the IBT. (However, at the same time McClain has refused to call any ILWU/Teamster Stewards Council meetings to prepare for joint strike action!)

The Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in Local 6 which has spearheaded the fight for hot-cargoing Nestlé's products, has warned of the treachery of the Local bureaucracy and has called for election of strike committees in each warehouse, as the nucleus of a centralized strike leadership. It demands the immediate convening of a joint Teamster/ILWU Stewards Council meeting, as the first step in forming a fighting alliance against the employers on a class-struggle program. The 3 May "Warehouse Militant" outlines the key demands of such a program, calling for "$2.00 per hour in one year and catch-up pay to get parity with the Teamsters, a full COLA, the unrestricted right to strike, jobs for all through 30 for 40, free 24-hour childcare at company expense, 25 years and out on a pension equal to your normal month's wage."

Shut Down West Coast Transport!

In a parallel development to the warehouse companies' offensive, West Coast longshoremen are facing renewed attacks from the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). On July 1 the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) fund will be automatically cut by $1.3 million and PMA is planning a wave of deregistrations under the guise of weeding out "moonlighters" and "chiselers." Needless to say, there are no plans for resistance from the International leadership of Harry Bridges. As the latest "Longshore Militant" (11 May) notes: "For the first time since 1946, mass layoffs are staring us in the face." The newsletter called for longshoremen to strike with warehouse workers when the warehouse contract expires June 1 in order to dump the rotten longshore contract. As the "Longshore Militant" notes: "We have the power to shut down all West Coast transport to win what we all need." The demand must be raised to reopen the rotten IBT Master Freight Agreement, as well as to defend the Associated drivers. Among the demands raised by the "Longshore Militant" are a sliding scale of hours and wages and the immediate promotion of all "B-men" to "A" status.

Clearly, to win these demands and simply to defend the unions from massive company assaults, a joint West Coast transport/warehouse strike is necessary. All West Coast ports must be shut down. All trucking must be halted. All warehouses under ILWU/Teamsters jurisdiction must be shut, including those in southern California, which should be brought into the northern California contract.

The employers' anti-union offensive can be halted by militant action by the Teamsters and ILWU. But the leaderships of these unions have just recently demonstrated their fundamental rottenness by their failure to mobilize their memberships in solidarity with the S.F. craft workers strike. Although this strike dramatically underscored the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy's longtime alliance with capitalist "friend of labor" politicians like strikebreaking mayor Moscone, the labor fakers have not changed their ways. In the wake of the anti-labor backlash provoked by the long and demoralizing strike, they have become even more defeatist and reactionary. Only a new class-struggle leadership such as that presented by the supporters of the "Warehouse Militant" and "Longshore Militant" can reverse the tide of defeats. ■

World Press Covers Campaign to Save Mario Muñoz

AMÉRIQUES

Argentine

La répression touche tous les milieux sociaux et professionnels

Malgré le ton modéré des proclamations initiales de l'équipe militaire au pouvoir ...

... organisations para-policières ou extrémistes de droite, comme l'Alliance anti-communiste argentine.

... ment par Mme Maud Mannoni et MM. Gilles Deleuze et Michel Foucault.

La situation des étrangers réfugiés sur le territoire argentin n'est apparemment guère meilleure. Un décret-loi du 26 mars permet l'expulsion des ... vers leur pays d'origine ... motifs les plus divers. ... International nous a communiqué une liste de ... Chiliens menacés d'être renvoyés à Santiago. Nous avons, d'autre part, appris de sources ... tement sûres que M. Edgardo Enriquez — l'un des dirigeants du MIR chilien, — dont ... avions récemment annoncé l'arrestation en Argentine, a été renvoyé le 27 avril au Chili. Il se trouverait actuellement détenu dans un local de DINA — la police politique chilienne, — situé dans une localité nommée Monte-Maravilla.

Le Monde

... tions et des enlèvements.

Selon *Amnesty International*, de vingt à trente mille personnes auraient été arrêtées depuis le coup d'État militaire. Un certain nombre, bien entendu, ont été relâchées. Le chiffre de quatre mille détenus politiques — généralement admis par les observateurs durant les derniers jours du régime péroniste — est, selon toute vraisemblance, largement dépassé. Néanmoins, les autorités n'ont toujours pas donné un chiffre officiel et encore moins une liste des personnes détenues. Les différents services de répression ... et militaires, ont agi et continuent d'agir ... pour son compte, allant même jusqu'à se disputer ... prisonniers. La ... péroniste ...

... six ambassades ... Il était sur la « *liste noire* ».

Des appels

Nous avons, en particulier, reçu des appels en faveur de :

● M. Haroldo Conti, écrivain renommé, collaborateur de l'excellente revue littéraire et politique *Crisis*, enlevé le 5 mai à Dorego, dans la province de Buenos-Aires, par six civils armés. Plusieurs écrivains vivant à Paris, dont Régis Debray, Manuel Scorza, Julio Cortazar, Italo Calvino, Ariel Dorfman, ont envoyé un télégramme au président Videla, lui demandant de veiller à ce que soient ... la vie ...

M. Mario Munoz Salas, syndicaliste chilien de la fédération des mineurs, est actuellement recherché, apprend-on, par les forces de l'ordre argentines, auxquelles il a pu échapper lors d'une première perquisition à son domicile, dans la ville de San-Juan. Une trentaine de personnalités : écrivains, artistes, journalistes, avocats, etc., ont déjà lancé un appel en sa faveur.

● ... le cinéaste brésilien Paolo Paranagua et sa ... Maria Regina Pilla, détenus depuis une année, avaient obtenu, juste avant le coup d'État, un visa pour la France. Les autorités militaires argentines semblent se refuser, désormais, à les laisser quitter le pays. De nombreux écrivains et artistes ont signé un ... pour leur libération.

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES

APRES LE COUP D'ETAT EN ARGENTINE

la vie de Edgardo Enriquez (MIR) et de Mario Muñoz (PS) est en danger

La prise du pouvoir par la junte du général Videla en Argentine fait peser une grave menace sur tous les réfugiés politiques latino-américains, et notamment chiliens, qui avaient trouvé à Buenos-Aires un refuge précaire. Le 25 mars dernier, la police argentine a envahi la maison de Mario Munoz Salas, militant chilien, brutalisé sa femme et ses enfants pour connaître l'endroit où se cache ce militant. Il est aujourd'hui recherché, et la police a menacé de l'abattre sur ... en cas de découverte. Un comité pour sauver la vie de M... vient de se ...

... dirigeant du syndicat des ouvriers et mineurs d'Aconcagua, combattant infatigable, connu et respecté de tous les ouvriers chiliens. Il avait été persécuté par tous les gouvernements chiliens au service des exploiteurs. La considération de ses frères de classe le porta à la direction nationale des conseils régionaux sous le gouvernement de Salvador Allende. Il dirigea sans relâche la formation des cordons industriels d'ouvriers, mineurs et paysans ... Aconcagua et de Valparaiso ... mobilisation fasciste. Jus... temps avant le coup ...

Sauver Munoz !

Mario Munoz Salas, dirigeant et fondateur du Syndicat inter-provincial des ouvriers « Pirquineros » d'Aconcagua, délégué national aux Conseils miniers régionaux, a été toute sa vie un ... able pour la défense ...

POLITIQUE hebdo

Labor men in protest

CANBERRA, Monday — The Federal Secretary of the ALP, Mr David Combe, and two former Labor Ministers, Dr Jim Cairns and Dr Moss Cass, have added support to a campaign to save a Chilean labour leader from execution in Argentina.

They are among ten signatories to a protest telegram sent today to the Argentinian Ambassador to Australia, Mr Desmaras-Luzuriaga.

The telegram has been sent on behalf of Mr Mario Munoz Salas, a former Chilean union leader and socialist who fled to Argentina with his family after a military coup in 1973.

The secretary of the Munoz Defence Committee, Mr Bill Logan ...

... Peron.

Mr Munoz was presently ...

Sydney Morning Herald

The military coup in Argentina has placed the lives of Chilean refugees in that country in jeopardy. The junta has joined its Chilean counterpart in proclaiming the death sentence on a number of leading militants.

One refugee whose life is at stake ... Munoz Salas, a former ... agua Union of ... Thirty armed ... house at 3 am. ... his wife and ... was unable to ... had escaped.

Tribune [Australia]

L'Argentine des militaires

Le piège se referme sur les réfugiés latino-américains

Des amis de Mario Munoz Salas qui ont créé un « comité pour sauver Mario Munoz » (W. Saffores, BP 64 PARIS Cedex 19) lancent une pétition sur le ... suivant ... « Mario Munoz ... ational a ... sa vie ... avait ... la junte ... assassiné (en le battant) ... Maintenant c'est la junte argentine qui le con... à la peine capitale. Le comité qui préc... ont déc... cherch... »

Libération

DANGER POUR LES RÉFUGIÉS CHILIENS EN ARGENTINE

... refuse à toute déclaration, et c'est le plus inquiétant. En juin 1975, la police argentine, le même, arrêtait un autre dirigeant du MIR, Jorge Fuentes, et le livrait aux autorités chiliennes. Par ailleurs, la gendarmerie argentine recherche Mario Munoz, dirigeant du syndicat des ouvriers et de ... Aconca... com... ... tine. ... mille ... peut ... en danger. ... sa vie ...

lutte ouvrière

Internationale Solidarität zur Rettung des Lebens von MARIO MUÑOZ!

Der Staatsstreich der Streitkräfte in Argentinien präsentierte der Weltöffentlichkeit ein Bild von Maßigung und Beachtung der Menschenrechte, aber dem steht die brutale Wirklichkeit entgegen. Stillschweigend hat die argentinische Junta einen blutigen Unterdrückungsfeldzug gegen alle Revolu... Gewerkschaften und ...

... durchsucht, um ihn aufzuspuren ... Bergarbeiter. Sein Le...

Kommunistische Korrespondenz

One Month After Argentine Coup

Rightist Terror and Inflation Continue Unabated

By Judy White

One month after General Videla seized power in Argentina, extralegal rightist gangs continue to operate with impunity ...

The case of exiled Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz Salas makes clear the Videla regime's intentions on this matter.

The Paris-based Committee for the Defense of Imprisoned Chilean Workers, Soldiers and Sailors reported ...

Picket at Argentine Consulate Demands Hands Off Mario Muñoz

About 100 persons picketed the Argentine consulate in New York April 22 to protest the Videla junta's "shoot on sight" order against Chilean mine workers leader Mario Muñoz Salas. Muñoz has been in exile in Argentina since the September 1973 coup that overthrew the Allende government.

The picket line, called by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, was endorsed by several dozen organizations and prominent individuals including District Council 8 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee, Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Comm...

Intercontinental Press

Commentaire

Brésil, Chili, Argentine: la gangrène du fascisme

par Patrice Rodriguez (collaboration spéciale)

Dans la nuit du 23 au 24 mars 1976 un coup d'Etat "pacifique" en Argentine devait porter au pouvoir une Junte militaire composée du général Jorge Rafael Videla, commandant en chef de l'armée de terre, de l'amiral Emilio Massera, commandant en ... de ...

... guayens, etc... sont persécutés et menacés de déportation. Les réfugiés des Nations unies sont perquisitionnés trois fois par semaine. Le cas de Mario Munoz Salas, condamné à mort par la Junte militaire chilienne et exilé en Argentine, est un exemple concret de la situation vécue aujourd'hui par les réfugiés dans ce pays ...

Le Jour

Muñoz Campaign Gains New Endorsements

The international campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz Salas, the Chilean working-class leader being hunted down by the Argentine junta, has continued to draw broad support from trade unionists, leftists and others who oppose the violation of democratic rights under military dictatorships in South America. Since the campaign began a little over a month ago more than 200 endorsements from four continents have been received.

In the past week, new endorsements from the United States received by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz (jointly sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile) include Angela Davis, co-chairperson, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression*; Kate Millett, author; Anne Braden, civil rights activist; New American Movement, national office; Revolutionary Socialist League; Esteban E. Torres, assistant director, international affairs department, United Auto Workers*; and Bobby L. Rush.

In Europe, endorsements were received last week from Ernst Bloch, philosopher; British Labour Party* Members of Parliament Frank Allaun, Martin Flannery, Tom Litterick, Stan Newens and George Rodgers; Alexandre Oliveira, *Gazeta da Semana**, Lisbon; Friedrich Prechtl, chairman, Railroad Union*, Austria; Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers*, London; Alain Krivine, Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), France.

New Canadian endorsers include the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 1230; Revolutionary Marxist Group; and the Vancouver District Labour Council.

Important endorsements have just been received from Israel as well. Among them are: Israel Shahak, Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights*; Felicia Langer, lawyer defending Palestinians in Israeli military courts; the Committee of Arab Students, Jerusalem University; M. Warschawski, Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen-Marxist)*; and Joshua Sobel, writer and journalist.

Also last week, the French LCR's daily *Rouge* (18 May) published an appeal by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

Funds Urgently Needed

On the vital financial side of the campaign, the Committee reported this week that it had raised over $4,000 so far. Despite this encouraging success, funds are still urgently needed to bring to public attention the persecution of Mario Muñoz and further to obtain refugee status and safe conduct for him and his family out of Argentina. Readers of *WV* are urged to send donations (earmarked for the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz) to the Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Requests for further information concerning the Muñoz campaign can be sent to the same address. Please act immediately the life of a revolutionary workers' leader is at stake. Only a powerful outcry of international protest can save him from the butchers of the Argentine and Chilean juntas!

**organization listed for identification purposes only*

Resolution Suppressed at Washington Conference

Whereas, the Argentine junta has unleashed a bloody repression against revolutionaries, trade unions and democratic organizations, while permitting fascist gangs like the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance to carry out their assassinations with impunity, and

Whereas, this vicious, reactionary terror also endangers the thousands of political refugees in Argentina, many of whom are Chilean, having fled rightwing repression in other Latin American countries, and

Whereas, Mario Muñoz, Chilean miners' union leader, was forced, along with thousands of Chilean workers and peasants, to flee to Argentina following the Pinochet coup in 1973, where Muñoz has continued to aid the Chilean masses during the difficult years of exile, and

Whereas, the Videla junta, following in the footsteps of Pinochet, has ordered Muñoz shot on sight,

Be it resolved that the National Legislative Conference on Chile demands that the Argentina junta stop the manhunt against Mario Muñoz and permit this working-class leader to leave Argentina in safety, and that the Conference endorses the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz, as part of the struggle to free all the victims of rightwing repression in Latin America.

—Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

Australian Council of Trade Unions Executive Resolution

The following resolution of the Australian Council of Trade Unions Executive in respect to treatment of trade-union leaders in Argentina was passed on 20 May 1976:

The ACTU expresses the strongest condemnation of the attack on the Trade Union Movement and Working-Class Leaders by the Argentina Military Junta, as reported to us by the International Metal Workers' Federation. We demand an immediate restoration of trade union basic rights and freedom.

In particular, we call for an end to the harassment of Mario Muñoz Salas and his family, and a guarantee of protection of their lives.

The ACTU decides to protest to the Argentina Ambassador.

We ask the President to raise these matters at the ILO [International Labour Organisation] while he is in Geneva, with a view to the ILO taking action in Argentina.

Further, the ICFTU [International Confederation of Free Trade Unions] be requested to take all possible appropriate action.

COMMITTEE TO SAVE MARIO MUÑOZ

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!

Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

☐ I pledge $_____ to help save Mario Muñoz (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee. Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

Stalinist Sectarianism in Behalf of the Butcher Videla

D.C. Conference Tries to Gag Defense of Chile Refugees

About 150 people attended the "National Legislative Conference on Chile" held May 16-17 in Washington, D.C. The conference was called by the National Coordination Center in Solidarity with Chile (NCCSC), a liberal pressure group uncritically supported by the reformist pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP). According to the NCCSC the purpose of the conference was to "call upon Congress to act now" by replacing Kissinger with a liberal as U.S. representative to the OAS and by passing the pending Fraser and Kennedy amendments, which would respectively limit economic aid and eliminate military assistance to the Chilean junta.

Bureaucratic Bulldozing

The Stalinists' attempt to railroad the conference into consideration of their two lobbying bills and nothing else soon ran into trouble. Urgent issues raised from the floor of the workshops and the plenary pressed the bureaucratic manipulators beyond the limits of their control, and by the end of the meeting had forced a compromise on the main conference resolution.

First there was the issue of Chilean refugees which the Stalinists wanted to completely ignore. A delegation representing the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz attempted to raise the question of defending political refugees in Argentina, about 80 percent of whom are Chileans according to Amnesty International. In particular, they sought to bring to the attention of the conference the campaign currently being waged for Mario Muñoz Salas, the mine workers' leader forced to flee Chile at the time of the Pinochet coup and now marked for death by the Argentine junta.

But the conference leaders tried to prevent any consideration of Chilean political refugees and other victims of right-wing repression in Argentina. While enthusing over messages from bourgeois politicians like Hubert Humphrey, who as vice president in the Johnson administration was responsible for tiger cages and mass slaughter in South Vietnam, the NCCSC in its resolution on political prisoners and refugees sought to avoid even mentioning the plight of the many thousands of Chilean militants now trapped in Argentina. Moreover, the NCCSC steering committee informed PDC and Committee to Save Mario Muñoz representatives at the conference that they were not allowed to distribute any literature concerning Muñoz, including the resolution proposed for adoption by the meeting (reprinted above).

In the workshop on political prisoners, a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz spokesman attempted to introduce and motivate this resolution, but the NCCSC chairman summarily ruled any discussion of Chilean refugees in Argentina "out of order." So determined were the conference organizers to prevent political controversy that the workshop chairman even postponed consideration of the NCCSC resolution until the very end of the meeting, when he then "discovered" that there was no time for a discussion.

Despite the heavy gavel of the meeting's organizers, many participants recognized the need to defend Chilean refugees, and objections to the attempted suppression of this issue were raised from the floor and in the corridors. Also, there were protests against the proposed main conference resolution's call for placing "particular emphasis on the freedom for the imprisoned leaders of the democratically elected Popular Unity [UP] government of Salvador Allende." Under considerable pressure from the participants, the resolution was amended at the plenary session later

continued on page 10

Declaration...

(continued from page 1)

the USec played a central role in creating the MIR, but this did not prevent the Castroites from summarily expelling them two years later for "Trotskyism." Such are the rewards of opportunism!) The USec supporters labeled the bourgeois elements of the UP irrelevant, aligning the Allende regime with the label "reformist" and calling on it to carry out its own bourgeois program.

As for the two Chile groups adhering to the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" led by the French OCI, neither of them characterized the UP as a popular front until after the Pinochet coup; and the minuscule Posadista group considered the Allende regime as a "revolutionary government," a category in which it also includes the military juntas of Peru and Panama.

III

However, some militants in Chile did seek to oppose the class collaboration of the two dominant reformist, or as Lenin said, bourgeois workers parties (Communist and Socialist). In late 1972, elements of the TRO (Revolutionary October Tendency, allied with the reformist international minority of the USec) refused to go along with a fusion with the FRT (Revolutionary Trotskyist Front, led by L. Vitale and allied with the centrist USec majority) because of the failure to resolve (or even discuss) differences on Cuba and guerrillaism, and the lack of a revolutionary policy toward the UP. Consequently, this grouping was immediately expelled by the central committee elected at the founding congress of the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party) amid charges of "ultra-leftism."

The expelled tendency, which became the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization (OTR), includes among its central leadership trade unionists with many years of experience leading struggles of the Chilean miners, both against the U.S. monopolies and state agencies of the Chilean bourgeoisie. Having broken with the SP, in the March 1973 legislative elections they called for votes to the Popular Socialist Union (USOPO), a split-off from the SP, while giving it no political confidence. Although the USOPO leaders were reformists, they had been forced to break with the popular front because of leftist opposition among copper miners (its base) to the UP. Shortly before the Pinochet coup leaders of the OTR were at the head of a workers march in Santiago demanding "break with the bourgeoisie."

Subsequently, in a document approved by its congress in October 1974, "A Political Defeat and the Need for a Balance Sheet," the OTR wrote:

> "To say that the character of the UP was reformist means being an accomplice to the betrayals committed. Thus the UP must be included in the list of the old popular fronts, the model designed to betray the working class."

IV

At the time of the shotgun wedding which formed the PSR in November 1972, the tendency which became the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization of Chile had already experienced the unprincipled maneuvering of the competing factions of the USec. In exile, the OTR came into direct contact with the United Secretariat leadership. Although invited to the USec's "Tenth World Congress," it was informed that there would be no discussion on Chile! This was only logical for a fake-International which had formally declared the Allende regime a popular front in 1971, while none of its sympathizing groups in Chile ever held this position; and then, following the 1973 coup, posthumously rehabilitated the UP to the status of "reformist." Clearly any honest balance sheet of the Chilean events could only be a condemnation of the USec's own opportunism and failure to present a revolutionary opposition to class collaboration.

The OCI, like the USec, had termed the Allende regime a popular front (although not taking the decisive step of calling for electoral opposition to *all* the parties of the UP coalition) while its Chilean supporters failed to make this characterization. In discussions with the OCI, the OTR sharply rejected the former's call for a vote for Mitterrand (candidate of the popular-front Union of the Left in the 1974 French presidential elections) and opposed the OCI policy of tailing after the Portuguese Socialist Party. In 1971, after playing a fundamental role in frustrating chances for a Bolivian revolution by its capitulatory centrist policies, the OCI's main Latin American ally, the POR of G. Lora, concluded a political pact with the ousted Bolivian ex-president, General Torres. Subsequently the OCI has called for extending this alliance with the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie to a continental scale—a Latin American super-Kuomintang. Such treacherous policies demonstrate the appetites of these pseudo-Trotskyists to commit betrayals as monstrous as those of the Chilean SP and CP.

Coming into contact with the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), the OTR found itself in fundamental agreement with the iSt's consistent class opposition to the popular front, put forward in positions taken even at the height of Allende's popularity and expressed in the articles collected in *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3 ("Chile: Lecciones del Frente Popular"). This initial agreement was extended to include the understanding of the nature of Cuba as a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The opportunists of the United Secretariat formed their pseudo-International on the basis of capitulating to Castro's popularity among petty-bourgeois radicals, terming Cuba a healthy workers state that merely "lack[ed] the forms" of proletarian democracy. In contrast, the forerunner of the Spartacist League U.S., the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) insisted that Cuba was a deformed workers state, and that workers democracy could only be achieved through political revolution led by a Trotskyist party. It was for defending this Marxist program that the RT was expelled by the SWP, as part of the latter's rapid degeneration through centrism to cringing social-democratic reformism. Through a discussion of the history of the international Trotskyist movement, the USec capitulation to Castroism was traced to the Pablоist liquidationism which had destroyed the Fourth International in 1951-53.

V

Among the earlier political positions, inherited from Pablоism, which the OTR had to reevaluate, the question of guerrillaism was the most difficult. While in the TRO, the tendency which became the OTR had been strongly guerrillaist, accusing the TRO leadership of failure to carry out the decision of the USec's "Ninth World Congress" on "armed struggle" in Latin America. While the OTR had rejected peasant-based "foco" guerrilla war, it stood for guerrilla struggle by the workers.

In discussions with the iSt, the OTR came to the conclusion that Marxists must oppose guerrillaism. As the Revolutionary Tendency stated in 1963, "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working class bureaucratic regime" ("Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International"). Moreover, whether in rural or urban (Tupamaros) forms, whether as Guevarism, Maoist "people's war" or in a "Trotskyist" disguise (as in the case of the Argentine PRT/ERP), guerrillaism is hostile to proletarian revolution and inevitably leads to - or is the reflection of - Stalinist "two-stage" conceptions if not outright petty-bourgeois nationalism.

The proletariat *cannot* sustain guerrilla war, for the very concept implies the absence of a revolutionary situation and the kind of irregular fighting which requires an ability to retreat rapidly. In addition to its clear class interest, it is the *organization* of the proletariat which gives it political superiority over the atomized peasantry. This organization is the result of the position of the working class in the structure of capitalist society; to retreat into the hills would eventually destroy the class or the class character of its vanguard.

There is no better illustration of the impotence of guerrillaism in the face of a concerted offensive by the bourgeoisie than the recent debacle in Argentina. Even though guerrillaism (both urban and rural) is more widespread, better financed and equipped, of longer duration and of more different varieties than anywhere else in Latin America, none of the guerrilla groups could lift a finger against the Videla coup or even stop the notorious AAA death squads which have assassinated thousands of leftists and workers leaders with impunity over the last three years.

The revolutionary party must, of course, take an active role in organizing the self-defense of the working masses, and the use of guerrilla tactics is often vital as a subordinate civil war tactic. However, the road to power for the proletariat is through mass insurrection against the bourgeois state; the central military organization of the uprising must be an arm of and directed by the mass organization of the working class, led by the Leninist vanguard party.

VI

In Latin America, Castroist-inspired guerrillaism has led a generation of subjectively revolutionary militants from one defeat to another, resulting in the useless slaughter of many of the most dedicated and courageous fighters. In numerous countries, thousands of militants have been grievously misled by the Trotskyist pretensions of the Pablоists and other revisionists into capitulation before non-proletarian leaderships.

We reject the claims of the several international groupings posturing as the Fourth International to be the continuity, either organizationally or politically, of the revolutionary organization founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. The Chilean experience has again demonstrated the bankruptcy of these pseudo-Trotskyist imposters. Those who in 1970-73 were giving a left cover to Allende's Popular Unity, only a year later were creating illusions in the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement and/or its SP and CP collaborators. After playing a central role in creating the MIR, only to be expelled from their creature shortly after, the USec repeated this disastrous course with the debacle of the guerrillaist Argentine PRT/ERP, at the same time sustaining the social-democratic PST, which politically supported the Peronist government. Only an authentically Trotskyist International, firmly based on the theory of permanent revolution and committed to destroying the authority of all the reformist and centrist misleaders of the working class, can resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership.

In view of the large number of subjectively revolutionary militants presently within the ranks of various ostensibly revolutionary organizations and the central importance of politically destroying Pablоism on a world scale, the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization and the international Spartacist tendency, in this declaration of fraternal relations, agree to undertake joint work toward the rebirth of the Fourth International. We seek to reforge the Fourth International by winning the best cadre and militants through a process of revolutionary regroupment. On the basis of the above points and agreement with the Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League U.S., subsequently adopted by the iSt, the parties to this declaration aim at achieving the unity of the Revolutionary Trotskyist Organization of Chile with the international Spartacist tendency, and in turn this will be a great step toward the formation of the International Trotskyist League, worldwide in scope.

17 May 1976

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Declaración...

(viene de la página 12)

elementos burgueses de la UP como sin relevancia, ocultando el carácter de clase del régimen de Allende detrás de la etiqueta "reformista", y exigiéndole cumplir con el programa burgués de la UP.

En cuanto a los dos grupos chilenos pertenecientes al "Comité de Organización por la Reconstrucción de la Cuarta Internacional" encabezado por la OCI francesa, ninguno caracterizó a la UP como frente popular hasta después del golpe de Pinochet. Finalmente, el minúsculo grupo posadista consideró al régimen de Allende como "gobierno revolucionario", una categoría en la cual también incluye las juntas militares del Perú y del Panamá.

III

Sin embargo, algunos militantes en Chile buscaban oponerse al colaboracionismo de clases de los dominantes partidos obreros reformistas—o como lo expresó Lenin, partidos obreros burgueses—el PC y el PS. A finales de 1972, elementos de la Tendencia Revolucionaria de Octubre (TRO, aliada con la minoría internacional reformista del SU) se rehusaron acceder a una fusión con el Frente Revolucionario Trotskista (FRT, liderado por L. Vitale y aliado con la mayoría centrista del SU) a causa de la no-resolución (y ni siquiera discusión) de diferencias sobre Cuba y el guerrillerismo, y de la ausencia de una política revolucionaria frente a la UP. Por consiguiente, esta agrupación fue inmediatamente expulsada por el comité central elegido en el congreso de fundación del Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR) con acusaciones de "ultra-izquierdismo".

En la dirección central de la tendencia expulsada, que luego se transformó en la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR), se encuentran dirigentes sindicales con muchos años de experiencia en la dirección de las luchas de los mineros chilenos, tanto contra los monopolios norteamericanos como las empresas estatales de la burguesía chilena. Habiendo roto con el PS, en las elecciones legislativas de marzo de 1973 se llamó a votar por la Unión Socialista Popular (USOPO), una escisión del PS, sin darle ninguna confianza política. Aunque los dirigentes de la USOPO eran reformistas, habían sido forzados a romper con el frente popular a causa de la oposición de izquierda a la UP entre los mineros del cobre, la base de la USOPO. Poco antes del golpe dirigentes de la OTR encabezaron una marcha obrera en Santiago exigiendo "Romper con la burguesía."

Más tarde, en un documento aprobado por su congreso de octubre de 1974, "Una derrota política y la necesidad de un balance", la OTR escribió:

> "Decir que el carácter de la UP es reformista, significa ser cómplice de la traición cometida.... La UP se inscribe así en la lista de los viejos Frentes Populares, que fueron el modelo diseñado para traicionar a la clase obrera."

IV

A la época del matrimonio a la fuerza que resultó en el PSR en noviembre de 1972, la tendencia que más tarde será la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile ya tuvo experiencia con las maniobras sin principios de las fracciones competidoras del SU. En el exilio, la OTR tomó contacto directo con la dirección del Secretariado Unificado. Aunque invitada al "Décimo Congreso Mundial" del SU, ¡la OTR fue informada de que no habría discusión sobre Chile! Esto era de esperar lógicamente de esta falsa Internacional que había clasificado de frente popular al régimen de Allende en 1971, mientras que esta posición no fue compartida por sus grupos simpatizantes en Chile. Luego, después del golpe de 1973, rehabilitó la UP al rango de "reformista". Evidentemente, cualquier balance honesto de los acontecimientos chilenos solo puede condenar el propio oportunismo del SU y su falla de presentar una oposición revolucionaria al colaboracionismo de clases.

La OCI, como el SU, había calificado al régimen de Allende de frente popular (aunque no tomó el paso decisivo de llamar a la oposición electoral a *todos* los partidos de la coalición UP) mientras sus partidarios chilenos se negaron a hacer esta caracterización. En discusiones con la OCI, la OTR rechazó terminantemente la llamada de la OCI a votar por Mitterrand (el candidato del frente popular Unión de la Izquierda en las elecciones presidenciales francesas de 1974) y se opusieron a la política de la OCI seguidista al Partido Socialista portugués. En 1971, después de haber desempeñado un papel fundamental en la frustración de las oportunidades para una revolución boliviana por su claudicación centrista, el principal aliado latinoamericano de la OCI, el POR de G. Lora, firmó un pacto político con el desalojado ex-presidente boliviano, el general Torres. Más tarde, la OCI llamó por la extensión de esta alianza con la burguesía "antiimperialista" a la escala continental—un super-Kuomintang latinoamericano. Tal política traidora demuestra los apetitos de estos pretendidos trotskistas a cometer traiciones igualmente monstruosas que aquellas del PS y del PC chilenos.

Al tomar contacto con la tendencia espartaquista internacional (TEI), la OTR estuvo fundamentalmente de acuerdo con la consecuente oposición de clase de la TEI al frente popular chileno, planteado en posiciones tomadas incluso a la altura de la popularidad de Allende y expresadas en los artículos recolectados en *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3. El acuerdo inicial fue extendido al incluir la comprensión de la naturaleza de Cuba como estado obrero burocráticamente deformado. Los oportunistas del Secretariado Unificado formaron su falsa Internacional sobre la base de la claudicación frente a la popularidad de Castro entre los radicales pequeñoburgueses, calificando a Cuba de estado obrero sano que meramente "carecía de las formas" de la democracia proletaria. Al contrario, el precursor de la Spartacist League/U.S., la Tendencia Revolucionaria (TR) del Socialist Workers Party (SWP) de los EE.UU., insistió que Cuba era un estado obrero deformado y la democracia obrera solo se lograría a través de una revolución política bajo la dirección de un partido trotskista. Fue justamente por la defensa de este programa marxista que la TR era expulsada del SWP, como parte de la degeneración del SWP en su paso rápido por el centrismo en camino hacia el reformismo socialdemócrata servil. A través de una discusión de la historia del movimiento trotskista internacional, la claudicación del SU frente al castrismo fue remontada hasta sus orígenes en el liquidacionismo pablista que había destruido a la Cuarta Internacional en 1951-53.

V

Entre sus antiguas posiciones políticas, heredadas del pablismo, que la OTR tuvo que revisar, la cuestión del guerrillerismo fue la más dificultosa. Dentro de la TRO, la tendencia que después sería la OTR había sido marcado por un guerrillerismo fuerte; acusó a la dirección de la TRO de no haber cumplido con la decisión sobre la "lucha armada" en América Latina aprobada por el "Noveno Congreso" del SU. Mientras la OTR rechazaba la guerra de guerrillas foquista, basada sobre el campesinado, planteaba la guerrilla obrera.

Durante las discusiones con la TEI, la OTR llegó a la conclusión de que los marxistas deben oponerse al guerrillerismo. Como declaró la Tendencia Revolucionaria en 1963, "La experiencia después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial ha demostrado que la guerra de guerrillas basada en los campesinos bajo una dirección pequeñoburguesa no puede llevar más allá de un régimen burocrático antiobrero" ("Hacia el renacimiento de la Cuarta Internacional"). Además, sea en su forma rural o urbana (Tupamaros), sea como guevarismo, la "guerra del pueblo" maoísta o bajo un disfraz "trotskista" (como en el caso del PRT/ERP argentino), el guerrillerismo es hóstil a la revolución proletaria y conduce inevitablemente a—o es el reflejo de concepciones estalinistas de "dos etapas" o hasta el abierto nacionalismo pequeñoburgués.

El proletariado *no puede* sostener una guerra de guerrillas, por lo que el mismo concepto implica la ausencia de una situación revolucionaria y la lucha irregular que requiere una capacidad de repliegue rápido. Además de su claro interés de clase, es la organización del proletariado la que le da una superioridad política sobre el campesinado atomizado. Pero esta organización resulta de la posición de la clase obrera en la estructura de la sociedad capitalista; replegarse a las montañas en el fin destruiría la clase o el carácter de clase de su vanguardia.

No hay mejor ejemplo de la impotencia del guerrillerismo enfrentado por una ofensiva concertada por parte de la burguesía que el reciente fracaso en Argentina. Aunque el guerrillerismo (tanto urbano como rural) fue más extenso, mejor financiado y equipado, de más larga duración y con más variedades diferentes que en cualquier otra parte de América Latina, ningún grupo guerrillero podía ofrecer la más mínima resistencia al golpe de Videla, o aún detener las notorias escuadras de muerte de las AAA que han asesinado con impunidad a miles de militantes de izquierda y dirigentes obreros durante los últimos tres años.

El partido revolucionario debe, por supuesto, tomar un papel activo en organizar la autodefensa de las masas trabajadoras, y en muchas ocasiones es vital el uso de tácticas guerrilleras como un elemento subordinado de guerra civil. No obstante, para el proletariado el camino al poder es por medio de una insurrección de masas contra el estado burgués; la organización militar central del levantamiento debe ser un brazo de, y dirigido por, las organizaciones de masas de la clase obrera, dirigidas por el partido de vanguardia leninista.

VI

En América Latina el guerrillerismo de inspiración castrista ha llevado una generación de militantes subjetivamente revolucionarios a una derrota tras otra, resultando en una carnecería sin sentido de muchos de los más dedicados y valientes luchadores. En numerosos países, miles de militantes han sido vilmente engañados por las pretensiones trotskistas de los pablistas y demás revisionistas, llevándoles a la capitulación frente a las direcciones no-proletarias.

Rechazamos las pretensiones de las varias agrupaciones internacionales que tratan de presentarse como la Cuarta Internacional de ser la continuidad, sea organizacional o política, de la organización revolucionaria fundada por León Trotsky en 1938. La experiencia chilena ha demostrado una vez más la bancarrota de estos impostores seudo-trotskistas. Aquellos que durante los años 1970 a 1973 proveyeron una máscara de izquierda a la Unidad Popular de Allende, solo un año después estaban sembrando ilusiones en el Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas portugués y/o en sus colaboradores del PC y del PS. Después de desempeñar un papel central en la creación del MIR, para verse expulsado de su propio engendro poco después, el SU repitió este curso desastrozo con el fracaso del PRT/ERP guerrillerista, sosteniendo al mismo tiempo al PST socialdemócrata, que apoyó políticamente al gobierno peronista. Solo una Internacional auténticamente trotskista, basándose firmemente en la teoría de la revolución permanente y dedicado a la destrucción de la autoridad de todos los dirigentes reformistas y centristas de la clase obrera, puede resolver la crisis de la dirección proletaria.

Dado el gran número de militantes subjetivamente revolucionarios dentro de las filas de las varias organizaciones pretendidamente revolucionarias y la importancia central de destruir al pablismo a escala mundial, la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria y la tendencia espartaquista internacional, en esta declaración de relaciones fraternales, se comprometen a emprender trabajo conjunto hacia el renacimiento de la Cuarta Internacional. Buscamos reforjar la Cuarta Internacional al ganar los mejores cuadros y militantes a través de un proceso de reagrupamiento revolucionario. Sobre la base de los puntos arriba mencionados y de acuerdo con la declaración de principios de la Spartacist League/U.S., adoptada subsecuentemente por la TEI, los firmantes de la presente declaración expresan su intención de lograr la unificación de la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile con la tendencia espartaquista internacional; a su vez, esto representará un gran paso hacia la formación de la Liga Trotskista Internacional, de envergadura mundial.

el 17 de mayo de 1976

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Chile Conference...

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on Sunday to include the defense of more than UP leaders.

Behind the attempted suppression of any discussion of political prisoners and refugees in Argentina is the CP's backhanded political support to the bloody Videla junta. Thus the CP refuses to defend militants hounded and imprisoned in Argentina. In attempting to justify the clumsy suppression of discussion on Chileans in Argentina, a spokesman for the NCCSC claimed that its "non-sectarian" policy was demonstrated by the NCCSC's defense of imprisoned MIR leader Bautista Van Schouwen.

However, at an earlier workshop the chairman had ruled "out of order" any consideration or discussion of the defense of another MIR leader, Edgardo Enriquez, who was arrested in Argentina and turned over to the Chilean junta. To raise his case would call attention to the vicious campaign of repression unleashed by the Videla regime and thus expose the treachery of the CP. (Later, Enriquez was very reluctantly included among the "representative" prisoners to be highlighted.)

Unlike in Chile, where the CP had formed a pillar of the class-collaborationist Popular Unity government of Allende and was viciously smashed by the Pinochet junta, the Argentine CP carries qualitatively less political weight and so far has escaped illegalization. Rank opportunism is the only "principle" which the Stalinist traitors recognize in their "defense" of Latin American victims of right-wing repression.

In its defense campaigns for Chilean political prisoners, the CP has spotlighted only the most prominent leaders and supporters of the Allende government, ignoring the majority of imprisoned trade-union militants and other working-class leaders, especially left critics of the UP. In contrast, the international Spartacist tendency, despite our profound political difference with the petty-bourgeois guerrillaist MIR, from the outset waged a vigorous international campaign in defense of two imperiled MIR leaders, Van Schouwen and Romero.

The CP must not be permitted to subordinate urgently necessary defense efforts to its treacherous attempts to buttress the "democratic" protestations of Videla's junta. Labor and socialist militants must raise their voices now against the atrocities being perpetrated in Argentina. Elementary solidarity demands a forceful campaign to save the life of Chilean workers' leader Mario Muñoz and others such as MIRista Edgardo Enriquez and the 11 Chilean and Argentine citizens arrested in Buenos Aires last November on charges of aiding Chilean resistance groups.

Freedom for the tens of thousands of political prisoners victimized by the juntas in Chile and Argentina cannot be secured by a strategy of relying on civil libertarian appeals to the imperialist government. Only a broad international campaign which includes the crucial component of militant labor solidarity can effectively defend the class-war prisoners in Chile and Argentina. ■

Ford...

(continued from page 1)

jubilant at the news. With simpering hypocrisy, city council president Louise Day Hicks whined that Boston "needs a powerful friend in court to bring back sanity and brotherhood [sic!] to a city which is polarized with bitterness and hate." Another champion of the white lynch mobs, South Boston state representative Raymond Flynn, crowed: "Many politicians in this election year are beginning to feel the depths of national dissatisfaction by the American public. Busing is one of the major causes of voter unhappiness." Not one to be left out in the cold, double-talking liberal mayor Kevin White joined the chorus, hailing the "welcome news" as promising an end to the "traumatic ordeal" of busing (*Boston Globe*, 16 May).

So blatant was Ford's move that prominent black Republicans felt compelled to publicly dissociate themselves. Ben Holman, the Justice Department's director of Community Relations Services, and Arthur Fletcher, the president's deputy assistant for urban affairs, claimed that they had not been consulted. Massachusetts senator Edward Brooke objected to the plan and revealed the "see-no-evil, hear-no-evil" duplicity that Ford is employing with his critics. Brooke said that in a conversation Ford "acted as though he had not heard of this at all." He quoted the president saying "Ed, certainly this has not been done with my consent or direction" (*New York Times*, 19 May).

Ford continued his shabby evasion in Kentucky where he told newsmen: "I am totally opposed to court-ordered forced busing," while disclaiming any direct responsibility for the Attorney General's projected brief. The very soul of offended innocence, Ford denied that any "political purposes" were involved, saying that this "is a decision that I left to the Attorney General to make, and I just want to be informed if and when he does" (*New York Times*, 21 May).

The deep contempt in which bourgeois politicians hold even the most moderate hat-in-hand black leaders was indicated in an exchange between NAACP head Roy Wilkins and Levi.

> "Roy Wilkins said he had told Mr Levi that black Americans feared the contemplated Justice Department intervention in the Boston case signaled a return to the days of 'separate but equal.' He said that at the close of the meeting he had gone to the Attorney General and asked 'Why now? Why now?'
>
> "'He turned away from me and walked away,' Mr. Wilkins said."

Wally McNamee/Newsweek

Attorney General Edward Levi, FBI director Clarence Kelley (left).

In the face of this sickening display of racist arrogance, liberal black leaders continue to plead for assistance from a government whose guiding principle is "benign neglect" for black people and head-over-heels capitulation to virulent white supremacist reaction. Lending credence to Ford's disingenuous stonewalling, Boston NAACP president Thomas Atkins demanded that the president fire the attorney general if he lodges his anti-busing brief. With studied naivetè that speaks volumes about the self-defeating ideological blinders of the black petty bourgeoisie, lawyer politician Atkins told newsmen: "I don't think the Supreme Court is going to mortgage the Constitution of this country on the pillar of political expediency" (*Boston Globe*, 16 May).

But there is no justice for the black masses in the laws and courts of the reactionary capitalist class. The Constitution legitimized slavery for nearly a century and *de jure* segregation for another 90 years. It is the embodiment of the property rights of the ruling class and the legal framework within which it has perpetrated the most brutal savagery upon racial minorities. Black liberation will not be won through the caprices of cynical big business politicians and their judicial appointees, or with the craven pro-capitalist policies of the black liberals. Racial oppression can only be ended when a class-conscious proletarian movement, spearheaded by militant black workers, dumps the capitalist system onto the scrapheap of history. ■

Rubber...

(continued from page 3)

rubber strike now depends on the utmost solidarity of workers in the closely linked industries, regardless of bourgeois legality!

The defection of General Tire locals only adds an extra burden to the strike, which was already plagued by continuing production at non-union Firestone tire plants, and by plants of all companies in Canada. U.S.-Canadian solidarity of rubber industry workers has been weak at best under the parochial nationalist policies of the Bommarito leadership and its predecessors. Mass picketing must be implemented at once to organize and shut down non-union plants in the U.S., and the strike must be extended to include Canadian plants!

The rubber strike is in jeopardy despite the formal expressions of solidarity which have already been registered by European labor leaders (who have only pledged a ban on overtime, a tokenistic tactic which will have slight impact on the U.S. strike), the UAW, Teamsters and the AFL-CIO. Honoring the impotent Firestone consumer boycott would hardly be sufficient even if it could be made reasonably effective, which is always difficult with consumer boycotts. Labor solidarity is the key, and this means immediate extension of the strike to General locals, other non-struck plants in the U.S. and Canada, and an immediate auto solidarity strike. In order to accomplish this, URW militants will have to begin constructing a class-struggle leadership to replace Bommarito, since the latter has repeatedly demonstrated his loyalty to the bosses' system and its legal "rules of the game." ■

Cross-Burning...

(continued from page 3)

in late 1975, supporters of the SWP and SCAR intervened to hush the protests of the outraged audience and enable this fascist to spew out his racist and anti-communist filth. The SWP/SCAR policy can only embolden the fascist hoodlums; when these thugs discover that they are able to gain a hearing by day, they are encouraged to escalate their vicious attacks by night.

Instead of vigils appealing for support from the shooting arm of the deeply racist capitalist state, socialists call for the building of mass labor/black defense against racist attack. Faith in the government will no more snuff out the flaming crosses in Los Angeles than the call for "law enforcement" has stopped the attacks of frenzied racist mobs in Boston. Working people must rely on their own organized strength, not on the thugs who—in their blue uniforms or their white hoods—are nothing but the tools of racist reaction. ■

Demonstration in Bay Area

Hands Off Mario Muñoz!

WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO—A picket line and rally called by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz was held at the Argentine Consulate here May 17. Among the 50 participants were representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, Union W.A.G.E., International Workers Party, Workers and Oppressed Unite, United Prisoners Union, Trotskyist Organizing Committee and the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6. Although the Peace and Freedom Party had also committed itself at a planning meeting to build the demonstration, it failed to send a representative.

At the demonstration, SL speaker Mitch Wright discussed the disastrous consequences of the popular front in Chile and the necessity to forge an international working-class party to lead the proletariat in Chile, Argentina and the rest of South America forward to victory. Spirited speeches were also made by others, notably Peter Farruggio of the Militant Caucus, who recounted in English and Spanish the political history of Mario Muñoz and concluded by urging, "It is time for us to defend true working-class heroes."

Canada...

(continued from page 12)

right-wing Social Credit government banning all B.C. rail strikes for four years! Leaders of the militant but divided Quebec labor movement were forced into reviving the dormant Common Front of unions representing public service workers to make a show of defiance of the anti-strike and wage controls legislation, but carefully stopped short of a province-wide general strike. In recent months the Common Front—composed of the Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ), the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the CLC-affiliated Quebec Federation of Labour, (FTQ)—has been waging a series of job actions and one-day strikes by teachers and hospital workers.

Meanwhile, the New Democratic Party, Canada's right-wing social-democratic party which the CLC was instrumental in forming in 1961, has been cooperating with Trudeau and sabotaging resistance to wage controls in Saskatchewan and Manitoba where it controls provincial governments. The federal NDP, which lost heavily to the Liberals in the last election, has been taking a more "militant" stand, while underlining its continued support for wage and price controls, so long as they are "fair."

"Militant" Bluster

As contract after contract has been torn up and "rolled back" by the AIB, trade-union leaders raised a verbal howl against de facto "compulsory arbitration" and "destruction of free collective bargaining." The protests remained mostly in the form of an "educational" campaign, however, with slogans such as "why me?" and "whatever happened to price controls?" Meanwhile several key strikes went down to defeat at the hands of the AIB because of the refusal of CLC leaders to organize effective labor solidarity. Thus the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) was sold out while its brother post office union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), refused to lift a finger in real solidarity. (This was only a reversal of last year, when CUPW continued to work during the LCUC strike.) An agonizingly long Canadian Paperworkers Union strike was also allowed to be ground down to defeat in total isolation.

A demonstration was called in Ottawa on March 22 to coincide with the annual presentation of the labor federation's legislative brief to the government by CLC president Joe Morris. Denouncing the controls as "callous" and "brutal," the CLC "Memorandum to the Government" nevertheless underlined its basic loyalty to capitalism by endorsing a strong Canadian position in international markets and offering the CLC's willingness "to cooperate in finding just and equitable solutions to Canada's economic problems." Despite this reformist plea, the demonstration drew 25,000 workers, and was the largest united action by the English-Canadian and Quebec working class in history.

This show of force by a determined and militant rank and file, combined with increasing articulation of demands for defiance of the controls from local unions, was becoming too much for the CLC tops to ignore without at least a pretense of militancy. In succeeding weeks, calls for a one-day general strike came from Canadian United Auto Workers head Dennis McDermott, the single most powerful individual in the CLC leadership, and Grace Hartman, leader of Canada's largest union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE).

The CLC executive council then withdrew from the Canadian Labour Relations Council and the Economic Council of Canada, two government boards upon which it had been collaborating, and endorsed the one-day general strike call...with the date left open. By the opening of the CLC convention, McDermott was pontificating on the "historic" decisions to be made which would "change the course of Canadian labor for all time to come."

CLC Brass Push "Participation" Scheme

The real strategy of the CLC tops soon became clear. Pressed by an intransigent, anti-labor administration in Ottawa and an increasingly militant, restive rank and file, they resorted to a barrage of reformist, social-democratic rhetoric. A 12-page "Labour Manifesto for Canada" was sprung on the delegates the first day in order to head off and contain the general strike sentiment within the framework of an elaborate plea for labor participation in the high councils of capitalism.

In the face of Trudeau's strident attacks, even the CLC tops have felt compelled to turn down government requests that union leaders participate directly on the AIB. Yet the "Manifesto" proclaimed a pipe dream of reordering the priorities of capitalism through equal participation between labor, business and government:

> "Labour has always set the price at which it would support 'the system.'... The price of labour's future support must be an equal share in the economic and social decision-making on a national basis with the other partners—business and government."

CP

Joe Morris, Canadian Labour Congress president.

Discussion on the general strike was relegated to the next session, under a separate "Programme of Action" which was linked to the class-collaborationist goals of the Manifesto, calling for "labour's rightful role in the national policy-making and sharing of power." Thus the "mandate" for a general strike was nothing but a vague threat—with no requirement that it ever be carried out—for the purpose of pressuring an openly anti-labor government into granting an illusory "equal share" in administering capitalism to the CLC tops. Under this formula, Morris & Co. will waste no time in betraying the struggle against wage controls and anti-strike laws in exchange for token "participation."

The sharp discussion on both the Manifesto and Programme of Action reflected growing militancy and consciousness in the ranks of the Canadian working class. Delegate after delegate rose to characterize the Manifesto as "inadequate," "suicidal," "a betrayal" and completely out of step with feelings in the local unions. Judy D'Arcy, a delegate from CUPE Local 1230, University of Toronto library workers, delivered a sharp denunciation of the Manifesto as "class-collaborationist" and "impossible under capitalism." She received applause for declaring that the Manifesto showed the leadership had no intention of fighting the wage controls "the way we want to fight" them.

Canadian United Electrical Workers (UE) president C.S. Jackson, a well-known supporter of Communist Party views, declared that "labor's program never included that workers should sit down with the bosses."

On the defensive, Morris intervened from the chair to state that the phrase "social corporatism," which had come under attack as one of the Manifesto's goals, should be changed to read "social democracy"! Morris called on several members of the CLC executive council to prop up support for the Manifesto, and it passed by an unenthusiastic two-thirds majority, with virtually the entire CUPE delegation voting against.

General Strike Talk to Pressure Trudeau

After a similar sharp discussion, the vote for the Programme of Action was overwhelming on the grounds that it appeared to mandate a general strike, and was in any event unamendable from the floor under CLC rules (Morris' interpretation apparently means that he alone can offer an amendment to a document during discussion!). Many delegates said they would have preferred a definite strike call rather than the vague "if and when necessary" in the document.

The next day the Montreal *Gazette* (18 May) hailed the Manifesto as "constructive," while Labour Minister John Munro opined that the CLC lacked the strength to call a general strike. The real meaning of the CLC position became clear after the convention adjourned, when the executive council met and resolved to have a long series of talks with Trudeau and the cabinet. The opinion at the meeting was that if a general strike was held, "it would not take place until the Fall" (*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 22 May)!

Although Morris & Co. were firmly in control, the militant mood of the delegates nevertheless continued during the second day, when executive council proposals to change the system of representation to CLC conventions were discussed. The proposals were designed to end militant and democratic conventions once and for all by abolishing representation from local unions, replacing it with appointment directly from affiliate national unions. Opposition was widespread, with only McDermott's UAW delegation providing a solid bloc of support for the proposals, and the changes were defeated by about three to one.

Right after the defeat of the constitutional changes the delegates were treated to fraternal greetings from the AFL-CIO presented by Joseph P. Tonelli, president of the U.S. United Paperworkers International Union. The UPIU, which still retains some members in Canada following the split of the Canadian Paperworkers Union two years ago, ordered its members to cross CPU picket lines in the recent strike. After Tonelli was introduced, the CPU delegation led a walkout supported by about one quarter of the convention. The rest of the body listened without enthusiasm to Tonelli's standard Meanyite anti-communist tirade.

Despite the militancy expressed early in the convention, no consistent class-struggle opposition emerged on the floor. An electoral challenge was mounted against Morris by J.F. (Lofty) MacMillan, CUPE organization director and a former police "union" head from New Brunswick, who opposed the Manifesto and made a militant denunciation of the "if and when necessary" vagueness of the general strike call. However, he supported the leadership's economic policy statement containing the same class-collaborationist methodology as the Manifesto. Morris easily swept this challenge aside, whereupon MacMillan rose to insist that Morris' election be considered "unanimous"!

For a Class-Struggle Opposition!

Despite C.S. Jackson's momentary spurt of verbal militancy, delegates reflecting CP views generally expressed only a tentative opposition to the Manifesto, and refused to oppose the Programme of Action. Predictably, supporters of the fake-Trotskyist League for Socialist Action (LSA) and Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), representing the two wings of the opportunist "United Secretariat," gave their votes to the bureaucratic opposition of MacMillan. This was not at all inappropriate, since both the LSA and RMG, like MacMillan, have been pushing a *one-day* general strike. LSA supporters even came out to the right of MacMillan on the Programme of Action, by supporting it on the grounds that it represented some sort of step forward, while MacMillan abstained. The LSA supporters distributed a leaflet entitled "For a one-day general strike! For an NDP government in Ottawa!" which utterly failed to distinguish them from the main-line reformism of the CLC tops.

More militant were Judy D'Arcy and Greg Collins, who have been mentioned favorably in *The Forge*, paper of the Maoist Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist). But their opposition to the bureaucratic proposals on the first day and support for an "unlimited general strike" were coupled with enthusiastic support for a series of Canadian chauvinist and protectionist resolutions which came up later in the convention. D'Arcy rose in support of a 200-mile territorial limit off Canadian shores using nationalist and anti-communist arguments that it was necessary to defend "our country" against the two "superpowers," in particular the Soviet Union!

A leaflet distributed by Bob McBurney, delegate from Toronto Local 1 of the Letter Carriers, was the only one that showed a correct understanding of how to wage a general strike without simply handing power to Morris & Co. to betray the strike, or directly posing the question of state power prematurely through an unlimited strike when the working class lacks a revolutionary vanguard party capable of leading it to final victory. Rejecting the CLC executive council's sellout "general strike" call, McBurney argued for a general strike which would stay out until the wage controls were smashed, and be organized by a democratically elected strike committee which would issue from a "congress of the entire union movement," including Teamsters, the Quebec CSN and other non-CLC unions. The leaflet denounced the NDP as well as CLC misleaders, and called for a class-struggle leadership to replace both, as well as for a workers government.

Morris, Hartman, McDermott & Co. won the day at the convention, but their social-democratic rhetoric will wear thin as soon as the ranks begin to see the dimensions of the betrayal which "partnership" schemes entail. The present CLC leadership is completely incapable of leading a struggle against wage controls, and only the building of a class-struggle leadership to oust these traitors can put Canadian labor on a course towards smashing not only the controls, but capitalism as well. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

CLC Tops Temporize at Convention—Ranks Demand Action Now

For A Cross-Canada General Strike Against Wage Controls!

No to Phony "Participation" Schemes!

QUEBEC CITY, 22 May—The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), Canada's principal trade-union federation, held its 11th constitutional convention here this week amidst mounting attacks on the working class by the Liberal Party government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Demands for a general strike to break Trudeau's vicious program of wage controls had become so irresistible in recent weeks that top leaders of the CLC began calling for a one-day general strike in order to retain control of what promised to be a militant convention.

On the first day, the more than 2,400 locally elected convention delegates voted overwhelmingly to "mandate" the Congress leadership to call a general strike or strikes "if and when necessary." However, the carefully worded motion linked the tentative strike call to a class-collaborationist campaign to pressure the capitalist government to allow labor a "share of power."

The Ottawa government has been moving steadily toward a stringent wage controls program ever since the 1974 election, during which Trudeau campaigned against precisely such controls,

Spartacist Canada

Ottawa, March 22: 30,000 Canadian unionists responded to CLC call for demonstration against government wage controls.

then being advocated by the Progressive Conservatives. In October 1975 the government announced a compulsory wage controls program, which became bill C-73 (the Anti-Inflation Act) and was passed in December. The controls are aimed explicitly at holding down and reversing the wage gains of Canadian workers, who were just beginning to catch up with years of rampaging inflation through a series of militant strikes, particularly in the public sector.

The Anti-Inflation Board (AIB) set up by the legislation immediately began throwing out negotiated increases, without explanation and allowing no avenue of appeal by the unions. Prices, meanwhile, although supposedly held to within the limits of "costs," have continued to soar. To make matters worse, the Trudeau legislation included restrictive amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act, making unemployed benefits harder to obtain despite continued high unemployment (7.1 percent in 1975).

National wage controls have been supplemented by wage legislation and outright strikebreaking attacks at the provincial level, particularly in Quebec and British Columbia. In Quebec emergency legislation against teacher strikes was passed in April, and in British Columbia a rail strike was forestalled through a special law by the

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Declaración de relaciones fraternales

entre la tendencia espartaquista internacional y la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile

I

Los acontecimientos de los años 1970 a 1973 en Chile plantearon, y siguen planteando, una prueba fundamental de la capacidad revolucionaria de todos aquellos que pretenden hablar en nombre de los intereses históricos de la clase obrera. Los autodenominados socialistas que a través de la coalición Unidad Popular (UP) ataron las masas explotadas a los oficiales "constitucionalistas" y a la burguesía "antiimperialista" se erigieron en obstáculo a la revolución, y por consiguiente en cómplices de la contrarrevolución. La primera tarea de aquellos que buscan preparar una insurrección proletaria que derrumbará al estado burgués, hoy día en manos de la sangrienta dictadura de Pinochet, es de trazar las lecciones del frente popular de Allende. Solo de este modo será posible hacer romper a las masas con esos dirigentes traidores reformistas y centristas que abrieron la vía para el golpe del 11 de septiembre de 1973. En ese entonces el frente popular burgués fue reemplazado por otra forma de dominio capitalista, la junta militar bonapartista, que se balancea entre las fracciones y clanes de la mediana y alta burguesía, y refleja la presión de los mayores poderes imperialistas.

Ya a finales de 1970 la tendencia espartaquista advirtía:

> "Es el deber más elemental de los marxistas revolucionarios el oponerse irreconciliablemente al frente popular en las elecciones y no tener absolutamente ninguna confianza en él una vez en el poder. Cualquier 'apoyo crítico' a la coalición de Allende sería una traición a la clase, abriendo el camino para una derrota sangrienta de los trabajadores chilenos cuando la reacción criolla, auxiliada por el imperialismo internacional, esté lista."

Trágicamente no había en Chile un partido trotskista para galvanizar los obreros alrededor del programa marxista de independencia de clase, y los subsecuentes acontecimientos gráficamente corraboraron esta advertencia de *Spartacist* (ver "Frente popular en Chile", *Cuadernos Marxistas* No. 3).

II

Como dijo Trotsky en 1935: "En realidad, el Frente Popular es *la cuestión principal de la estrategia de clase proletaria* de esta época. También ofrece el mejor criterio para distinguir entre el bolchevismo y el menchevismo."

La organización más grande pretendidamente revolucionaria que se encontraba formalmente fuera de la coalición UP, el MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria), fue incapaz de presentar una oposición de clase al frente popular. Aunque atrajo una capa de juventud militante, fundamentalmente de la pequeña burguesía, y pese a sus críticas periódicas contra el Partido Comunista (PC), el MIR nunca rompió con la Unidad Popular. Después de las elecciones de septiembre de 1970 llamó a las masas a apoyar a Allende; hoy día, el MIR forma parte del frente popular en el exilio, buscando "ampliar" esta coalición de colaboración de clases al integrar aún a demócratas cristianos. El heroísmo individual de muchos militantes del MIR no puede ocultar la bancarrota política de estos castristas chilenos, la máscara de izquierda del frente popular.

Los discípulos chilenos de las varias autoproclamadas "Cuartas Internacionales" tampoco presentaron una política trotskista de hostilidad irreconciliable al frentepopulismo. Los partidarios del Secretariado "Unificado" (SU), por una parte, quedaron atascados en el "entrismo profundo" perpétuo dentro del Partido Socialista (el cementerio tradicional de los falsos trotskistas en Chile); y por otra seguían desvergonzosamente al MIR. (El SU jugó un papel central en la creación del MIR, pero esto no les impidió a los castristas de expulsarlos sumariamente dos años más tarde por presunto trotskismo. ¡Tal es la recompensa del oportunismo!) Los partidarios del SU consideraron a los

continúa en la página 9

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 112 4 June 1976

Karamanlis Regime Steps Up Repression

Workers Battle Cop Attackers in the Streets of Athens

MAY 31—Hundreds of thousands of Greek workers, including construction workers, public transport, airlines and communications workers, dockers and shipyard workers, miners, printers and teachers, went out on a 48-hour national protest strike Monday May 24 against a vicious anti-labor bill then under consideration by Parliament. Railroad workers also announced their intention to join the strike but the government put them under martial law, mobilizing them into the army. The strike was also supported by many students.

The anti-labor bill, which has since been passed, was reported in the foreign press as banning "political" or "wildcat" strikes. In reality, it outlaws *all* strikes which are not authorized by the government-controlled GSEE (General Confederation of Labor of Greece).

The bill also provoked the largest demonstrations seen in Greece since the fall of the military junta which held power from 1967 to 1974. These were met by violent police repression, including arrests of hundreds.

By noon of Tuesday, May 25, the downtown section of Athens was filled with demonstrators, including many construction workers, who planned a protest march to the parliament buildings. The government has accused the Communists of responsibility for the ensuing melee, which began when cops attacked the assembled protesters. The Communists (who were so concerned to demonstrate their "responsibility" that their deputies walked out of parliament rather than vote against the anti-strike bill) in turn accused the "far left" and "provocateurs" of taking the lead in setting up barricades and throwing rocks. But whether or not provocateurs were present, the demonstration soon became a massive expression of militant opposition to this latest outrage of the Karamanlis government.

When the estimated 10,000 demonstrators were attacked by the police, they fought back with rocks, sticks and pieces of sharp glass from broken windows. The cops attacked with tear gas and armored cars, and the demonstrators defended themselves with barricades and street fires. By evening, all the main streets in Athens were reportedly barricaded—some with overturned buses and automobiles—and many were in flames. The bourgeois Athens daily *Apogevmatini* (26 May) headlined its report "street fights all night." In a subsequent detailed account of the May 25 anti-government rioting, *Apogevmatini* (29 May) described the scene as follows:

> "At 4:45 p.m. Academy Street was filled with flames. A mass of barricades was set up in Kannigos Square. Emmanuel Benaki Street overflowed with demonstrators. Many held iron clubs in their hands yelling the slogan: 'For Proletarian Revolution!' Five minutes later, 4:50 p.m., Kannigos Square was filled with barricades, smoke and fire. Themistocles Street was aflame. Shop windows were damaged and automobile windows broken."

At 5:30 p.m. a representative of the GSEE addressed the crowd over a loudspeaker: "This meeting is illegal and is being carried out by extremists among whom are mixed many provocateurs."

continued on page 4

Apogevmatini

Downtown Athens May 25 as workers demonstrating against anti-strike law clashed with police.

Lebanese Civil War: A Harvest of Blood

JUNE 1—French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing arrived in the U.S. with imperial majesty proper to a sovereign, updated through the twentieth-century technology of the inaugural Concorde flight. During his stay Giscard launched a trial balloon of what the French call *la canonnière*, or gunboat diplomacy. The setting was New Orleans, perhaps inducing in the French president nostalgia for France's lost empire, which once included Lebanon, Syria, Indochina and much of Africa as well as the lands of the Louisiana purchase.

Giscard, who like the American president is also commander-in-chief of the armed forces, told reporters on May 21 that in 48 hours he could dispatch "several regiments" into the 13-month-old Lebanese civil war which has already claimed 30,000 lives. Giscard claimed he had already cleared this proposal with his U.S. counterpart and host, imperialist chief Gerald Ford, and secretary of state Kissinger. The U.S. president is in no position to profess disapproval, since during Lebanon's last major civil war in 1958 President Eisenhower sent in 10,000 marines. According to a *New York Times* dispatch issued the day that Giscard was rattling his sabre in the Mississippi delta, the U.S. State Department had "no objections."

The French chief further claimed that Syria would be glad to share the burden of "pacifying" its civil war-ravaged neighbor with France, its former colonial ruler. Syria is deeply bogged down in the Lebanese morass, having intervened with at least 7,000 troops from its own army and thousands more under the guise of pro-Syrian Palestinian forces. While Syria has not publicly confirmed Giscard's claim, it has not denied it either. Syria's warm relations with its former colonial masters will be highlighted by President Hafez al-Assad's visit to Paris on June 17 –the first such visit by a Syrian head of state since Syria

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UPI

Beirut, January 1976: Muslim prisoners of the Phalangists taken in the Karantina slum district.

Letters

Who Is Responsible for Defeat of S.F. City Workers Strike?

13 May 1976

To the editor:

The *Workers Vanguard*'s articles on the municipal employees' strike in San Francisco present the best analysis I've read. There are, however, one or two aspects of the analysis with which I disagree.

While I agree that throughout the strike the leaders of the municipal employees' unions demonstrated incompetence and possibly dishonesty as well, I question the idea that they alone were responsible for the failure of the rank-and-file membership to display much militancy or class consciousness. During the first few weeks of the strike, while I was living in San Francisco, I was impressed by the unwillingness of most municipal employees to honor the few picket lines which were established or to go on wildcat strikes. With the exception of the Muni workers no group of municipal workers made any substantial sacrifice in support of the striking municipal craftsmen.

Most city workers seemed to view the strike as strictly a bread and butter dispute over wages and they saw this dispute as involving no other parties except their unions and the Board of Supervisors. Instead of demanding that corporate property bear the increased cost of municipal financing most municipal employees seemed not to care who had to pay the increased cost of their labor and in so doing earned the antipathy of the small property owners whom the Board of Supervisors professed to represent. Instead of raising the issue of why lower income groups must most heavily shoulder the burden of the current recession most city workers voiced concern for their own interests only. Non-municipal workers in general found little that appealed to them in the city workers' demands and neither did those municipal employees serve welfare recipients, homeowners, etc. The strike was unpopular with most residents and instead of becoming more general it became more isolated, in part because of the actions and attitudes of the municipal employees themselves.

M.Q.

WV replies: Certainly there was widespread scabbing during the recent San Francisco city craft workers strike. Throughout the strike a majority of the 18,000 non-craft city workers routinely crossed craft worker picket lines.

However, the cynicism and apathy which infected many of the non-craft workers in this strike did not just fall from the skies. Neither was it a consequence of some innate backwardness of this particular set of workers. Rather, the lack of militancy of many of these workers in this strike grows out of the past betrayals of the San Francisco trade-union bureaucracy.

During the 1974 San Francisco city workers strike the same miscellaneous workers who scabbed in the just-ended strike were among the most militant strikers, while many of the craft unions scabbed. In its scope and militancy the earlier strike surpassed the 1976 craft workers strike. Yet the labor brass, fearful of embarassing the then mayor of San Francisco, Joe Alioto, were able to keep the strike under control and to force through a wage settlement that did not even begin to keep pace with the soaring inflation.

Betrayed in 1974, these same workers were betrayed again in 1976. On the very eve of the craft workers strike the labor tops pushed through settlements for the poorly paid miscellaneous workers that left many with wage increases amounting to as little as three percent a year.

The bourgeoisie and its servants in city hall were thus easily able to play upon the resentments of many of the low-wage miscellaneous workers against the much better paid, job-trusting and racially exclusive craft unions in order to isolate the craft workers strike and to encourage mass scabbing. Their success in this ploy is a damning indictment of the abject opportunism of the trade-union bureaucracy.

It is in fact very common for the slicker trade-union bureaucrats to amnesty their sellout roles using the very argument the writer advances in the first part of this letter—i.e., that the masses are backward, conservative, unwilling to struggle, etc., etc. Certainly these bureaucrats don't believe this argument themselves. They move to crush any and every manifestation of militancy.

The unstated corollary of your argument is that the working class gets the leadership it deserves. Commenting upon this epigram Trotsky observed:

> "In reality leadership is not at all a mere 'reflection' of a class or the product of its own creativeness. A leadership is shaped in the process of clashes between the different classes or the friction between the different layers within a given class. Having once arisen the leadership invariably rises above its class and thereby becomes predisposed to the pressure and influence of other classes. The proletariat may 'tolerate' for a long time a leadership that has already suffered a complete inner degeneration but has not as yet had the opportunity to express this degeneration amid great events ... But even in cases where the old leadership has revealed its internal corruption, the class cannot improvise immediately a new leadership, especially if it has not inherited from the previous period strong revolutionary cadres capable of utilising the collapse of the old leading party."
>
> —Trotsky, "The Class, the Party and the Leadership"

You argue that striking municipal workers must bear the responsibility for finding some scheme whereby "corporate property" will "bear the increased cost of municipal financing." This argument implicitly accepts the central premise of the media's strike-breaking harrage: that this is in some sense "our" government and not the government of the class enemy. The very real "antipathy" of much of the petty bourgeoisie to the strikers was the product of a deliberate anti-strike campaign aimed at convincing the less conscious sectors of the working population that the "selfish" municipal workers were striking against "the people."

It is self-defeating to accept capitalism's stacked-deck framework that workers and poor people must compete among themselves to preserve their "slice" of a shrinking capitalist "pie." The working class and its allies must understand that the elimination of inequality and want will proceed, not from tinkering with tokenistic or utopian schemes for "redistribution" of wealth and social services, but from expropriation of the rapacious capitalist class, the smashing of its repressive state apparatus and the liberation of the productive forces from the fetters of private ownership of the means of production—through socialist revolution.

Gates Close On Open Admissions and Free Tuition at CUNY

On May 28, in a display of utter contempt for students and campus employees, Chancellor Robert Kibbee shut down the entire City University of New York (CUNY) in the middle of exams, formally "locking out" its nearly 300,000 students, faculty and campus workers.

Pleading impending financial default, CUNY chancellor Kibbee first announced that the 12,000 faculty would not receive their paychecks that day. Then, later in the afternoon, Kibbee ordered the entire university closed; within hours 20 campuses were emptied and the gates of CUNY locked.

The shutdown was the first step in a maneuver designed to force procrastinating politicians and bureaucrats to approve the end of the 129-year policy of free tuition at CUNY. With the city pleading poverty, the university system will be reopened only if it receives an emergency grant of state aid. However, the state legislature has made it clear that a bill providing $24 million in such aid is contingent on accepting tuition.

Governor Carey, who terms tuition "unavoidable," is now turning the screws on the NYC Board of Higher Education (BHE) to approve tuition before he acts on any emergency aid.

UPI

CUNY faculty and staff received nonnegotiable scrip Friday instead of paychecks.

State politicians are clearly undesirous of taking the first step. As Assemblyman Irwin Landes put it: "Nobody wants to go home and find people saying you voted for tuition" (*New York Post*, 28 May).

The BHE, which meets on the evening of June 1, has shown it has no intention of standing up for the no-tuition policy. Last week four members of the BHE who opposed tuition obligingly resigned rather than vote against it. Mayor Beame promptly appointed replacements for three of them. The new BHE line-up will reportedly yield a majority in favor of tuition.

To be sure, the gates of CUNY will reopen. However, the introduction of tuition (probably at the $750-900 rate annually charged in the New York state universities) is another major step taken toward ensuring that thousands of working-class, poor and, especially, minority youth will not receive higher education. Already the BHE has gutted CUNY's open admissions program by adopting stringent academic requirements that are class-biased and racially discriminatory, geared to exclude most of those "educated" in the city's public school system. Already four entire campuses of the CUNY system are slated to be eliminated through closure and merger.

Thus far there have been sporadic protests by city students against the educational cutbacks, focused particularly at the predominantly Hispanic Hostos College, which is slated to be closed, and at City College. However, the opportunist leaderships of these actions ensured that they would have a parochial character by refusing to even call for extending them beyond a single campus, let alone appealing to the labor movement. The newest CUNY cutbacks must be answered through a mass student/labor response, including campus occupations, demanding the immediate reopening of CUNY with full pay to faculty for all days missed; the preservation of the no-tuition policy; and the restoration of open admissions and special programs.

The attacks on CUNY take place within the context of the continuing application of austerity measures by New York City's finance czars. In the next month alone 49 day-care centers and four city hospitals are slated to be shut down, including Sydenham in Harlem and Gouverneur on the Lower East Side. This is in addition to the city wage freeze, layoffs and cutbacks in social services that have already occurred. Consequently there is widespread bitter resentment among the city's working population and poor against Mayor Beame, Big Mac and Governor Carey's Financial Control Board. A massive response to the imposition of tuition must be organized with the goal of sparking a citywide labor strike against the austerity program enforced by the bankers and capitalist politicians. ■

Guardian Embarrassed by Peking Bloc With U.S. Imperialism

Criticizing Mao to Defend Maoism

U.S. Maoists are in trouble. Many are finding Peking's overt military political bloc with U.S. imperialism too embarrassing to defend. Chinese intervention in Angola was too unashamedly counterrevolutionary to be explained away in traditional Maoist double talk as "correct state relations" or hacking "the enemies of our enemies." The cynical Stalinist apologists around the *Guardian* are among those Maoists who have come down with a severe case of cold feet.

A literary battle has been initiated in the pages of the *Guardian* between Peking loyalists and the "critical" Maoists of this "independent radical newsweekly." The latter are charging China with "recent mistakes in foreign policy." But the debate is not likely to be very illuminating. China's class-collaborationist foreign policies are neither of "recent" origin nor can they be described simply as "mistakes." And the new-found "critical" facility of the *Guardian* hacks will necessarily be very circumscribed indeed, for they are constrained to ignore their own history as long-time apologists for Stalinism's 50-year record of betrayal.

Let a Hundred Artificial Flowers "Bloom"

The 5 May *Guardian* presents a cautious "comradely critique" of China's "current foreign policy" by staff writer Wilfred Burchett. Alongside it is published an interview with William Hinton of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association. Hinton offers a brazen defense of the reactionary dogmas guiding Chinese foreign policy, without the customary veil of Maoist mystification and diplomatic indirection:

> "There was a period when the superpowers were seen as more or less equal enemies threatening not only the emerging nations of the third world, but also the independence of the lesser industrial nations of the second world. Today, between the two superpowers, one the Soviet Union is more dangerous than the other. It is, in fact, the *main danger* confronting the whole world today....China judges world leaders by how well they understand this new relationship of forces. Thus they prefer Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt and Schlesinger to Kissinger."

Guardian managing editor Jack Smith, in his column of 26 May, greets Hinton's pronouncement with wide-eyed incredulity:

> "Is Hinton suggesting the possibility of an alliance between a more rightist, more anticommunist administration in the U.S. and China, joined by certain other rightist regimes (Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt) in Western Europe and a handful (to be realistic) of anti-Soviet governments in the third world?"

He is indeed. Smith's tone is better suited to Alice in Wonderland than to a Maoist politician, "critical" or otherwise. Or perhaps he is unaware that "orthodox" Maoists in Germany are marching under the slogan, "Germany for the German People." Perhaps he has never heard American Maoists complain that Kissinger is "soft" on Communism in allowing the Soviet "superpower" "free play" in Eastern Europe. Where could Hinton possibly get such ideas, the "critical" Maoists naively inquire. Where, indeed, but from the entire body of Mao-thought which the *Guardian* has been defending for years.

To Japanese militants protesting both the revanchist schemes of their "own" bourgeoisie and the oppressive U.S. military presence, Hinton counsels: "Until Japan is able to build up adequate defense forces, it is necessary for the Japanese people to continue to rely on the alliance with the United States." To West European opponents of the anti-communist NATO pact, the Peking mouthpiece warns: "There is no European country that can stand alone against overt and covert pressure from the Soviet Union....Therefore it is necessary for them to maintain their NATO alliance with the United States."

Hinton's championship of NATO is certainly appalling, but it is by no means new. Chinese support to NATO was part and parcel of its blossoming romance with U.S. imperialism. For several years Mao has been campaigning for a build-up of NATO to force the Russians to withdraw troops from Siberia and strengthen the Warsaw Pact forces. *Peking Review* (21 December 1973) carried a propaganda tract entitled "NATO Need for Improved Military Forces." A few months earlier, a Sino-French communiqué called for military unity of the NATO countries "for the preservation of their common security" (*Peking Review*, 21 September 1973). Where was the *Guardian* then?

Hinton also parrots Peking's fear that the current crop of sabre-rattling American cold warriors may not be sufficiently staunch anti-Communists: "New Munichs are already in the making. America's traditional leaders, even when confronted with this lethal threat, will find it very difficult to unite with the wide coalition of popular forces necessary to contain the Soviet threat."

The eclectic Stalinists of the *Guardian* try hard to locate the origin of the "mistake" in China's "recent" shift from "viewing the two superpowers as equal enemies of the world's peoples to seeing the Soviet Union as the principal enemy." But nearly four years ago the Chinese regime was already denouncing the USSR as "even more deceitful than old-line imperialist countries and therefore more dangerous" (*Peking Review*, 6 October 1972).

Implicit all along in China's characterization, developed in the late 1960's and faithfully upheld by the pro-Maoist left, of the Soviet Union as "a dark, fascist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" was a justification for just such an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Russians. Six years ago the Spartacist League wrote: "Given this premise, there should be no 'principled' reason why the Chinese do not extend the old Stalinist policy of the united anti-fascist front to encompass a deal with U.S. imperialism against the USSR" (*Spartacist*, April-May 1970). At the time, of course, the *Guardian* was busy playing dumb.

Born Yesterday?

Hinton points out that Peking's Angola policy is fully consistent with the rest of Maoist historical practice. This is what the *Guardian* above all must seek to obscure. Chinese foreign policy flows directly from the Stalinists' global accommodation with imperialism to protect the privileged nationalist-bureaucratic ruling caste, codified as the "theory" of "socialism in one country."

The "critical" Maoists' ploy is to pretend that it all began yesterday. Thus Burchett's article is summed up by his declaration of Angola exceptionalism: "China's policies in Angola and some other areas have got on the wrong track...." And Smith's column prescribes the limits within which the discussion is to be kept: "The Angola situation has disturbed a great many of China's friends.... At question, though, is not just Angola but the entire pattern of China's foreign relations that has been coming into perspective since about February 1975."

Pictorial Parade

Chou En-lai chats with Henry Kissinger.

elix Greene

Chou En-lai (second from left) in China's delegation to the May 1954 Geneva Conference.

The consummation of an alliance with U.S. imperialism, symbolized most vividly in Angola, is not some recent "mistake," but rather the product of a shift in the attitude of the American ruling class, which in the early 1970's began to appreciate Peking's usefulness in undercutting Russian influence in Africa, the Near East and southern and western Europe. Nixon's 1972 trip to Peking was no "tribute-paying visit," as Burchett crowed at the time. The clinking of the champagne glasses marked a formal announcement of the new bloc.

China had demonstrated its reliability the previous year by extending economic aid and political accolades to the Nimeiry regime in Sudan, which smashed the pro-Moscow Communist Party; to Mrs. Bandaranaike of Ceylon, who ordered the mass slaughter of the JVP youth rebels; to Pakistani butcher Yahya Khan, who presided over the genocidal suppression in East Pakistan.

As the Spartacist League has consistently explained, Chinese foreign policy in the 1950's and 1960's was substantially identical despite Mao's denunciation of Soviet revisionism (later termed "fascism") to that practiced by the Russian deformed workers state under Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. The guiding premise of both the Russian and Chinese bureaucracies is "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The greater verbal militancy of the Peking regime flowed from China's more limited ability, due to U.S. intransigence, to put this appetite into effect.

But the Maoists never lost an opportunity to betray when one was presented. China did its part to force the Viet Minh to give away the fruits of military victory at the 1954 Geneva sellout. Armed with the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" propounded by Chou En-lai at Bandung in 1955, the Chinese continued to practice class treason. It was Mao's instruction to the Indonesian Communist Party to collaborate with "anti-imperialist" Sukharno

continued on page 5

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

Save the Life of Mario Muñoz!

TERROR IN ARGENTINA

To the Editors:

We urgently request that readers of *The New York Review of Books* support the campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz Salas, the Chilean miners' union leader who is being hunted–and has been ordered shot on sight–by the Argentine military junta. Along with thousands of Chilean workers and peasants he was forced to flee Chile and Pinochet's terror after the 1973 coup by crossing the Andes by foot to seek asylum in Argentina. Now he faces the same fate as that awaiting him in Chile. His situation symbolizes that of the thousands of South American political refugees in Argentina who are being killed without any legal proceedings or who are deported, imprisoned, tortured.

Only forty-eight hours after the Argentine military junta took power, a military patrol of national police composed of thirty men in battle gear raided the home of Mario Muñoz. They smashed up the place and dragged out his *companera* as well as five children and two relatives, who were all badly beaten. The patrol finally left but not without warning Muñoz' *companera* that he would be shot immediately if he were found. The province of San Juan has been sealed off and all interprovincial transport is being searched to look for him.

Mario Muñoz Salas is thirty-six. At fourteen he had already joined his father in the mines. He was among the first to organize *pirquineros* or contract miners, 90 percent of whom were illiterate, and many of whom were afflicted with silicosis and dying in abject poverty. During Allende's Popular Unity government, Muñoz became a national leader of the Regional Miners Councils. In Argentina, Muñoz had been trying to help the thousands of Chilean workers and peasants also driven into exile.

Only the international support of those concerned for human rights can save Muñoz. The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, co-sponsored by the Europe-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the US-based Partisan Defense Committee, an anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, calls upon all labor, socialist, civil libertarian organizations and concerned individuals to endorse and
Muñoz.

For furthe
Defense Con
Station, Ne
Contribution
should be made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Committee To Save Mario Muñoz."

Reuben Shiffman
for the Partisan Defense Co

COMMITTEE TO SAVE MARIO MUÑOZ

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

☐ I endorse*

☐ My organization endorses*

the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

Hands off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!

Stop the Manhunt!

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

☐ I pledge $_____ to help save Mario Muñoz. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

SCHLUSS MIT DER MENSCHENJAGD! HÄNDE WEG VON MARIO MUÑOZ

Der argentinische Militärputsch hat gegen die Linke und Arbeiterbewegung blutige Unterdrückungsmaßnahmen hervorgerufen. Die Argentinischen Militärs folgen dem Schlächter Pinochet. Tausende chilenische Arbeiter und Bauern, die gezwungen waren über die Anden zu fliehen und jetzt verstärkt von Polizeiverfolgungen, Folterungen Massenarresten usw. bedroht. Diese bis zu den Unterdrückungsmaßnahmen zielen vorrangig auf bekannte Arbeiterführer. Zu denen, die von Verfolgung und Erschießung bedroht sind gehört Mario Muñoz der 1973 nach dem chilenischen Militärputsch flüchten mußte und der jetzt erneut in höchster Lebensgefahr schwebt. Mario Muñoz ist der Gründer und Führer des Sindicato de Obreros y de Pequineros de Aconcagua y Valparaiso (Gewerkschaft der Industrie- und Bergarbeiter von Aconcagua und Valparaiso), er hat nationale Anerkennung durch seine unermüdlichen Anstrengungen zur Verteidigung der Arbeiterklasse und der armen Bauern gewonnen. Vom Argentinischen Exil aus organisierte er die Flucht tausender Chilenen.

Die brutale Verfolgung, der Mario Muñoz zum Opfer fällt, muß international bekannt gemacht werden. Nur die Solidarität der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung kann das Leben von Mario Muñoz und zehntausender Gefangener der Arbeiterbewegung retten, die jetzt von Folter und Tod bedroht sind! Es ist die dringende Aufgabe aller Organisationen und Individuen die die Repression der Junta verurteilen die Kampagne zur Rettung von Mario Muñoz zu unterstützen.

Internationale Solidarität zur Rettung des Lebens von Mario Muñoz

Der chilenische Arbeiterführer darf nicht sterben!

Freiheit für alle Gefangenen der Arbeiterbewegung in Argentinien und Chile!

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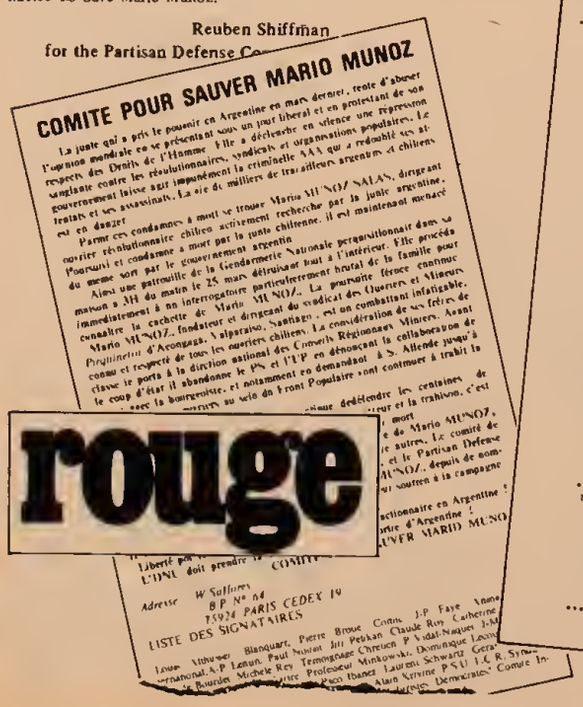

Athens...

(continued from page 1)

Five minutes later the government began to make arrests. By the time the demonstration ended around midnight—190 people had been arrested, one elderly woman had been run down and killed by a police armored car, 100 others had been injured and 67 automobiles and numerous public buildings had been badly damaged.

Although capitalist order has been restored for the time being to the streets of Athens, the events of May 24-25 are only the latest in a long series of militant strike actions which began in July 1974, and they are certainly not the last. Seething with anger at an authoritarian regime which outlaws its strikes, bans independent unions and revolutionary parties and rests on the same military butchers who terrorized the country for seven years, the Greek working class has only begun to fight.

"The New Democracy"

In July 1974, the bloody military junta was on the verge of collapse. Fearful that a revolutionary situation might develop, the junta maneuvered a change at the top. With the blessings of its imperialist allies, particularly the United States, Konstantin Karamanlis, a former premier who while in office during the 1950's dissolved a number of trade unions, was recalled from an 11-year exile and installed as chief of the government.

His "New Democracy" is one that even the most nostalgic supporters of the junta dictators can live with. Only under intense public pressure were the leaders of the junta ever brought to trial. Two of its most notorious butchers—George Papadopoulos, the leader, and Dmitrios Ioannides, chief of military police—were finally sentenced to death last August, but within hours of the passing of the sentences—before the news even had time to reach the public—the sentences had been commuted, provoking widespread indignation and new accusations that the Karamanlis government works hand in hand with the old junta. In fact, the government's only case against the junta leaders consisted of questioning the assertion that the military dictatorship had been *forced* to stage a coup, because leftist forces were becoming strong enough to take power. This, claims the prosecution, was not actually the case. The junta's "crime," therefore, is simply an error in judgement.

The dilemma of Karamanlis, says a pro-government account in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (February 1976) is "how to satisfy the thirst for justice of the numerous Greeks who have suffered under the dictatorship while at the same time preventing a reaction on the part of the army, which remains largely attached to its old leaders and which cannot be deeply purged because of the menace of foreign war [with Turkey]."

Not only the army, but *all* the major organs of the junta were, in fact, left virtually intact. Known junta police commissioners and torturers are acquitted in the courts of Karamanlis or, more often, are not tried at all. Not only the newspapers of the center and the left, but even such conservative journals as the pro-government daily *Kathimerini* are unanimous in asserting that the government has failed to purge itself of collaborators with the former military dictatorship. *Le Monde* (6 March) reports:

> "only a few heads the most compromised have 'fallen' (at most a hundred). The army remains a bastion of extreme rightist officers; the security organs (national police, political police, bureau of investigations), the judiciary and the diplomatic corps are still populated with those who are nostalgic for the military dictatorship."

Recently, the article states, a soldier was brought before a court mar-

tial for possessing a pro-government newspaper!

Greek reactionaries find consolation in the fact that the trade-union movement is securely centralized under the thumb of the government in accord with the interests of the capitalists; that dignitaries of the Orthodox Church, who are generally sympathetic to the junta and in many cases linked to the fascist fringe of the army, are accorded an eminent position by the constitution of 1975 and are free to act as a significant pressure group on various parliamentary fractions. They are also pleased that troublesome oppositionists often seem to "disappear" or meet with unfortunate "accidents." A recent case in point was the death of Alecos Panagoulis, a symbol of liberal opposition to the junta, whose automobile crashed on May 1 under extremely suspicious circumstances.

Greece's old allies, too, have been able to accommodate themselves to the new regime without undue inconvenience. While Greece withdrew its troops from NATO's military commission in 1974 as the result of a dispute with Turkey over Cyprus, it continues to declare allegiance to the North Atlantic Treaty which spawned the anti-Soviet alliance. More importantly, NATO's bases and its political commission remain on Greek soil, and U.S. troops conducted NATO exercises in Greece in 1975.

On 15 April Greece and the United States announced an agreement to allow the U.S. continued use of four military facilities (including an intelligence "listening post") for four years in return for $700 million in American military aid. The agreement stipulated that all intelligence received from the "listening post" will be shared with the Greek government.

Stalinists and Pabloites Support Karamanlis Government

One force, however, that is far from satisfied with the Karamanlis regime is the Greek working class. It has demonstrated this through countless strikes and the formation in a number of cases of illegal unions and parallel factory committees. But the proletariat lacks the revolutionary leadership which could win to its banners the oppressed peasants and exploited sectors of the petty bourgeoisie by waging a resolute struggle to topple the semi-bonapartist Karamanlis regime through workers revolution. Instead both reformist Stalinists and social democrats tie the masses to the present regime.

Since 1968 the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) has been split between the "interior faction," led by Leonides Kirkos, and the "exterior faction," led by longtime exile Florakis. The "interiors," who solidarize with the "Italian line," reproach the "exteriors" for unconditional obeisance to the Kremlin and also for the collusion that existed between various "socialist" countries and the junta. The "exteriors," who are reportedly better organized and give the appearance of greater militancy, are therefore more successful at the moment among the youth.

In fact, however, both sections of the KKE have pursued the same opportunist course of attaching themselves totally to the Karamanlis operation in the hope that a popular-front government, similar to the one in Portugal, might be established, in which they would be included.

From the time that their press began to appear legally, both factions softened their positions on purging the government of junta supporters, adopted a chauvinist position on the question of Cyprus and refused to raise the slogan of ending government control of the trade unions. In short, they did everything in their power to convince Karamanlis of their "responsibility." Even the *Washington Post* (24 August 1974) felt compelled to comment: "So far the Communists are acting like saints in hopes of having a 1947 ban lifted so they can contest the elections." Only their inability to make separate deals with Karamanlis (and a bit of pressure from Moscow) forced the two KKE factions to form a bloc for survival despite their deep hostility. This new formation, the Enomene Aristera (EA) also includes leftovers from the Union of the Democratic Left (EDA), the old KKE electoral front which also included petty-bourgeois democratic elements.

Karamanlis held elections on 17 November 1974—the first anniversary of the junta attack on the Athens Polytechnic in which 34 students were murdered. Playing on people's fears of the restoration of the junta, his "program" was that things could always get worse. Many left parties protested that they had not been given a chance to participate and that they were being asked to choose between "Karamanlis and the tanks," but the KKE found this program of bonapartist maneuvering entirely supportable. In "The Goals of the Nation in the Transition Period of Democracy," dated 3 September 1974, the KKE (interior) stated:

> "The threat of a new dictatorship and the great dangers that flow from the Cypriot situation requires us to maintain a phalanx of social forces and the broadest possible alliance of classes and social strata.... Therefore, we support the Caramanlis government, despite the fact that the left is not included in it and despite certain negative aspects of its policies.
>
> "The KKE (interior) calls on the Greek people to work together on the basis of a broad unity of leftists, centrists, rightists, and patriots all together until our start on the democratic road is well underway and irreversible."
>
> —quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 23 September 1974

At that time the Revolutionary Trotskyist Movement, allied with the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), refused to take part in the elections because it would have had to submit to the Supreme Court a statement that its principles were opposed to any activity whose aim is the forcible seizure of power or the overthrow of "the free democratic government." Rather than compromise its integrity vis-à-vis the Supreme Court, the Revolutionary Trotskyist Movement chose... to give critical support to the Enomene Aristera, i.e., to the KKE, i.e., to Karamanlis!

More recently, USec supporters in Greece, the Organization of International Communists of Greece (OKDE) have decided that the government of their man Karamanlis is, in effect, no different from the junta. This analysis has provided them with the perfect excuse to concentrate on democratic demands, crowned by the call for a constituent assembly (OKDE May Day Manifesto, *Ergatiki Pali*, 28 April). It is perfectly correct for Marxists to demand a constituent assembly (without, of course, dropping the call for a workers government, or turning the latter into a second "stage" in classic Stalinist fashion) in the context of bonapartist regimes, such as the Francoist dictatorship in Spain, for example. But it would be a serious error to equate the post-Franco regime in Madrid with the post-junta government in Athens.

While the state apparatus continues to be infested with partisans of military dictatorship and political liberties are quite circumscribed, the Karamanlis regime maintains formal appearances of bourgeois democracy. Thus there exists an elected parliament for which the major workers party (the KKE) was allowed to run, albeit only through an electoral front. Rather than the misleading demand of a constituent assembly it would be appropriate for Trotskyists in Greece to demand new elections and abolition of all anti-communist and anti-democratic electoral regulations or constitutional provisions.

For its part, the Workers International League of Greece (EDE), which supports Gerry Healy's International Committee, zigs and zags its way through Greece as the IC does everywhere else. For instance, it originally characterized the Karamanlis government as a continuation of the colonels' junta, then abruptly changed its characterization to that of a bonapartist regime which could not return to a junta government "without a new civil war to bloodily defeat the workers and peasants."

Democratic demands can play an important role in mobilizing the working masses of Greece in struggle against their capitalist oppressors. Thus the demands for *people's tribunals* to try military and police officers for the barbarous crimes committed under the junta; for a *break with NATO* and *expulsion of all imperialist military bases* from the country; for the *abolition of all anti-communist laws, repeal of the new anti-strike law* and *smashing state control of the unions* would challenge the very existence of the Karamanlis regime.

Yet the alternative is not a "progressive" popular-front regime which purges a few of the most notorious criminals and torturers while leaving the capitalist state intact. It is necessary to combat such class-collaborationist Stalinist programs for defeat. Not by spreading dangerous illusions in bourgeois democracy, but only through revolutionary mobilization of the working masses around their own class interests can a return to bloody military dictatorship be prevented. Sacrificed on the altar of "peaceful coexistence" and "anti-fascist unity" by Stalin and his Greek lieutenants at the end of World War II, Greek workers must draw the lessons of this bloody defeat, by building an authentic Trotskyist party infused with the revolutionary spirit of proletarian independence, in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

Criticizing Mao...

(continued from page 3)

which disarmed that party before the reactionary onslaught that left over half a million dead, including the loyal Maoists, in 1965.

Where were the "critical" Maoists when the Shah of Iran was being feted in the Great Hall of the Peoples in 1971? In August 1971 a joint communiqué announced the Sino-Iranian rapprochement:

> "The government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the just struggle of the imperial government of Iran to safeguard its national independence and state sovereignty and protect its natural resources."

Chi Peng-lei, then Chinese foreign minister, communicated his government's approval of Iran's membership in the imperialist CENTO pact. Soon after, China withdrew all material and military support from the insurgents in Dhofar (*Le Monde*, 7 October 1973).

But the *Guardian* "critical" Maoists do not want to hear of such matters. They are incapable of seriously dealing even with the recent "mistakes" they purport to criticize. Burchett, for example, writes that "Many friends of China have been troubled by what has appeared to them to be Peking's abstention from the international diplomatic and economic boycott of the fascist Pinochet regime in Chile." In this single cryptic reference to Chile, Burchett sidesteps the incriminating details which amount to direct aid to the junta.

After the 1973 coup, Peking refused to break diplomatic relations with Chile, although virtually the entire Soviet bloc and even many bourgeois regimes did so. The Chinese embassy in Santiago closed its doors to persecuted militants threatened with torture and death, including Chilean Maoists. In October 1973, China and the U.S. were the only two countries which could not bring themselves to vote for a mild resolution adopted by UNESCO expressing "profound concern" over the Chilean bloodbath.

Last year, the London *Observer* (23 November 1975) reported that China was sharply increasing its imports of Chilean copper from 8,000 tons in 1975 to 34,000 tons in 1976. Pinochet told C.L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* that the junta was negotiating a $58 million loan from Peking. "China has behaved well," said the butcher of the Chilean proletariat (*New York Times*, 29 November 1975). Meanwhile the *Guardian* notes only what "has appeared" to be "abstention" from the "boycott."

Spectre of Trotskyism

The Stalinist hacks of the *Guardian* will not succeed in keeping serious militants' examination of the recent excrescences of Chinese foreign policy confined within the bounds of "comradely criticism." One perceptive Peking loyalist wrote to the *Guardian* (19 May): "To completely reject China's foreign policy is, at the very minimum, to call into question the revolutionary politics from which it emanates." Those Maoists who go beyond the cynical superficialities of *Guardian*-style debates will be forced to choose between serving as running dogs for U.S. imperialism or embracing the revolutionary analysis and program of Trotskyism.

The convergence of the frenzied anti-Sovietism of the Chinese ruling elite with the strategic goals of U.S. imperialism is forcing the Peking loyalists to drink to the dregs of class treason. As the Stalinist apologists vie ever more openly with one another in courting imperialism at the expense of their rivals, the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the gains of the proletarian property forms of both Russia and China stands out clearly as the only program for communist unity against imperialism. The historic gains of the Russian and Chinese revolutions can be safeguarded against the onslaughts of rapacious imperialism only through political revolution to oust the nationalistic Stalinist bureaucracies and institute proletarian democracy based on soviets and a foreign policy aimed at extending the conquests of October to the destruction of capitalism worldwide.

The "independent Marxist-Leninists" of the *Guardian* cannot undertake a consistent class analysis of the origins of Peking's bloc with U.S. imperialism: the Stalin-Mao "theory of socialism in one country" and its roots in the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the bureaucratic deformation from birth of the Chinese workers state. Instead, they hope to preserve their niche within the left as a literary mouthpiece for a vacillating layer of radical fellow travellers unwilling either to break with the counterrevolutionary heritage of Stalin or to forthrightly embrace his legitimate heirs in Moscow and Peking. ■

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No Choice in June Presidential Elections

Army Strongman Candidate Threatens Portuguese Workers

MAY 30 Since the inconclusive parliamentary elections a month ago, public attention in Portugal has focused on the upcoming vote for president of the republic. By the midnight Saturday deadline five candidates, including three high military officers, had filed for the office. One of them, however, Brigadier General António Ramalho Eanes, is virtually assured of election in the June 27 balloting, with strong support from both center and right-wing forces and the bulk of the officer corps.

The April legislative elections had been seen by domestic reactionaries and foreign imperialists as an opportunity to back up the hard-line generals now on the ascendency by electing a right-wing majority in parliament. Thus strengthened, anti-communist forces could move to a showdown with the class-conscious workers and the remains of the so-called "military left" in the name of stabilizing democracy. However, while the rightist parties increased their vote compared to the elections for constituent assembly a year earlier, they fell far short of a majority and the combined total for the workers parties was 53 percent. The architects of counterrevolution had expected to "marginalize" the Communist Party (PCP); instead the PCP extended its electoral base and bolstered its dominance in the "red belt" south of Lisbon.

Stymied by this show of strength from leftist forces, the bourgeoisie shifted its efforts toward selecting an appropriate "man on horseback" to fill the role of Bonaparte for the necessary crackdown against the workers movement. The *New York Times* (8 May), projecting the views of the ruling class onto the entire population, declared: "After 50 years of stern right-wing dictatorship and two years of romantic revolution, the Portuguese are again seeking firm leadership." Harking back to Prince Phillip in the 15th century, the imperialist pundits quoted a Lisbon observer as saying, "This country needs a navigator, someone to steady the ship and give it direction." The fact that the country was "deeply divided without a clear governing majority," said the *Times*, explained the "concern over the choice of a strong presidential candidate."

At first the bourgeoisie hoped to put forward a "candidate of military unity"; by transforming the election into a plebiscite, with a general or admiral supported by all the major parties, the mailed fist could then be portrayed as representing "all the Portuguese." The leaders of the present center-right "sixth government," President General Francisco da Costa Gomes and Prime Minister Admiral Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo, were soon ruled out as too leftist. Ultra-reactionaries then launched the name of former General Kaulza de Arriaga, a Salazarist hard-liner notorious for his brutal military tactics against FRELIMO guerrillas in Mozambique. However, this fascist-inspired butcher would have provoked an overwhelming reaction from the workers and united Socialists and Communists against him; he did not have sufficient protective coloring to be *presidenciavel* (eligible for president) in "revolutionary" Portugal. Although still in active service (unlike Kaulza de Arriaga, long since purged from the army), two other potential strongmen, air force chief of staff Morais da Silva and army northern regional commander Pires Veloso, proved likewise unsuitable, being too widely associated with former president General Antonio de Spinola, Portugal's aspiring Pinochet.

The "General Who Hides Behind Dark Glasses"

So all eyes eventually turned to the mastermind of last fall's November 25 coup by rightist "operational officers," army chief of staff Eanes. In a public opinion poll Eanes was judged first among all the possible candidates for "authority" and "firmness," although trailing Pinheiro de Azevedo in popularity (*Expresso*, 8 May). A firm right-winger politically, the army chief of staff is a man of few words, having given only one interview since his rise to prominence last fall. Thus while just as dangerous as a Pires Veloso or Morais da Silva, Eanes has not yet achieved notoriety and can parade as man of the center with "democratic" or even "socialist" convictions.

But who is the former lieutenant colonel (now promoted to four-star general in recognition of his services in putting down the paratroop rebellion) who hides behind dark glasses? During the Salazarist dictatorship, Eanes, a career officer, participated extensively in the colonial wars, serving three years in Mozambique, two years in Guinea-Bissau and during 1974 in Angola, where he was when the April 25 "revolution of the carnations" took place (*Vanguardia Operária*, 19 May 1976). Eanes was program director of the state television, a position from which he *twice* aided putsch attempts by Spinola.

In the first case, on 28 September 1974, at a key point when radio and TV stations were being guarded by troops of the COPCON (Continental Operations Command), Eanes appeared at the studios at 3 a.m. "as a representative of the President of the Republic" (Spinola), placing the communications media under military control (*Voz do Povo*, 18 May 1976). Meanwhile, Spinola had sequestered COPCON commander Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho in the presidential palace. After this power grab by the bemonocled general was thwarted, Spinola resigned as president and several of his associates (Colonel Firmimo Miguel, General Galvão de Melo and others) were eliminated. But Eanes was left in place, and when Spinolaist elements in the air force attempted another coup on 11 March 1974, Eanes made sure that the television and radio were silenced, so that leftist civilian militias were without news of developments until the workers at Rádio Renaseença went off strike and reopened their station under workers control. This time following the defeat of the putschists, Eanes was forced to resign.

Combate Socialista

Paramilitary police in Portugal; this is what General Eanes means by "stabilizing democracy."

But the most notable achievement of the president-to-be for capitalist reaction was the November 25 operation which he planned, basing himself on the single regiment of commandos headed by another rightist officer, Jaime Neves. While this was widely reported by the bourgeois media as an attempted leftist coup, the reality was quite different (see "Lisbon Under Siege," *WV* No. 88, 5 December 1975, for a detailed eyewitness account). *Newsweek* of 8 December provided a revealing account of how the high command, capitalizing on a confused barracks revolt, managed to put the leftist military units in the capital out of commission:

> "As it happened, however, the leftists played straight into the hands of 'the Nine' a group of moderates within the ruling Revolutionary Council. Alarmed by Portugal's continuing drift toward anarchy and by the possibility of a Communist or radical attempt to overthrow the government the Nine and their supporters had laid a trap. In a series of quiet military inspections over the past month, a promising 40-year-old lieutenant colonel named Antonio Ramalho Eanes pinpointed crack loyalist units and worked out the logistics of moving them quickly to the capital. Last week, when the leftists struck, Eanes and his team responded with a brio and efficiency that quashed the would-be coup, gave the government a new grip on power and touched off a series of arrests and purges that stripped extremists of many heroes and foot soldiers alike."

While maintaining the "leftist coup" fiction used by the right as a pretext for its own coup, the *Newsweek* account was misleading in another aspect as well: Eanes was not a member of the

"Group of Nine." The "moderate" officers headed by Major Melo Antunes, ideologist of the now defunct Armed Forces Movement (MFA), went along with the crackdown, but rightist "operational" officers, in the first instance the former (?) Spinola backer Eanes, were the ones who brought it off.

It should not be surprising, then, that Spinola should claim Eanes as one of his own in the famous conversation with West German journalist Gunther Wallraff published in *Stern* magazine last month. Our brief sketch of his background should sufficiently demonstrate that the tight-lipped general is far more sinister than his "democratic" image being projected for the purposes of the election campaign.

"Capturing" Eanes

Imperialist mouthpieces soon declared that the choice of Eanes was to their liking. The *Christian Science Monitor* (4 May), usually a direct reflection of State Department views, praised his "success in restoring discipline to an Army where too much revolution had meant that no officer could even be sure his orders would be followed without a general discussion." In Lisbon, the reactionary Social Democratic Center (CDS) party and the "liberal" Popular Democrats (PPD) announced their support of Eanes, CDS leader Freitas do Amaral declaring that the army chief of staff corresponded to his party's "ideal" candidate. The only obstacle appeared to be the difficulty of finding a successor as chief of staff who could maintain cohesion; for this post the name of former Spinola aide Firmimo Miguel (Eanes' assistant on November 25) was mentioned.

By this point, however, the entire left began to get the jitters about their preferred strongman-elect. Prime Minister Azevedo announced his own "irrevocable" candidacy as soon as the CDS announced its support to Eanes. The Socialist Party (SP)—with 33 percent of the popular vote on April 25 and 114 out of 242 deputies, making it the largest party in the country and essential to any government with a solid parliamentary base hesitated, fearing that Eanes had been "captured" by the right. But after discussions with the army commander, SP leader Mario Soares declared for Eanes, proclaiming that the latter would interpret the new "socialist" constitution in a "progressive" light despite his conservative reputation.

Eanes thereupon declared that if elected, "I would call the secretary-general of the Socialist party to form a government" (*International Herald Tribune*, 14 May). Although the presidential candidate did not specify conditions ("they will become known"), it is widely rumored that part of the deal going down was his support for a minority SP government. Talk of appointing Firmimo Miguel as army chief of staff also ceased, and some days later Eanes gave a long interview stressing the "socialist objectives" of the constitution, coming out for "the participation of the working classes and organizations in the definition, control and execution of all the large economic and social measures" (*Expresso*, 29 May). Had Eanes been "re-captured" by Soares?

Actually, the general was certainly much more interested in other aspects of the constitution than its protection of already accomplished nationalizations (a far cry from socialism in any case). In a press conference a few days ago, Eanes emphasized his goals as "security, tranquility, peace and freedom for all Portuguese" and listed as the precondition for achieving them, "stability in the factories, schools, offices and fields" (*Gazeta da Semana*, 20 May). How such "stability" is to be achieved can be seen from his "reforms" in the army (where all troop assemblies have been eliminated) and his powers according to the

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Reformists Hail Strikebreaking General

I.S. Climbs Aboard Carvalho Bandwagon

We reprint below a Spartacist League leaflet issued in the Bay Area, 21 May 1976.

The PRP's [Proletarian Revolutionary Party] candidate in the June Portuguese presidential elections is the infamous strikebreaker General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. From 8 July, 1974 to 27 November, 1975, while Carvalho was commander of COPCON [Continental Operations Command] he used troops under his aegis to attack the TAP (Portuguese airlines) strike and to break the postal workers' strike. He also supported the law of September 1974 which virtually eliminated the legal basis of the right to strike.

However, open support for General Carvalho is a step backward even for the opportunist International Socialists [I.S.]. The 17 October 1975 issue of *Workers' Power* noted: "When the government tried to seize worker occupied radio stations, General Otelo de Carvalho begged workers not to oppose the government. Carvalho was the MFA [Armed Forces Movement] officer who had been most identified with the revolutionary left. After this, his prestige and popularity declined steeply."

The I.S. rationale for support to Otelo is his purported popularity among sections of the Portuguese working class. This line of reasoning could be used equally well to justify support to Allende's popular front government or to Perón in Argentina.

What is new about the I.S.' open support for Carvalho and its trumpeting of "Popular Power" is not the political content, but rather the openness with which the anti-proletarian conclusions behind the I.S.' long-term policies in Portugal are stated. Last year, the I.S., both in Britain and the U.S., jumped on the PRP bandwagon, asserting that if anyone made a revolution in Portugal, it would be the PRP... Last fall, the PRP was a member of the so-called "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR), in reality a popular-frontist formation that came together in an unsuccessful attempt to prop up the bourgeois fifth government.

The FUR was explicitly committed to support for the MFA and the fifth provisional government of Premier Vasco Gonçalves. The FUR's first communiqué endorsed Gonçalves' document of August 21, "lines of programmatic action and transitional demands," which called for the maintenance of private property, the "strengthening of the MFA-people's alliance" and the "fight for production" (i.e., speed-up and strikebreaking). The FUR also called for strengthening discipline in the army and for "organs of workers power" to be recognized by (i.e., subordinated to) the MFA.

The Chickens Come Home to Roost

These policies are classic popular-front politics and the FUR did not succeed in realizing its popular-front ambitions only because the Gonçalves government fell before they could achieve their goal. The American I.S. was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the FUR, and in fact forced a split in its ill-fated Bay Area "Portugal Solidarity Committee" over the issue of support to the FUR. This split took half the people out of the Portugal Solidarity Committee and in effect killed the committee. But all the while, like an ostrich with its head in the sand, the I.S. insisted that the FUR was not a popular-frontist formation!

Well, here's the proof. Read it in *Workers' Power*. "The [Carvalho] campaign will provide a rallying point to rebuild and unify the movement for popular power in Portugal." No more talk about proletarian revolution or workers power. Just plain old popular-front style "popular power". In the past, when the Spartacist League pointed out that the PRP was supporting Carvalho, the I.S. denied it or at least tried to avoid the issue. Now the I.S. has openly come out in support of Carvalho! The fact that Carvalho and other left-wing MFA officers were eventually purged and/or jailed does not alter the essential facts that throughout its continual left-right shifts, the bonapartist MFA—including its left wing—only acted to preserve capitalism and its own privileged position, holding back the class struggle and giving counterrevolution the opportunity to mobilize. The current wave of repression and the strengthening of the right wing in Portugal is nothing but the fruit of the "MFA-people's alliance" and the logical outcome of the program of the FUR. Now instead of drawing the conclusions from the defeats their politics helped to produce, the I.S. and the PRP are one more time around embracing the strikebreaker Carvalho!

Militant

Ex-general Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. This two-faced "soldier without fear" stood aside while rightist commandos broke the back of the military left last November.

The British I.S. Looks for Greener Pastures Elsewhere

While the American I.S. still seems relatively content with the PRP, the British I.S. has apparently decided that their cynical "gamble" on the PRP isn't paying off, especially since the PRP isn't doing so well in the current period of reaction. Thus, [I.S. leader Tony] Cliff said in September 1975:

> "The PRP is an authentic revolutionary Marxist organization which argues for the need for an armed revolution, stands squarely for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and believes in the need for autonomous organizations of the proletariat—councils (soviets)."
>
> —"Portugal at the Crossroads"

Now Cliff says of the PRP:

> "...the PRP...did not show any clear radical change of direction towards the industrial struggles, towards active participation in the trade union affairs, and towards fighting for the leadership of the workers' commissions. ..Union elections are left completely to other parties....
>
> "The PRP is paying a very high price indeed for its failure to understand the

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Stop Deportation of AIM Militant from Canada!

VANCOUVER, May 30—Leonard Peltier, a 32-year-old Oglala Sioux Indian, a veteran of the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 and a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), is currently fighting extradition proceedings here that could mean his being bound over to U.S. courts to face murder charges in the case of two FBI agents killed at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, on 26 June 1975. If found guilty on the murder counts, Peltier faces the death penalty. He is also charged with two attempted murders of other cops, one in Oregon and one in Wisconsin, as well as a charge of burglary.

The charges against Peltier are an obvious political frame-up by racist South Dakota authorities in collaboration with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the FBI. In Canada, he has been refused bail and at one point before the hearing, while being held in solitary confinement, was prevented from exercising his legal right to appear before a judge. Peltier remains in isolation at Vancouver's Oakalla Prison. Moreover, visitors to the extradition hearing are frisked as they enter the courtroom, forced to stand with their hands against the wall and remove shoes and other articles of clothing.

On May 13 Peltier stood in the prisoner's dock, his hands and feet shackled as they are in all his court appearances, declaring he was innocent of the charges and requesting political asylum in Canada. According to the Canadian Extradition Act a person may not be extradited if it can be proven that he is a political refugee and that the alleged offense is "one of a political character," or if it can be established that the charges have been raised "with a view to persecute or punish him for an offense of a political nature." It is clear that the U.S. case against Peltier is political persecution, part of a broader attempt by the FBI to smash AIM through piling up criminal charges against its leaders, just as was done against the Black Panthers.

An extradition hearing is not a trial and attorneys for Peltier are not permitted to cross-examine witnesses. The U.S. has only to prove a *prima facie* case, that is, only the possibility that Peltier *might* be guilty. Some 18 affidavits, mostly from FBI agents, have been presented by the prosecution. (However, at the time of the Pine Ridge shooting the FBI admitted having no idea who was involved, even after an invasion of over 200 federal agents onto the reservation to look for clues.) In addition, the hearing judge merely forwards to the federal Minister of Justice in Ottawa any evidence of political implications together with his recommendations. The minister, in this case Ron Basford, a Liberal, has the ultimate decision.

Frank Blackhorse, another Pine Ridge activist, was arrested along with Peltier. The Canadian government originally attempted to deport him, but found it had no legal grounds and released him only to re-arrest him on drug and firearms charges. The constant re-arresting of AIM militants on trumped-up charges is a common tactic of both U.S. and Canadian police. Russell Means, co-founder of AIM, has been arrested 12 times since Wounded Knee and currently faces eight major trials. The only thing he was ever convicted of, however, is one phony "riot" charge, and that is under appeal.

The bourgeoisie's efforts to destroy militant movements of the oppressed know no border restrictions. On 30 September 1974 during a protest by the Native People's Caravan on the steps of the Canadian Parliament building in Ottawa, a brutal police assault was launched leaving many demonstrators bloodied, beaten by club-wielding cops. The use of deportations has also been common in Canada, most recently in the case of Caribbean militant Rosie Douglas, who was "permitted" to "emigrate" to Jamaica last month.

Lawyers for Peltier have made it clear that if the AIM leader is delivered up to the U.S., it could mean his death. A defense team survey conducted in South Dakota, where there is a history of racist anti-Indian sentiment, found that over 70 percent of the white population believed Peltier to be guilty. Since the Wounded Knee incident in 1973 there have been recurring "mysterious" deaths of Indians and a continuing siege by police, military and U.S. governmental authorities against Indians at Pine Ridge.

Indian Nation

AIM leader Leonard Peltier

The defense team pointed to the case of Anna Mae Aquash, a Canadian Indian woman who was found dead on Pine Ridge Reservation. According to testimony, Mrs. Aquash was arrested in Oregon on 14 November 1975 and sent to South Dakota where she was under indictment. She was "kidnapped" by unknown persons and her badly decomposed body was found several weeks later in a snowbank in a field. The authorities claimed she died of "exposure," then cut off her hands and sent them to Washington for fingerprint identification. However, her family had the body exhumed and an autopsy by a private doctor revealed she had been shot in the back of the head!

There have been 50 murders or unexplained fatal "accidents" at Pine Ridge since 1973, eight since late January of this year. According to *Indian News* (April 1976) the reservation is essentially an armed camp with BIA police in army fatigues brandishing automatic weapons, conducting illegal search-and-seize raids on Indians' homes and even hauling off children for questioning.

If Leonard Peltier is extradited, he will fall into the hands of the racist U.S. cops and courts who have killed or railroaded into jail hundreds of Indian militants in recent years. The Trotskyist League of Canada, while denouncing the racism and victimizations by Canadian courts, has protested this attempt to hand Peltier over to a "legal" lynch mob in the U.S. Contributions to help defray legal costs may be sent to: Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, Box 758 Station A, Vancouver, B.C. The defense committee urges that telegrams demanding political asylum for Peltier be sent to Ron Basford, Minister of Justice, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario; or to Pierre Trudeau, Prime Minister, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario.

All Socialists and the entire labor movement must demand: Free Peltier! Free Blackhorse! Stop the Extradition! Cops Out of Pine Ridge! ■

Jail the Killer Cop! Drop Complaint Against Black Civil Rights Attorney!

N.Y. Rockland County Police Try to Disbar Conrad Lynn

Conrad Lynn, well-known New York black civil liberties and civil rights lawyer, is facing censure by the Bar Association of the Ninth Judicial District in Rockland County which could lead to his being prevented from practicing law.

The charges, brought by the local Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA), stem from comments made by Lynn before the Rockland County Legislature's criminal justice committee regarding the March 1 shooting of Reverend Elmer Hausmann, a white minister from South Africa who was highly respected in the local black community. Hausmann was shot through the heart in the dark at his Spring Valley church by a village cop, Charles Berbenich, who was supposedly answering a burglar alarm. The church, although having a predominantly white congregation, is located in a black community. Berbenich has since been charged with only one count of criminally negligent homicide.

In South Africa, Hausmann had been a minister for the Dutch Reform Church, the ideological bulwark of the white-supremacist regime. However, he had courageously spoken from the pulpit against apartheid and the racist Pretoria government.

Lynn is charged with saying, "the recent death of the Spring Valley minister was a case of racial prejudice. It was—just to me—it was murder." Lynn's daughter Suzanne, also a lawyer, explained: "My father believed that when police heard a noise in the church, they assumed it was a black person" (*Nyack Journal News*, 29 April). They shot first and asked questions later.

After Lynn made the remark at the justice committee where he had been invited to speak, the county sheriff got on the radio, played a tape of the meeting and demanded Lynn's disbarment, claiming the attorney's remark was "prejudicial" to the cop's defense. Since then, radio and newspapers have continued to repeat this demand in a flood of articles and broadcasts. In fact, the barrage of attacks was so massive and one-sided that one local radio station was compelled to give Lynn a half-hour interview just to provide the appearance of "equal time."

Rockland County is a conservative area with a history of racial prejudice and police brutality. It was in the same Ninth Judicial District that black lawyer Paul Zuber, a fighter for school integration in the early 1960's, was disbarred on a trumped-up technicality. In Rockland County the cops are permitted to use "dum dum" bullets fired from a .357 Magnum, a regulation which in fact means they are authorized to "shoot to kill."

In an interview with *WV* Lynn spoke of the case in the context of the "domination and intimidation of the minority communities" by the police nationally. He pointed out at the judicial committee meeting that "the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association didn't ask for a fair trial" for the cop. "They said there should be *no* trial." In fact, before Lynn spoke out, the PBA had daily pleas in the local press to let the killer cop go free and claimed that the shooting was at worst a regrettable mistake but not a crime.

Lynn added that on occasions in the past, local bar associations have held proceedings over a lawyer's head for up to two years, particularly for those who are known to espouse radical views. This could destroy his career, with people afraid to retain a lawyer under charges from the bar association. Lynn is trying to force an early decision on the case. However, no hearing date has yet been set.

An Ad Hoc Committee for Justice for Conrad Lynn has drafted a resolution calling for the dismissal of the charges against him and for an apology to the affected communities.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) protest this unconstitutional attempt to take disciplinary action against Lynn for exercising his right of free speech. In a telegram sent to the Ninth District Joint Bar Association grievance committee, the PDC said: "It is apparent that the proceeding against Conrad Lynn...is racially motivated, and therefore represents an attack upon and intimidation of all minorities and poor people. The Partisan Defense Committee demands that the Joint Bar Association and the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association drop this complaint and render a public apology to Conrad Lynn." ■

Carvalho...

(continued from page 7)

> central role of trade union activity, and its avoidance, in the name of 'anti-Partisan', of the struggle for the leadership of workers' commissions."
> *International Socialism* No 87, March/April 1976

Cliff, however, does not criticize the PRP for its support to the MFA, to Carvalho, or the popular-front politics of the FUR. Because Cliff (and the American I.S.) agrees. Cliff merely wants the PRP to undertake the syndicalist-reformist trade union policies of the British I.S. Or, in Cliff's own words, "The most important thing is to create and strengthen the united front in the economic field" and "when we emphasize a tactic we must be prepared to bury ourselves in it" (!!!) (*International Socialism* No. 87). As Cliff prepares to ditch the PRP for greener pastures, his only comment is that the concluding chapter in a period of revolutionary opportunity must be burying oneself in trade-union reformism!

Revolutionaries, of course, must work in the trade unions and engage in the defensive struggles of the proletariat. Yet to assert that the basic problems of the Portuguese working class can be solved by Portuguese equivalents of Teamsters For A Decent Contract is patently ridiculous. What is required in Portugal is an assessment of the policies that led to the recent defeats. A revolutionary party must be built in Portugal if the working class is to reverse these defeats and go forward. That revolutionary party can only be built on the basis of a rejection of the popular-front politics of the FUR, of Carvalho and of the "MFA-people's alliance." The Spartacist League / U.S. and the international Spartacist tendency have clearly laid out these points throughout the whole struggle and have raised consistently a program for proletarian victory in Portugal. A Trotskyist party must be built in Portugal as a section of the reborn Fourth International! This is the only road to proletarian victory! ■

Anti-Labor Propositions...

(continued from page 12)

not happy with, but with the climate now we're going to recommend that it be accepted" (*Oakland Tribune*, 27 May).

Meanwhile, the bulk of the workers (clerks, hospital and social workers) represented by the SEIU are being offered a 3.2 percent increase. This is a slap in the face, particularly since management employees have been offered a 7 percent raise, and the deputy sheriffs were given a similar increase. As in San Francisco, the labor bureaucrats have spread the dangerous illusion that the cops are part of the labor movement (in this case, the deputy sheriffs belong to the Operating Engineers). The cops must be expelled from the unions!

The labor bureaucrats in the East Bay have pledged to respect each other's picket lines, but these same false promises were made before the S.F. strike. The fate of the strike cannot be entrusted to the treacherous labor bureaucracy! A class-struggle leadership must be forged to build for a powerful general strike, to defeat the bosses' renewed offensive of anti-labor propositions and contemptuous pay offers and lead the workers forward toward the struggle for a workers government. ■

West Coast Strikers...

(continued from page 12)

alleged U.S. government agents were lurking around the Associated terminals. When a *WV* photographer attempted to take pictures of the plethora of cops and guards at the company's S.F. terminal, his film was destroyed by five men claiming to be FBI agents on "undercover" assignment. Meanwhile, the San Francisco FBI investigation coincides with rumblings in Washington about new inquiries into the IBT. Just prior to the aborted national Teamsters strike in April, an investigation was announced by a Congressional committee acting on reports of corruption in a multi-part NBC television special on the union.

Last week, "dissident Teamsters" organized by anti-communist legal beagle Arthur L. Fox II joined the chorus, releasing a 177-page report on the IBT and announcing their intention to take the union to court if their wishy-washy "reform" amendments on officials' salaries were turned down by the upcoming Teamster convention in Las Vegas. The report immediately prompted a demand by liberal Republican senator Jacob Javits for an inquiry into IBT pension funds (*New York Times*, 27 May).

The FBI arson investigation could prove very convenient to Associated management, which would like nothing better than to see the best militants of 15 striking Teamster locals pursued and harassed on suspicion of sabotage against company facilities. In fact, quite a few northern California employers stand to benefit from stepped-up government snooping on the Teamsters: contracts expire tomorrow for 25,000 warehouse members of both the Teamsters and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), and a joint strike has been planned. Employer attempts to divide the workforce have singled out the Teamsters; although the major warehouses offered a $1.40 raise over three years, IBT Local 241 was offered only 70 cents by management.

While Berkeley/Oakland IBT Local 853 has been making strike preparations for June 2 by mobilizing its stewards for picket line activity, ILWU Local 6 has apparently made no preparations whatsoever. The Local 6 leadership under President Curtis McClain has ignored demands of the Militant Caucus (a class-struggle opposition group in the Local) for a fighting alliance with Teamster warehousemen. Among the measures advocated by the Caucus are sending ILWU delegations to Teamster meetings, calling joint stewards council meetings and holding a joint strike rally.

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The fates of ILWU longshoremen and warehousemen and Teamster members are closely linked throughout the West Coast and class-struggle solidarity across union lines is essential. However, the ILWU bureaucracy of Harry Bridges & Co. and Teamster officials have been doing their utmost to prevent it. When IBT Local 85 members followed scab trucks to pier 80 in San Francisco, ILWU longshoremen honored the lines until they were broken by the police. Nonetheless, Local 85 head Ray Talavera denounced the action as unauthorized and threatened discipline against the members.

In the intense anti-union atmosphere following the defeat of the S.F. city craft workers strike, the threat of government attack on the Teamsters is clearly being used to divide and defeat transport/warehouse workers. Both in the IBT and ILWU, union militants must prepare to fight such attacks, particularly by defending any member of the labor movement framed up on phony "arson" charges in the Associated fire.

ILWU Warehousemen Advocate Militant Strike

Preparation in the ILWU for the present contract battle has involved a similar issue of militant tactics in the two-and-a-half-month-old strike at the ILWU-organized Nestlé's plant. Class-conscious Local 6 members at Thrifty's and several other Bay Area warehouses, as well as longshore clerks at pier 80, have refused to handle Nestlé's products. In contrast, the legalist-minded bureaucrats have been attempting to defeat this "hot-cargoing" of struck goods and replace it with an impotent consumer boycott. At Thrifty's, the Local 6 business agent ordered members to work the scab shipments, and Bridges capitulated to a court order allowing Nestlé's cocoa beans to move across the docks in Stockton.

The "hot-cargoing" tactic, one of the powerful class-struggle methods that built the ILWU (and the Teamsters), is so clearly necessary that last week even the conservative Local 6 General Executive Board (GEB) was finally forced to give in to the pressure of the ranks' actions. The GEB affirmed in a resolution that "Local 6 will not handle any Nestlé's cargo, in transit or not." This was a victory for the Militant Caucus, which had been demanding hot-cargoing of Nestlé's products and denounced the backstabbing action of the Thrifty's business agent in leaflets circulated to the membership.

Despite this halting step forward, the Local 6 leadership, having managed to temporarily quash Militant Caucus demands for "no contract, no work," refuses to set a definite strike date. This poses the possibility of a divided warehouse strike (with only Teamster locals going out) combined with government attacks on the IBT. Teamster head Fitzsimmons, for his part, sent in William Grami, chief hatchet man in IBT raids on the Farm Workers, to run the negotiations and prevent any chance that warehouse militancy might spark attempts by drivers to reopen the Master Freight Agreement.

At a mass pre-strike Local 6 meeting May 26, the ILWU warehousemen overwhelmingly rejected the latest insulting company offer. A Militant Caucus leaflet informed the membership of the numerous points McClain & Co. have already thrown away, but the bureaucracy moved to strictly limit discussion in order to prevent debate on these cowardly "compromises." Rather than working out a program for a winning strike, discussion turned to such subjects as the announcement by one member that workers should claim the bourgeoisie's bi-centennial as their own!

This gambit (comical except that it reflects pathetic capitulation to the bosses' patriotism ploy) reflects the views of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which seeks to carve out a niche as left cover for the union bureaucracy. The RCP's latest apology for betrayal was its attempt to pass off the defeat of the S.F. city workers, stabbed in the back by their misleaders, as a "victory"! Predictably the same treacherous line was echoed by the Communist Party.

Asked by *WV* what the problems facing warehousemen on the eve of the strike were, Militant Caucus spokesman and ILWU Local 6 GEB member Bob Mandel responded,

> "One of the central lessons of the San Francisco city workers strike is that the utmost solidarity is needed between all the unions affected. We must strike together, and there must be absolute agreement that no union or local goes back to work until all have reached satisfactory settlements which have been approved at membership meetings. To run a successful strike we must hold an immediate stewards council and elect a joint strike committee with the Teamsters locals.
> "A central problem facing the strike will be the question of government intervention through the courts and cops. Mass picket lines must be built and the unions must use their full strength to mobilize and defeat all forms of government attack, calling on the rest of the labor movement to defend us and the right to strike."

For a Militant ILWU/IBT Warehouse Strike!

A militant, unified joint warehouse strike by the ILWU and Teamsters is an immediate necessity, but it faces a wide range of enemies. The bosses' government has hit strikers in the Bay Area with FBI persecution and Congressional "investigations" as well as the more normal, but increasingly draconian, anti-picketing injunctions and cop violence. In the unions the rotten Bridges and Fitzsimmons bureaucracies seek to enforce submission to bourgeois anti-union laws.

Warehousemen in Seattle are already on strike and the Bay Area warehouse strike should link up with these union brothers and sisters, extending the action Coast-wide and raising the demand for parity of all locals. The strike should also be expanded to include ILWU longshoremen, who face layoffs through deregistration of full union members on July 1. In addition, the Associated drivers' strike must be defended against employer/government attack, and the sellout Teamster Master Freight Agreement reopened.

Members of both unions must refuse to handle struck goods, and the ranks must be mobilized to defy the union-busting injunctions and defend the picket lines. However, the present union leaderships stand in the way of such a fighting program of militant labor action and solidarity. Unable to see beyond the ends of their noses, they are equally incapable of winning and instead organize one defeat after another. Strike victories will come through the struggle to oust these sellout artists and replace them with a class-struggle leadership capable of standing up to the bosses.

As to the sudden government "concern" for union democracy, the coincidence of calls in Washington for Congressional investigation of the Teamsters and the FBI arson investigation in San Francisco should be obvious to all militants. Any and all interference by the capitalist state in union affairs, even if ostensibly for "clean unions," can only hurt the ranks' ability to struggle against the employers and control their own organizations. Groupings such as Teamsters for a Decent Contract (which is endorsed by the International Socialists and includes anti-communist lawyer Arthur Fox) only aid government encroachment in union affairs through their "tactical" use of courts and the Labor Department against the unions. ILWU and IBT militants must demand: No government intervention in the labor movement, and hands off the Teamsters! ■

Portuguese Workers...

(continued from page 1)

constitution. Under this document, approved earlier this spring, the president is simultaneously commander-in-chief of the armed forces, head of the military Council of the Revolution, nominator of the prime minister and the only person with authority to dissolve the legislative assembly (articles 136-141). He can also declare a state of siege or emergency (under which the parliament need not be consulted on anything for 30 days), and veto legislation. Only by three times voting down motions of confidence in a prime minister appointed by the president can the legislature reject his nominee.

With such wide-ranging powers, a President Eanes could easily impose the minority SP government desired by Soares (the PCP would have to form a solid bloc with the virulently anti-communist right to bring it down). The SP leader, in turn, has made clear that he is still following the same program as last year when he demanded the extirpation of all workers commissions which "pretend to be a 'parallel power' to the political-administrative apparatus of the state" and the disarming of all workers militias. Now, says Soares, "It is necessary to explain to the working class and the trade-union leaders that they must limit their demands in a realistic manner" (*A Luta*, 29 April). Thus the stage is set for a replay of the confrontations last fall in which the SP lined up with the most nefarious forces of capitalist reaction against the PCP and above all the workers commissions and soldiers committees, in a determined offensive to strengthen the capitalist state by stamping out any germs of dual power. In the summer and fall it was primarily the leftist garrisons and officers that were the target; this time around it is the workers themselves who are directly threatened.

Is Soares consciously committed to such a counterrevolutionary alliance with domestic and imperialist reaction? It is not only his actions that prove it. In a recent French book (*Portugal: Quelle Revolution?*) by *Le Monde* correspondent Dominique Pouchin, the SP leader is quoted in the following exchange:

> "Pouchin:...would you be ready to fight on the side of ELP [Portuguese Liberation Army, a fascistic terrorist group, linked to Spinola] activists against the supporters of people's democracy?
>
> "Soares: Happily the problem is not posed, since the ELP people are clandestine or have left the country. But if the Communists had taken power, that alliance would certainly have been brought about."

The "Marxist" social democrat who fronts for counterrevolution is not the only reformist to support the associate of Spinola and author of the November 25 right-wing coup. The violently anti-Soviet Portuguese Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (PCP-ML), and its workers front, the Workers and Peasant Alliance (AOC), has also come out for Eanes, as has the Reorganizing Movement of the Proletarian Party (MRPP). These foam-flecked Maoists seek to demonstrate in every way that they are in agreement with the current Peking line that "Soviet social-imperialism" is the main danger in the world today. Thus the MRPP last winter broke with the Socialist Party after tailing it for months, complaining that Soares had gone soft on the PCP. In announcing his party's support for Eanes, MRPP leader Arnoldo Matos recently stated that he would have preferred a PPD-CDS parliamentary majority to the SP-PCP majority.

The "Soldier Without Fear" Becomes Robin Hood

The Portuguese so-called "far left," a loose coalition of "soft" Maoist, syndicalist and left-social-democratic formations which last fall formed the "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) together with the PCP and its satellites, has evidently learned nothing from the November 25 fiasco. Having braintrusted the "revolutionary officers" of COPCON for months, they fell into chaotic "insurrectionalist" propaganda only to find themselves totally abandoned when Eanes & Co. struck out to smash the military left. As Neves' commandos waltzed around Lisbon disarming one garrison after another, COPCON chief General Carvalho appeared on TV with Costa Gomes as the latter announced a state of siege outlawing all demonstrations.

Groups such as the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), which had previously praised the "revolutionary" general as a "soldier who advances without fear," now seem determined to repeat their earlier capitulation to the bourgeois MFA and demagogic left-talking officers by backing "Otelo" for president. Having warned the workers not to be fooled by bourgeois elections in March and April, advocating abstention, these Castroite syndicalists suddenly turn around to do some fooling themselves, singing hosannas for the general (since demoted to major) who abandoned them on November 25!

They are joined by the Maoist Popular Democratic Union (UDP), an electoral front of the Portuguese Communist Party-Reconstructed (PCP-R), which last fall was tailing the pro-Moscow PCP. Having engineered a series of fusions with other Maoist groups, the PCP-R recently made a successful bid for the Peking franchise (it was officially recognized by Albania in March) by shifting its line to declare that the Communist Party is now the main enemy. But lacking the stomach to openly side with the Spinolaists, the UDP opted instead for the "revolutionary" anti-Communist Carvalho.

With his usual flair, Carvalho launched his campaign with a dramatic whistle-stopping train caravan from Lisbon to Porto. But despite the railroad cars draped with red flags, a press conference last week showed that he has not changed his act politically either. Announcing that his was a "non-party" candidacy (although supported by the UDP, PRP, Left Socialist Movement [MES] and Popular Socialist Front [FSP]), the major praised "generous military men" and harked back to the "enormous possibilities of the MFA-people alliance." While throwing in a few words about defending the workers, a key point in his program was "improving the living conditions and the unity and discipline of Armed Forces in the service of, and not against, the Portuguese people." Unable to break with the officer corps of the capitalist army, Carvalho simply serves to tie his followers to the bourgeois state.

Ever evasive on any important question, Carvalho outdid himself at this conference when asked by a journalist whether he was a Marxist. His reply: "I think it is essential to the revolution that it be done with the sense that it is for the people." When the questioner kept pressing for an answer, asking if perhaps the major was motivated by a messianic calling, Carvalho opined: "Let's say it's more romanticism, closer to Robin Hood..."!

A Portuguese Candidate Non-Candidate

In this American presidential year, newspapers are filled with speculation about that curious bourgeois electoral phenomenon, the non-candidate candidate, such as Hubert Humphrey. Coyly denying that he is running, the "non-candidate" is always ready for a draft. In Portugal, today, there is an opposite phenomenon, namely a declared candidate (drafted at the last minute) who is in fact not a candidate at all. As students of Stalinist politics might expect, this is the candidate of the Communist Party, Octávio Pato.

The PCP had repeatedly stated that it considered it desirable for the president to be a military officer. Unable to drum up support for its favorites, Vasco Gonçalves (head of the PCP-dominated "fifth government") and Costa Gomes, or even for Azevedo, it was willing to consider Eanes. But the markedly rightist character of Eanes' support made it virtually impossible for the PCP to force the army chief of staff down the throats of its militants. This problem became double difficult when the Carvalho candidacy was launched, which might attract the PCP's base and certainly its sympathizers. It also feared to back Azevedo or Costa Gomes against Eanes since (a) they would lose in any case, thus demonstrating the PCP's circumscribed influence; and (b) this would sharply divide the officer corps, whose unity (i.e., "unity" with the Spinolaists) it seeks to preserve.

So the PCP designated its number two leader as a pro-forma candidate simply to mark time. The fact that it was presenting an "independent" candidate in no way represented a break from its politics of collaboration with the "progressive" officers and bourgeois forces. The PCP continues to have ministers in the bourgeois popular-front government headed by Admiral Azevedo. Likewise, it signed a pact earlier in the spring reaffirming its signature of a similar document last year, which guaranteed that during an indefinite "transitional period" all major political questions would be left to the decision of the top generals, in the form of the Council of the Revolution.

To emphasize this fact, in the press conference announcing Pato's candidacy, PCP leader Alvaro Cunhal announced that he had first visited Eanes to inform him of the decision, and to make clear that this candidacy was not directed against the chief of staff. The PCP declaration underlined once again "the advantages of the President of the Republic being a military man," but added that given the "complexity of the situation and the lack of clarity which the positions of the reactionary parties introduce into the process, the CC of the PCP has resolved not to support, at the present time, any military candidate, *without prejudicing the support which it could give to a military man after being elected President of the Republic*" (*Avante*, 20 May [our emphasis]).

The Spartacist tendency does not hoodwink Portuguese militants by pretending that the Stalinists are ("in spite of themselves") fighting for the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie. In contrast the Portuguese representatives of the Healyite "International Committee," the League for the Construction of the Revolutionary Party (LCPR), in the April legislative elections called for votes to the PCP candidates, and it now announces that,

> "A massive workers vote against these candidates [Eanes and Azevedo] would be a tremendous blow against this reactionary conspiracy. The presentation of a civilian candidate of the PCP, Octavio Pato, opens perspectives for such a vote."
>
> *Vanguardia Operária*, 19 May

This is unadulterated obfuscation in the service of centrist capitulation. The PCP states explicitly, and the mass of the Portuguese workers are well aware, that Octávio Pato is not running against the generals, but *for* them.

It is the duty of revolutionary Trotskyists to expose this phoney candidacy for the class collaboration it represents, not pretend that it somehow represents a break with the armed forces. This is the position of the international Spartacist tendency, which declares forthrightly that none of the candidates in the Portuguese presidential elections—neither the general, the admiral, the ex-general nor their Stalinist water boy—can serve as a vehicle for registering a vote for proletarian independence. ■

CORRECTIONS

Due to a typographical error, "The National Question in Yugoslavia—Part 2" (*WV* No. 110, 21 May) erroneously referred at one point to the Tito bureaucracy's "break with Stalinism." As the article explains at length, Titoism is a national variant of Stalinism, not a break from it. The phrase should have read "Following its break with Stalin...."

In "Big Four Try to Starve Out Rubber Strikers" (*WV* No. 109, 14 May) there is a reference to the "Summit County Common Police Court." This should have read "Common Pleas Court." Also, Democratic hopeful Morris Udall is from Arizona, not from Utah as was incorrectly stated in "Ford Targets Boston Busing," *WV* No. 111, 28 May.

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Lebanese Civil War...

(continued from page 1)

was granted independence from France in 1946.

La Canonnière Causes Uproar

The day after Giscard's New Orleans proposal to bring "peace" to the Levant through a French invasion, the French defense ministry asserted it had 20,000 men available for duty abroad and that air, ground and naval forces were ready to respond to an order to go to Lebanon "if the order is given soon" (*New York Times*, 23 May). But not everyone welcomed Giscard's grandiose imperial designs and from various quarters cold water was poured upon this mikado puffed up with the memories of former glory.

An immediate uproar went up from the French left. The Communist Party interrupted wrapping itself up in the Tricolor long enough to warn that Giscard was proposing "a new version of the Vietnam war," a war which France lost in 1954 along with her Indochinese colonies. Socialist Party international affairs secretary Lionel Jospin added a touch of realism: "We do not think this kind of conflict can be settled by armed intervention of a superpower, much less a middle-grade one" (*New York Times*, 24 May).

Giscard's offer for a massive French intervention into the former Levant colony was made on the eve of a National Assembly debate on the role of the French armed forces. The Giscard-Gaullist government bloc want the armed forces expanded and upgraded so that the "middle-grade" power might be more than a junior partner of the Yankee imperialists.

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The following day word of Giscard's New Orleans pronouncement reached that master of *la canonnière*, Henry Kissinger, who was winding up a NATO conference in Oslo. Kissinger reacted cautiously to Giscard's offer: "We cannot take a definitive position on this matter until it comes up in a more formal way than it has, and until we know the views of the other interested parties in the Middle East in greater detail, Arab and other" (*New York Times*, 23 May).

Reaction to the French president was so negative that the following week the French foreign minister, Jean Sauvagnargues, claimed that the regiments-to-Lebanon proposal was a "misinterpretation" of his president's remarks in New Orleans. At the same time thumbing his nose at the imperialist superpower across the Atlantic (and contradicting his own denial that an offer had been made), the foreign minister said the proposal was "a purely independent offer and in order to make it, we did not consult the Americans at all" (*New York Times*, 27 May).

Giscard and Sauvagnargues both claimed that the offer of troops was conditional on a request from the Lebanese "government" for French intervention. But it does not appear that Lebanon now has a government to make such a request. Syrian-backed president-elect Elias Sarkis cannot take office until former president Suleiman Franjieh resigns. Though Franjieh was forced to sign an amendment to the Constitution permitting the early election of a new president, he has refused to resign until his term of office expires in September.

No doubt one reason for Giscard's New Orleans sabre-rattling was to hasten Franjieh's departure. It was perhaps no accident that the same day that Giscard proposed the French military adventure, in Beirut brigadier general Abel Aziz al-Ahdab resigned and called on Franjieh to follow his example. As *WV* readers will recall, two months ago General Ahdab, the highest ranking Muslim in the Lebanese army and commander of the Beirut garrison, seized a television station and declared himself military governor of all Lebanon, calling upon Franjieh to resign. But the Lebanese army disintegrated, rendering Ahdab's "coup" impotent. Having reached mandatory retirement age, Ahdab has finally resigned and appeals to Franjieh to follow him in the "democratic way."

In Lebanon the prospect of French troops was enough to exacerbate the bloody intercommunal strife. Muslim prime minister Rashid Karami, leader of the Muslim side in the 1958 civil war, rejected the offer announcing "We will never go back to the days of the French Mandate"—the League of Nations "mandate" under which France ruled both Lebanon and Syria between the world wars. In contradistinction, Maronite Christian forces, who have called for an "internationalization" of the Lebanese conflict and are now militarily dependent on Syrian intervention, welcomed the prospect of supplementing "radical" Syrian Ba'athist troops with French imperialist legions. Pierre Gemayel, chief of the leading party of Maronite reaction, the Phalangists, stated, "when the country is exposed to sabotage, destruction and partition it would be stupid or obstinate to refuse to accept non-Lebanese forces."

From the Crusades to the French Mandate

The current confessionalist slaughter is a direct product of French imperialist intervention in Lebanon. Ever since the Crusades, when Raymond of St. Giles, count of Toulouse, captured the flourishing port cities of the Tripoli emirate, French rulers have had interests in the Levant. The Crusaders were seen as liberators by persecuted Christian sects in the Near East, especially by the Maronites, who were granted the juridical rights and privileges pertaining to the Latin rulers.

Franco-Maronite *amitié traditionelle* was later used to extract from a declining Ottoman Empire "capitulations" whereby the French were recognized as the protectors of Catholic minorities. The British in turn attempted to meddle in the Levant by becoming the benefactors of the Druzes. In 1860 a massive civil war between Maronites and Druzes was sparked by a Maronite peasant rebellion in which the feudal estates were seized, the land distributed and a peasant commonwealth proclaimed.

On the eve of the French military intervention into that civil war, Karl Marx wrote:

> "The conspirators of Petersburg and Paris had, however, in case their temptation of Prussia should fail, kept in reserve the thrilling incident of the Syrian massacres to be followed by a French intervention which... would open the back door of a general European conflict. In respect to England I will only add that in 1841 Lord Palmerston furnished the Druses with the arms they kept ever since and that in 1848, by a convention with the Czar Nicholas, he abolished, in point of fact, the Turkish sway that curbed the wild tribes of Lebanon, and stipulated for them a quasi-independence which, in the run of time, and under the proper management of foreign plotters, could only beget a harvest of blood."
>
> —*New York Daily Tribune*, 11 August 1860

In that same month France invaded Beirut with 7,000 troops. The country was partitioned, with predominantly (but not exclusively) Christian Mount Lebanon (Jabal Lubnan) stripped of its maritime and inter-mountain plains. This enclave was to be ruled by a foreign Christian governor general (*mutasarrif*) designated by the Ottoman rulers but approved by the European "concert" which included France, England, Prussia, Austria, Russia and, after 1867, Italy. The *mutasarrif* was to be assisted by an elective administrative council of 12 representatives of the religious communities, thus laying the basis for Lebanon's confessional system.

Later, the "conspirators of Petersburg and Paris" combined with the British to carve up the crumbling Ottoman Empire in World War I and in 1916 in the Sykes-Picot agreement granted France both Lebanon and Syria. In 1919 at Versailles France reversed the 1861 Constantinople partition of Lebanon in order to re-create "Greater Lebanon" and place the maximum number of Muslims, among whom nascent Arab nationalism was growing, in a common state with a Christian majority which would look to France for protection. Thus the French knowingly created a state constructed to ensure plenty of intercommunal strife to justify their imperial "peace-keeping" presence; now they use the bloody confessional hatreds which are the legacy of their "mandate" as the excuse to return.

From French to Syrian Mandate

The Lebanese "mandate" and the *amitié traditionelle* with the Maronites—or at least with their most reactionary wing—has passed to the self-proclaimed "national socialist" Syrian Ba'athists. Even the modern *mutasarrif*, the "president," is ultimately chosen by the military junta in Damascus and not by the religious-based parliament in Beirut. The 15 May *Economist* relates how the Syrian-backed Sarkis was elected over the equally reactionary Muslim-backed Raymond Eddé:

> "For an hour after parliament's scheduled opening time on Saturday, militia groups under Syrian officers were rounding up some of the hesitant deputies and leading them, politely but at gunpoint, to parliament. Without this relentless Syrian intervention Mr Eddé expected to be chosen by more than 55 votes."

The so-called Muslim "left" organized into the National Movement (including the Lebanese Communist Party) led by Druze patriarch and Progressive Socialist Party head Kamal Jumblatt, demonstrated its bankruptcy by throwing its support behind Eddé. Both Eddé and Sarkis are Maronites. Thus while Jumblatt claims to stand for a secularization of Lebanese politics, he continues to function within the norms of confessionalism by backing one of Lebanon's most reactionary Maronite clans.

Sarkis is certainly no "clean man," as the *Economist* terms him. In 1959 along with General Ahdab, Sarkis organized the Deuxième Bureau of military officers which functioned as political police fiercely suppressing opponents of then-president Chehab. Now the governor of the central bank, Sarkis is essentially a conservative bureaucrat.

Raymond Eddé is the son of Emile Eddé, founder of the National Bloc. The National Bloc was the parliamentary grouping most closely associated with outright support for French imperialism during the "mandate." Emile Eddé was president under the "mandate" from 1936 to 1941. In 1936 he signed a 25-year treaty with the French giving Paris complete control over Lebanese foreign and military affairs while granting Beirut nominal independence. Fearing absorption into Syria and the Arab East, the National Bloc openly supported the imperialist powers against various Arab independence movements. Thus Jumblatt and most of the Palestinian factions support Raymond Eddé because of the historic hostility between the National Bloc and Syria.

But the National Bloc has been even more hostile to the Palestinians historically than to the Syrians. After the 1967 Arab-Israeli war Raymond Eddé formed the "Triple Alliance" with Phalangist leader Jemayel and Camille Chamoun (who as president of Lebanon in 1958 called for U.S. military intervention). The "Triple Alliance" demanded the expulsion of the Palestinians and supported the Phalangist militias which sought to drive them out. Thus Eddé, like Gemayel, is simply the parliamentarian face of clerical reaction.

The fraudulent "election" of Sarkis has only further exacerbated the intercommunal strife. The Syrian intervention, undertaken with Soviet weaponry and the intent of preserving the Lebanese status quo, combined with Giscard's proposal for French military invasion, threatens to fulfill the reactionary Maronite slogan of "internationalizing" the Lebanese conflict—recalling what Marx called the "back door" of a general European conflict. In the imperialist epoch, it is the threat of global holocaust that is posed.

Revolutionists must demand all Syrian troops out of Lebanon, no imperialist intervention, an end to the confessional system and the election of a genuinely democratic National Assembly based on universal, direct, equal and secret ballot. Only a socialist federation of the Near East can end the senseless sectarian and national wars which threaten to spill over into a third imperialist world war. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

S.F. Truck Terminal Goes Up in Flames

Courts, Cops and FBI Threaten West Coast Strikers

Viggo Peterson/SF Chronicle

Burning of S.F. Associated Freight Lines terminal during strike by Teamsters was used as pretext for FBI investigation of the strike.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 31—The anti-union offensive of Bay Area employers took an ominous turn last week after the S.F. terminal of Associated Freight Lines, currently being struck throughout California and Nevada by the Teamsters union (IBT), was demolished in mysterious explosions and flames. Property damage was reported at $500,000 and a fire inspector immediately declared that, "the fire was very definitely of incendiary origin." Obviously trying to pin the blame on the union, the FBI announced that, despite the lack of any evidence, the "possibility" of a link between the fire and the strike was being investigated (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 May).

Associated has been trying to break the recently negotiated national Teamster Master Freight Agreement, using scabs to run some of its operations since early May. Its San Francisco terminal, however, has been shut down tight through the militant tactics of members of IBT Local 85. Anxious to keep the determined pickets as far away as possible, the company obtained an unprecedented injunction from Santa Clara County Superior Court judge John Longinotti, barring any picketing within 2,000 feet—almost half a mile—from the terminal or any trucks that left it!

The company also has its facilities under heavy guard, including local cops and private guards with dogs. The alleged arson would thus have been difficult in the extreme for any strikers or their supporters to have accomplished. Moreover, observers noted that Associated owner John Pifer has been trying to sell his S.F. terminal for some time, and in fact a large "for sale" sign still hangs outside the site.

FBI Vendetta Against Teamsters

The federal government has recently been looking for new ways to "get" the Teamsters union. Well before the fire

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Vote No on Bay Area Anti-Labor Propositions!

SAN FRANCISCO—Working people in the Bay Area will be confronted by June 8 ballots which include a number of anti-labor city charter amendments. That these propositions remain on the ballot today is the direct responsibility of the treacherous Bay Area labor bureaucracy. Had an effective general strike been launched against the S.F. Board of Supervisors, not only could the recent defeat of craft workers have been averted and the contracts of other municipal workers reopened, but *all* the anti-labor amendments could have been wiped out.

Although Proposition E (requiring dismissal of striking city workers) and Proposition K (spreading the proposed pay cuts over three years) were dropped from the ballot, several other amendments remain which are designed to hamstring the labor movement. Proposition B would allow the city to suspend workers for a "felony or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude" or even "immorality." This proposition was sponsored by notorious union-busting Supervisor Quentin Kopp. Proposition J would require the Supervisors to put on the November ballot another proposition which would specifically define "prevailing rates of wages." Proposition L would allow the Supervisors to make wage agreements longer than one year, but such agreements would make it "unlawful for the employees receiving the compensation so fixed, to engage in a strike or conduct hindering, delaying or interfering with work at city and county facilities."

While the Spartacist League calls for a "no" vote on these propositions, we do not (unlike the cowardly labor bureaucracy) preach reliance on purely electoral solutions to the bosses' offensive. If these union-busting propositions are passed, the labor movement must answer with militant, unified strike action any attempt by the Supervisors to implement them.

Conflict Looms in East Bay

Across the Bay from San Francisco working people also face reactionary charter amendments to be voted on June 8. In Oakland, Proposition R would limit the amount the city has to pay into the police and firemen's retirement system and also limit the number of employees covered. Proposition S would change the city charter so that police and firemen's pay is not pegged to increases in the private sector. The cops of course are not part of the working class, but the firemen are. These propositions must be rejected.

East Bay workers are faced with more than dangerous anti-labor electoral schemes. The vicious union-busting plans of the S.F. Board of Supervisors have clearly become a blueprint for other local governments. Already employees of Alameda County, which includes Oakland, are faced with an arrogant contract offer from the Alameda County Board of Supervisors.

In a style similar to the S.F. Board, the Alameda County Board unilaterally adopted a new "wage ordinance" on May 27. The county's 9,500 workers are largely represented by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), plus various building trades unions. As in San Francisco, the Alameda Board targeted the craft workers for the most vicious attack on wage increases: the 390 craft workers are being "offered" a 1 percent increase now and another 1 percent in six months. This tentative agreement, to be submitted to the membership for ratification on June 1, reportedly destroys a 20-year-old policy whereby the craft workers were paid a percentage of the current wage rates in private industry (currently 90 percent). The Alameda Board has been emboldened by the labor leaders' passivity in the S.F. strike confrontation.

The East Bay building trades union leaders have not responded any better than in San Francisco. Shamefully, yesterday's defeat in San Francisco is being used by the bureaucrats to excuse today's sellout. Dan Seneehal, director of the public employee division of Operating Engineers Local 3, apologized lamely, "It's a package we're really

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 113 — 11 June 1976

Italian Elections:

No to the "Historic Compromise" with Capitalism!

UPI

Italian Communist Party election posters proclaim: "The crisis of the Christian Democratic Party is paralyzing the country—Go with the PCI to save Italy."

CP Woos NATO, Pope, Bosses

Centrists Call for "Left" Popular Front

JUNE 8 - For the past three decades, Italian governmental politics have seemed the living embodiment of the U.S. Army acronym SNAFU ("systems normal, all fouled up"). But through the innumerable revolving-door cabinets, the linchpin of all the post-World War II governments has been the Christian Democracy (DC). Now, in the parliamentary elections scheduled for June 20, for the first time in 30 years the combined vote of the reformist workers parties may approach a majority. For the past year, this prospect has mesmerized the traditional power brokers, causing an extended crisis of bourgeois leadership. The upcoming Italian elections are also seen as a key test case by the leading imperialist powers on the question of Communist governmental participation throughout southern Europe, an issue that is now on the agenda for the first time since the late 1940's.

But the Christian Democrats' internal crisis and possible defeat at the polls by no means signal their departure from office. The reformist Communist Party (PCI) has repeatedly made clear that it does not wish to enter the government without the DC. The lesson of Chile, says PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer, is that you can't run a country with a mere 51 percent of the votes. Instead he proposes a "historic compromise" with the Pope, the generals, the bureaucratic nepotists and the plutocrats—in short, a deal with the capitalist power structure of Christian Democratic Italy.

The real lesson of Chile, however, is the danger to the working class represented by all stripes of popular frontism, whether in the form of a broad "historic compromise" or a more traditional "left government." From the social democrats' "left bloc" with bourgeois liberals in the 1920's to the 1930's popular fronts in Spain and France to the Popular Unity in Chile or the "MFA-People's Alliance" in Portugal, class-collaborationist coalitions with the bourgeoisie have repeatedly spelled defeat for the working class, blocking the road to revolution and conciliating the forces of reaction until they are ready to strike from a position of strength.

Today in Italy, the axis of revolutionary struggle is once again the popular front, and it is precisely on this question that the comparatively large centrist and left-reformist groups demonstrate their inability to present a consistent opposition to the PCI. Mired in eclecticism, the "extra-parliamentary" forces of yesteryear have buried all principled considerations in a "far left" electoral cartel, the Democrazia Proletaria (DP), that seeks to maximize its votes by simply calling for a more left-wing popular front than the wall-to-wall coalition envisioned by Berlinguer & Co.

The task of the Trotskyists is not to give a left cover to this shameless electoralist class collaborationism, either through direct participation or "critical" support, but to provide intransigent Marxist criticism of the reformists and centrists, refusing to give support to their candidates so long as they are committed to bourgeois coalitionism.

AP

PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer

Crisis in the Christian Democracy

Following the "administrative" (municipal and regional) elections last June 15, when the PCI boosted its vote above 33 percent, long-time Christian Democratic boss Amintore Fanfani was ousted as DC secretary and replaced by a colorless "center" politician, Benigno Zaccagnini, in an effort to "rejuvenate" the party. But the cliques, clans and fiefdoms of the ruling party are so entrenched that a year later no significant step has been taken that could spruce up the DC's electoral image. On the contrary, the Lockheed affair indelibly stamped the party as the very incarnation of corruption: in April it was revealed that a former premier had received bribes in exchange for facilitating the purchase of several military transport planes.

On the economic plane as well, the Christian Democrats have been unable to reverse their fortunes. In 1974 a severe balance of payments crisis was avoided through a $2 billion loan from Germany, reputedly on the condition that the Communists be kept out of the government. For a time, the immediate foreign exchange crunch was averted and an industrial recovery seemed underway (industrial production in the last three months has increased by almost 20 percent). However, already a hefty trade deficit is in the offing for 1976, the lira has fallen by more than a third relative to the dollar and inflation is increasing (now at 21 percent) and due to rise sharply with the money supply up more than 50 percent over the past year (*Economist*, 5 June).

So the Christian Democracy is faced with the need to impose drastic anti-working-class austerity measures in a period of internal party crisis and declining popularity. Simultaneously the DC leaders are under considerable pressure from international and domestic power centers to draw a hard line against cooperation with the Communists. U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger issued numerous warnings against PCI participation in the government, the latest coming after Premier Moro officially consulted the Communists for the first time since 1947 shortly before sharply increasing taxes and bank interest rates in mid-March. The Pope, in turn, is goading for an anti-Communist crusade, with the Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, labeling the elections a choice between "liberty and dictatorship."

PCI and PSI: "Historic Compromise" or "Left Alternative"?

The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) opened the government crisis on December 31 when its secretary, Francesco De Martino, announced that it would no longer support the sinking ship of the DC minority government, and that the PCI would somehow have to be brought into power. In the succeeding weeks, PSI leaders sought to appear to the left of the Communists, by proposing a "left alternative" and favoring abortion reform and other democratic measures which the PCI was willing to modify in the interests of a "broad" coalition with the party of the Catholic hierarchy. However, the Socialists' real motivation was to avoid being squeezed into irrelevance in a PCI/DC coalition.

By appealing to leftist-inclined workers and secular liberals, they hope to carve out their own electoral milieu *without breaking from popular frontism*. The PSI's "left alternative" is open to both the PRI and the Radicals (PR) as well as to an eventual left split from the Christian Democrats. And in any case, at the last Socialist Party congress a resolution was approved which holds open various governmental possibilities following the elections, including a "government of national union." Having seen its privileged relations with the DC over the last decade go up in smoke, the PSI seeks to establish a new position, as the axis of the popular front (and possibly head of government) with the bourgeois parties.

The Communist Party continues its efforts to consummate a popular-front government with the DC, a long-term goal which goes under the name of the "historic compromise." The reformist PCI's compromise with capitalism is, of course, of long standing. As Berlinguer recently said: "We have always offered to collaborate with the Christian Democrats, but they have always said, 'no'" (*New York Times*, May 30). In its conservative reform policies (amounting to little more than "clean government") in the "red regions," its opposition to early elections, its willingness to postpone a referendum on abortion and its clamping the lid on the latest round of contract negotiations, the PCI is enthusiastically demonstrating its

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Editorial Notes

Bi-Centennial Baloney

On March 27-28 the National Conference For A People's July 4th was held in New York. In the modest words of its organizers, "it was an historic decision, the first time in many years that the progressive movement in this country had achieved a working unity on such a wide range of issues" ("July 4th Bulletin," April 1976). The "working unity" was an agreement to hold a "People's July 4th" demonstration in Philadelphia with "floats, musical and other cultural displays" to reflect the lowest-common-denominator reformism of the "progressive movement."

Wallowing in the social-patriotism so dear to these aging New Left "activists" and Stalinists, the "July 4th Bulletin" obviously had trouble keeping itself from breaking into song. The opening sentence rhapsodized: "They came from across the country: from Los Angeles to New York City, from the deep South, the mountains of West Virginia and the Great Plains." One can almost hear Woodie Guthrie celebrating the redwood forests and the Gulf Stream waters.

The "July 4th Bulletin" lists the Spartacist League among the organizations attending the conference - a list prominently displayed directly beneath the "People's July 4th" Executive Board. Anyone not familiar with our organization would naturally assume that the SL endorsed the "People's Bicentennial." Observers from the SL were present at the conference but far from lending support to the enterprise, they assailed its nauseating populist patriotism. It is dishonest and contemptible of the "People's July 4th" to publicly imply Spartacist support for its cause in this manner. We demand that it remove the name of the Spartacist League from its literature and publicly state that our organization gives no support whatsoever to its campaign.

To those militants who may be taken in by the populist rhetoric of the "People's Bi-Centennial" hucksters, the revolutionary internationalist SL insists that "this land" will not be "your land" until the capitalist class and its imperialist system of exploitation, racism and war are swept away by a victorious proletarian revolution.

Vargaite Bedlam

In the aftermath of the terminal disintegration of the Healyite "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC) in 1971, its main former components proclaimed the reconstitution of political blocs with varying degrees of international pretensions. Healy's own English WRP, now headed by Mike Banda, continues to style itself the IC despite the near collapse of its U.S. imitator, the Workers League now headed by David North, and a substantial split in its most significant affiliate, the Greek EDE. Meanwhile the French OCI, whose main international support is based in Latin America, has entered upon a converging course with the reformist American SWP.

The most bizarre element of the former IC is the grouping around Michel Varga which styled itself the Ligue Internationale de Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale (LIRQI—International League Reconstructing the Fourth International). The LIRQI's initial support consisted of a left split from the OCI as well as a number of emigré groupings which claimed to have propaganda networks active in East Europe.

From inception the LIRQI took over the most apocalyptic aspects of the Healyites' "crisis"-mongering and the OCI's "imminence of the revolution." Much of the Vargaites' strident grandiosity was predicated upon the growth of an affiliate in Spain. In July 1974 the LIRQI proclaimed, "The proletarian revolution is knocking at Europe's door...the struggle of the LIRQI in Spain, through its Spanish section the PORE, opens the way to the European revolution by overthrowing Francoism!"

The voluntarism of the LIRQI was boundless. Declaring in late summer 1974 that it and it alone "fully actualizes the worldwide unity of the class struggle," it announced that the Fourth International would be rebuilt by the summer of 1975. Accordingly it authored an incredible letter in effect offering the Spartacist tendency a chance to get in on the ground floor - in exchange for footing the bill: "although we have the political means necessary to achieve this, we lack financial means" (September 1974 letter, reprinted in *Spartacist* édition française, No. 8, February 1975).

After some delay, the LIRQI duly proclaimed the Fourth International "rebuilt" on 30 January 1976. Almost immediately it began agitating for a "Congress of the Fourth International" to be held in Barcelona in summer. Barcelona was also to be the site of an "International Youth Congress" announced for May 29.

The LIRQI's wildly inflated self-image extended to the Spanish PORE, which sought to present itself as "the second political force in the country" after the Communist Party:

> "The Spanish section of the Fourth International, the PORE, whose role is increasingly decisive from day to day, and especially among the workers in Barcelona and Madrid, has put on the agenda preparing the revolutionary confrontation.... Increasingly, and everywhere, there is our section's fight, despite our still limited forces, to set off and organize the general strike against Francoism."
>
> *La Quatrième Internationale*, March 1976 (article dated 12 March)

However, the LIRQI's grotesque extension of the worst aspects of the IC in degeneration apparently was not without internal opposition. The LIRQI meeting which proclaimed the Fourth International "rebuilt" was also forced to note that there were in the organization both "tendencies" and "factions" which opposed "the reconstruction of the Fourth International." The resistance to Varga's delusions of grandeur included by the LIRQI's own admission (*Quatrième Internationale*, No. 25-26)—elements of the PORE.

It was only a matter of time until the Vargaites' catastrophism ran into a real catastrophe: the repression in Spain hit the LIRQI section. The LIRQI's 12 March attempt to explain the attack on the PORE militants shows no evidence that this confrontation with the outside world will puncture Varga's balloon of self-satisfaction:

> "Now it is even more clear that the bourgeoisie counts on the Spanish CP to break the movement, and that to break the movement it must isolate and liquidate the revolutionaries, above all the PORE, the Fourth International.... Because it is indeed the proletarian party, our section is the target of bourgeois repression."

The ugly reality, however, is that the LIRQI may be paying the price for its own provocative ultimatism. Fully in line with its frequent grandiloquent boasts about East European work (including such specifics as a reference to "the Polish comrades living in Sweden") the LIRQI arrogantly disregarded the most elementary considerations of security. LIRQI publications prominently featured a photograph of a Barcelona demonstration captioned "in the first rows certain leaders of the PORE can be recognized" (reprinted in *Truth*, 1 April 1976)! The Varga sect's trumpeting of its calls for international gatherings in Barcelona did not bring down the walls of the Francoist dictatorship. Instead it is the militants of the PORE who will suffer the disastrous reverberations.

The LIRQI attempts to excommunicate from the workers movement any who dare challenge its authority. Arrogant assertion of infallibility has from the outset characterized its attitude toward the "Varga affair"—the scandal initiated by the OCI's charge that Varga had been a KGB and/or CIA agent (see *WV* No. 85, 14 November 1975). Although raising its accusations in a criminally irresponsible fashion, the OCI cited enough damaging evidence against Varga to warrant an impartial inquiry commission of the workers movement. When after nearly a year of struggle several organizations came to agree with the international Spartacist tendency that the LIRQI groups could not be members of an impartial investigative body, an authentic Commission of Inquiry was formed.

Since then the LIRQI has concentrated its fire on the Spartacist tendency, repeatedly accusing the Commission's participants of "capitulating" to the "theses of the anti-Trotskyist group, the Spartacist League" (*Quatrième Internationale*, 1 March 1976). The LIRQI has now taken refuge in the most blatant slander, charging that the Spartacist League and SWP "have set up with the OCI an 'objective' commission of inquiry behind closed doors" (*Truth*, 24 May 1976). In fact the Vargaites, like the OCI, were requested to appear before the Commission to present their case. The LIRQI responded by refusing to recognize the authority of any body which includes the Spartacist tendency, counterposing its own captive "commission" to the Commission of Inquiry which is open to all members of the workers movement—except, of course, the LIRQI and OCI.

The apocalyptic "program" and simple dishonesty of the LIRQI expose as utterly fraudulent the Vargaites' claim to stand for the Fourth International. Only the colossal irrelevance of this posturing sect prevents the LIRQI and its highly dubious leader, Michel Varga, from impeding the vital struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

I.S. Trips Over the Class Line

An article in the 31 May issue of the International Socialists *Workers' Power* begins with what, on the face of it, is a simple statement of Marxist principles. "Workers' Power," it claims, "has always said that the courts are not neutral. That they, like the police, the army, and all other governmental institutions are controlled by the employers."

But in the hands of charlatans like the I.S., Marxist principles can be misused for some mighty strange purposes. The article in question consists mainly of a reprint of a statement by Ken Paff in *Convoy*, the newsletter of Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), a union opposition grouping backed by the I.S. Paff, secretary of TDC, was recounting his experiences at an April court hearing in Washington, D.C., at which TDC was unsuccessfully bringing suit against the Teamster International to demand that union locals have the right to vote separately on contract supplements.

Paff is piously outraged at how the court showed no respect for the cause of the rank and file, but what most angered him was the collaboration between the Teamster bureaucracy and the trucking company bosses. Apparently the employers' federation entered the case on the side of the union leaders and thereafter labor and management lawyers worked hand and hand. Railing against this, Paff moaned: "Here we were, asking for our rights as union members, and the employers were getting into our union affairs."

Surely they jest. It takes real nerve to accuse the Teamster tops of bringing the companies into union affairs when in fact it was the TDC which involved the bourgeoisie in the first place, by submitting the matter to the capitalist courts! Why, indeed, do the I.S. and TDC advocate submitting the question of voting rights on the contract, which should be determined solely by the union membership, to courts which even they admit are "not neutral" and are "controlled by the employers"? Perhaps *Workers' Power* would care to enlighten its readers further concerning its strangely contradictory "lesson in Marxism."

Letter

Vancouver

2 June 1976

Dear Comrades:

The article "For A Cross-Canada General Strike Against Wage Controls" (*WV*, 28 May 1976) contains a factual error. The British Columbia Social Credit (Socred) government has not yet passed Bill 22 which would ban all strikes for four years on the B.C. Railroad. The "Railway Operation Continuation Act," announced on 5 May, has been touted by sections of the bourgeoisie as the first step in banning *all* strikes in so-called "essential services." Recently, the Socreds have broadened the attack on public workers by ordering back to work thousands of striking non-medical hospital employees for a 21 day "cooling off period" and by threatening to break any strike by the ferry boat workers who are organized into the B.C. Government Employees Union.

The reaction of the labor lakers and the New Democratic Party (NDP) to this offensive has been nothing but cheap talk about a province-wide general strike from the former, and not even strong vocal protest from the latter. In fact, former NDP premier Dave Barrett, running to regain his seat in the legislature in a 3 June by-election, has had *nothing at all* to say about Bill 22 or the back to work orders. Most likely Barrett can find nothing to object to as the Socreds' attacks are not qualitatively different from those of last year's NDP government which sent 90,000 strikers back to work.

The need to oust the treacherous bureaucrats and to forge a class-struggle trade union leadership committed to fighting for a workers government that would expropriate the capitalists has once again been clearly posed as the pressing task of those who seek to defeat the attacks of the ruling class once and for all.

Communist greetings,
O.S

Mario Muñoz Campaign Calls Demonstration in NYC

The international campaign to save Chilean revolutionary labor leader Mario Muñoz from death at the hands of the murderous Argentine junta continues to receive broad support from socialists, trade unionists and others concerned for the defense of human rights in Latin America.

Telegrams have been received from the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees in response to numerous requests for UN action to ensure safe conduct out of Argentina for Muñoz and his family. One such telegram, sent on May 29, in reply to a letter from Andrew Bewin, a New Democratic Party member of parliament in Canada, states:

> "Ref your letter 12 May concerning Mario Munoz. Would like to assure you United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees following this case closely together with his regional representative in Buenos Aires who has intervened highest level Argentinian authorities."

Press coverage of the Muñoz case has also increased. While the bourgeois press generally greeted the Videla coup, and subsequently has downplayed reports of the escalating rightist repression, last week the 4 June issue of the *Toronto Star* carried an article by Harvey Levenstein, associate professor of history at McMaster University, describing Muñoz' plight. In Vienna, Austria, the 5 June *Arbeiterzeitung* also carried an article on Muñoz.

Among the many new endorsements received by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz during the past two weeks are those of Pedro Pascal Allende, nephew of the slain Chilean president Salvador Allende, a member of the Socialist Party of Chile* and former national director of housing under the Popular Unity government; Alfred Ströer, vice president of the European Federation of Free Trade Unions* and general secretary of the Austrian Union Federation*; North London Teachers Association, National Union of Teachers* (England); Alfred Kastler, physicist; Jane Fonda, actress; Rudi Dutschke, former German SDS leader; Peter Yarrow, singer; Paul Targot, Communist Party* senator (France); Christian Pierre, first secretary, Paris Federation of the Socialist Party; factory council at Carlo Erba SpA, Milano (Italy); and Joe Alvarez, International representative, Northern Region 6, United Auto Workers*.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz reports that arrangements are currently being made for delegations to visit Argentine consulates in New York and elsewhere on behalf of Muñoz. In conjunction with these delegations, demonstrations will be held outside the consulates protesting the victimization of Muñoz and other leftist and labor militants in Argentina; following the visits, press conferences will be held to further publicize the campaign.

Financially, the campaign has received generous support from endorsers and other concerned individuals. To date, the Committee reports receipt of donations totalling $7,503. However, the tremendous costs of mounting an international campaign of protest and pressure require even more. *WV* urgently requests its readers to support the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, by endorsements, seeking support from others and through financial contributions. ■

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

North London Teachers Defend Muñoz

The following resolution was passed by a June 7 meeting of North London (England) delegates of the National Union of Teachers (NUT).

Whereas, Mario Muñoz is a leader of a Chilean copper miners' union, and his persecution and denial of basic democratic rights by the Argentinian government represents an attack on all trade unionists;

We, therefore, move, that the NLTA [North London Teachers Association] endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz in accordance with the following slogans:

Hands Off Mario Muñoz!
Chilean Working Class Leader Must Not Die!
Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Chile and Argentina!
Stop the Manhunt!

And that this body calls upon the National Union of Teachers and the Trades Union Congress to support this case and for the Labour Government to do the following:

1. **To demand of the relevant United Nations subcommittee to extend its protection to this man and his wife and children;**
2. **To make a formal and explicit offer of asylum in Britain;**
3. **To make these points clear to the Argentinian government.**

North London Teachers Association

Irwin Silber Fans the Flames of Eclecticism at Guardian Gala

"Third Worldists" and Peking Loyalists: The Rift Widens

NEW YORK CITY, June 5—"Anybody who suggested that we reprint the Chinese position on the Cuban troops in Angola certainly would not have been doing China a favor."

Speaking here last night at a well-attended forum on "The International Line of the U.S. Left," *Guardian* executive editor Irwin Silber in these words demonstrated the kind of slimy agility required by the soft Stalinists whose niche as "friends" of all "progressives" has become rather uncomfortable lately.

Although promoted for weeks with fanfare as the opening of a "discussion" on Maoist foreign policy, the *Guardian* forum above all avoided any analysis of the admitted "colossal errors" resulting from the Chinese alliance with U.S. imperialism against their bureaucratic rivals monopolizing power in the Russian degenerated workers state. Rather, playing the old New Left "united front against U.S. imperialism" tune, the *Guardian* now more than ever is attempting to be the mouthpiece for all the vicarious "Third World" nationalists, sub-Menshevik "movement" leftovers and "Marxist-Leninist" refugees disaffected with China's foreign policy and alienated from the hard-line "party building" Maoist sects.

"Détente of a New Type"?

"What brought you here in the first place," Silber croaked, "was the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and it is unity in the struggle against U.S. imperialism that is the only thing that can bring us together again." Seeking to reconcile the appetites of the *Guardian* constituency of petty-bourgeois radical handclappers with the betrayals of the Chinese bureaucracy in its promiscuous courtship of U.S. imperialism, Silber preached "self-determination" for all "friends of China." Again and again returning to the theme that "our movement must develop its own revolutionary line," Silber insisted that the "world revolutionary movement" has "no single center today," no "established church" and no "papal infallibility."

In order to distance the *Guardian* from the stench of Peking's betrayals without leaving the trough of Maoism Silber cynically invokes the national-centeredness inherent in Maoism as a Stalinist ideology justifying "socialism in one country." The so-called "proletarian internationalism" touted by the *Guardian* is nothing more than a cynical "détente" with the back-stabbing bureaucrats in Peking and a declaration of independence to cheer the struggles of its choice.

So sham is the "internationalism" of the *Guardian* that Silber slithered through his entire prepared talk without once directly confronting Chinese foreign policy. Lapsing into the aesopian anonymity often employed by *Peking Review*, Silber at one point in his panegyrics for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) noted that all "socialist" governments supported the MPLA, "with one notable exception." Silber refrained from noting this "notable" enemy of the MPLA: "People's" China.

In addition to this shadow boxing, "critical Maoist" Silber repeatedly used the "literal Maoists," especially the shameless October League (OL) but also the pariah Revolutionary Communist Party, as punching bags for polemical jabs at the Peking line. For example, Silber pounced on the OL, the former bedfellow-traveller of the *Guardian*, for allegedly "pulling out of thin air" the contention that before the introduction of Cuban troops in Angola, the FNLA and UNITA together commanded the support of the majority of the population. But, like all its "analyses" of Angola, the OL merely pulled this right out of the pages of *Peking Review*.

Irwin Silber — WV Photo

U-Turns Allowed on the "Capitalist Road"

Only during the bureaucratically orchestrated discussion period did Silber even pretend to address the substantial issues of Chinese foreign policy. Two speakers expressing the viewpoint of the OL attacked the *Guardian* for anti-Maoism by refusing to brand the Soviet Union as "capitalist" and the "main enemy."

Indeed, the criminal allegation that the USSR represents "social-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Strike Harvester to Stop Layoffs!

MELROSE PARK, Illinois—The International Harvester (IH) tractor works here has announced that 175 workers are to be laid off in June. While the agricultural implements division of the UAW has fared considerably better than auto workers throughout the last two years of economic crisis, IH has been hard hit by layoffs in recent months. Word of the layoffs comes only one month after the company announced record quarterly profits of over $50 million and only six months after another major layoff in the same plant.

December's layoffs hit when the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund was still relatively high and the company slid them past the union with brazen lies that they were to last only a month. In fact, most of the workers were not recalled until more than four months later, and 250 are still

WV Photo

Bulldozers ready for shipment at International Harvester complex in Melrose Park, Illinois.

waiting. Furthermore, many of those now projected for layoff have no SUB remaining. Even the company admits that the new layoffs are "indefinite." What is clearly called for in this situation is an immediate strike against the layoffs, to be spread throughout the entire Harvester chain.

Only the militant oppositionists of the Labor Struggle Caucus have raised this call in UAW Local 6. In a leaflet entitled "Strike Against the Layoffs" distributed at the Melrose Park IH plant last week, they demanded that an immediate special meeting and strike vote by the membership be called in order to "arrange "a local strike to be extended throughout the Harvester chain and backed up by the full power of the International." While calling for full and unlimited SUB payments and unlimited recall rights for all those laid off, the leaflet raised the demand of a sliding scale of wages and hours as the "only real solution to layoffs."

Unfortunately, but unsurprisingly, the only response from the pro-Woodcock Local 6 bureaucracy has been to haggle with the company over terms for a surrender: 175 workers on "indefinite" layoffs versus 350 on "limited" layoffs. The bureaucracy's "victory" leaves 175 Local 6 members once again jobless.

While the avowedly pro-capitalist bureaucrats were engaged in plea bargaining, one group of ostensible militants not only declined to counter the company's attack with a strike call, but instead launched their own attack on other workers. The Rank and File Coalition (RFC), a Local 6 grouping praised to the skies by the reformist International Socialists (I.S.), put forward a program of "militantly" begging Harvester to allow some repair work to be done "before taking a layoff."

Such simpering capitulation, revealing the total absence of a will to struggle and strategy for victory, could be expected from these "militants," but it is followed up by a nauseatingly parochialist chauvinist appeal to "defend our jobs" at the expense of workers in other plants and other countries. Noting that IH has been "farming out" much of its repair and assembly work, the RFC squeals in despair: "Perhaps more tractors will be assembled overseas in the future. Whatever comes of this farm out policy can only be disastrous to us and our families." The RFC leaflet went so far as to offer the company suggestions as to where exactly in the plant this repair work could be done... just so it stays in "our" shop.

Lenin coined the expression "social patriots" to describe those traitorous "socialists" who preferred waging an imperialist war against foreign workers to class war against their "own" bourgeoisie. In all fairness to the social-democratic traitors of the Second International, it must be noted that they succumbed to the tremendous pressures of a world war. For the "militants" touted by the social-democratic I.S., however, a layoff of 175 workers is more than sufficient to bring out their social patriotism, attacking their class brothers and sisters while accepting company justifications of a lack of work! ■

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WV Photo

TDC leader Gene Fleszar (speaking) with I.S. supporter Steve Kindred at pre-strike Detroit Teamster rally in April.

TDC Backs Strikebreaking Hoffa Bureaucrat in Detroit Teamsters

DETROIT—In clique-ridden Teamsters (IBT) Local 299 here last week, Robert Lins was elected by a split vote of the local executive board to succeed resigning president Dave Johnson. Lins, a Local trustee and business agent, was chosen over Richard Fitzsimmons, son of Teamster International president Frank Fitzsimmons.

Under existing anti-democratic union rules, vacancies in local offices are filled through appointment by the executive board rather than by membership election. At first the executive board was deadlocked between Fitzsimmons and Otto Wendel, the Local's secretary-treasurer and the choice of the pro-Holla faction in the bureaucracy. Then Johnson, another Hoffa ally, prevailed on Wendel to step down in favor of Lins. That done, the resigning president threw his vote to Lins and broke the tie.

As head of one of the most volatile IBT locals in the country, Dave Johnson had come under tremendous pressure for his role in the recent Teamster contract. He and International vice president Robert Holmes were booed off the platform at Cobo Hall April 5 by 3,000 Teamsters when the bureaucrats attempted to ram through a vote of approval for Fitzsimmons' sellout contract. Dissidents in the Local, spearheaded by Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), then launched an abortive three-day wildcat that fell apart after the companies obtained back-to-work court injunctions. Johnson's role in the strike not only made him unpopular with the rank and file, but useless to the International as well, because of his demonstrated inability to control the membership.

In recent years the Detroit Local has been a battleground for factions in the bureaucracy supporting ex-IBT president Jimmy Holla and those loyal to Frank Fitzsimmons. Detroit was Holla's home territory and had been targeted as the base from which his return to power would be launched. This touched off a violent power struggle between Holla and Fitzsimmons forces.

At one point Local 299 president Johnson, a Holla ally who had planned to appoint his mentor to an executive post in the Local before Holla's disappearance last summer, had his cabin cruiser blown up. Subsequently a Lincoln Continental belonging to Fitzsimmons' son was destroyed by a bomb. According to the *New York Times* (10 August 1975), "organizers and officers on both sides were slugged and shot at so often that all are now under orders never to go out alone." The mysterious circumstances surrounding Holla's disappearance hardly eased the tension in the Local.

Despite their history of feuding, both wings of the Local bureaucracy united to help the companies break the Detroit Teamsters wildcat. *All* the Local 299 bureaucrats, including Johnson, Richard Fitzsimmons, Wendel, Lins and Holla's son Jimmy, Jr. (a lawyer and the Local's director of organizing, who is considered a potential rallying point for Holla forces), were conspicuously absent from the picket lines. TDC leader Peter Camarata told *WV* that the new president Lins was seen around the city during the wildcat trying to get Teamsters back to work.

One would think that TDC would have a gut hatred for a strikebreaker like Lins, who was active in defeating a TDC-led wildcat. Alas, this is not the case! Originally TDC launched a petition campaign for a rank-and-file election to fill the vacancy. When the petitions were "ignored," however, TDC lined up strongly behind Wendel, including organizing a demonstration of 300 Teamsters in his support on May 23. When Wendel withdrew, TDC backed

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Argentine Workers Under the Gun

Speaker:
KAREN ALLEN
Workers Vanguard Editorial Board

Special Guest Speaker from the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

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Link Up with Warehouse Strikers–Bring Out BART, AC Transit!

Spread Alameda County Workers Strike!

Striking workers picketing Alameda County courthouse last week.

WV Photo

OAKLAND, June 3 - Over 5,000 Alameda County workers walked off their jobs in hospitals, welfare offices and other facilities yesterday in response to a vicious union-busting scheme of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors. The strike of three locals of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) extends throughout Oakland, Berkeley, Hayward, San Leandro, Fremont and other East Bay cities. Although it points in the direction of a county-wide general strike, the Alameda walkout is threatened with the same disaster suffered by striking San Francisco city workers recently as a result of divisive, business-as-usual tactics by the treacherous Central Labor Council leaders.

Aping the arrogant tactics of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, the Alameda Board adopted an insulting wage ordinance for its employees May 27, attempting to cut wages for the coming fiscal year beginning July 1. Pleading poverty and whipping up anti-labor sentiment with talk of new tax increases, the board "offered" the county's 390 craft workers a "raise" of 1 percent now and 1 percent in six months! Meanwhile, an equally wretched 3.2 percent increase was proposed to the lower-paid workers represented by the SEIU. But the Board exposed its hypocrisy about the need for "austerity" when it voted management raises of 6.8 percent.

As in San Francisco, the offer to skilled tradesmen was designed to sever the traditional link of county craft workers' wages to those in private industry. In this case, however, the cowardly craft union leaders rammed the settlement through at a membership meeting on June 1, leaving the SEIU locals to strike alone against the wage ordinance. In S.F., craft locals struck after a rotten settlement had been foisted upon lower-paid clerks and other city workers, resulting in massive crossing of picket lines by these workers.

The three striking SEIU locals—250, 535 and 616—representing hospital workers, social workers and clerical workers, are composed largely of women, with a high proportion of black workers in the membership. Picketing has been massive and effective at many locations, such as Highland Hospital and the county courts, where the clerks are out. But at the Hayward Hall of Justice, a $12-million project still under construction, work continued despite the picketing.

Militant Ranks at Strike Meeting

At the final pre-strike meeting at Oakland Auditorium June 1, about 1,000 members of the three SEIU locals enthusiastically approved the strike call for the next day. The meeting began with "Solidarity Forever" and picket-line instructions for most county locations had been prepared. With such beginnings, the strikers were already better prepared than the unions under the crusty S.F. labor misleaders had been! Local 250 secretary-treasurer Tim Twomey threatened to "close this county down tighter than a drum." Asserting that S.F. city workers lost because they "got too fat and didn't know how to fight," Twomey offered instead a call for "power to the workers!"

On the concrete wage demands, however, such verbal protestations of militancy by the leaders have already given way to a pragmatic attempt to appear "reasonable." The opening proposal on March 25 had called for a 12.5 percent increase, but at the June 1 meeting negotiator Jay Levine listed the union's demands as 7.6 percent including fringe benefits to match the percentage given management. He described this compromise-in-advance as being "within earshot" of the rise in the cost of living. Before the strike is over, such compromises could place the benefits out of "earshot" altogether.

Local 535 business agent Dave Kramer gave a report on strike strategy which was not subject to discussion and vote. Placing emphasis on mass picketing, Kramer nevertheless made it clear that the strike would be kept within narrow bounds. The vital decision to call out the Alameda County (AC) transit bus drivers and shut down the BART trains would be left to the SEIU strike council and the Alameda Central Labor Council. Thus the strike is isolated to 5,500 workers with minimal social weight. Buses and trains must be shut down at once in solidarity, and the strike extended to the Oakland airport and docks!

While a number of major union officials put in an appearance at the June 1 meeting, it was clear that their main purpose was to keep the struggle within narrow business-unionist bounds. Ed Collins, assistant secretary of the Central Labor Council, came merely to "release" strike sanction and advocate that county workers get "at least" what the Board is paying management. Enthusiastic support was expressed however for the one concrete announcement of support. Teamsters Local 70 president Jim Muniz said his members would respect the picket lines. This support has already been felt in the strike, as garbage pickups and food deliveries have been stopped at hospitals and other facilities.

The Board of Supervisors has not been fazed in the slightest by the timid steps of the union bureaucrats and boldly threatens to break the strike. Sheriff's deputies have been heavily deployed to protect scabs and demoralize pickets. Strike coordinator Shirley Campbell complained that there were 15 deputies for nine pickets at one location, prompting an angry refusal to comment from the sheriff (*Oakland Tribune*, 3 June). The Board also voted today by three to one to hire temporary personnel "as necessary." Although rescinded later in the day, this vote was a dire warning of the scab-herding in store for the strike whenever the Board feels it can get away with it.

Sweet "Reasonableness" Gets a Kick in the Teeth From the Bosses

Instead of denouncing this open threat in no uncertain terms, union leaders were "furious" because they had already offered to provide emergency services of "any nature" to the Board and had even gone so far as to set up an emergency 24-hour phone line to union headquarters for the Board to call for help. "We did not limit our offer," protested Campbell, "we simply told them that we would provide services anywhere they felt they had an emergency. They indicated that this was fine" (*Oakland Tribune*, 3 June). The way the Board will treat such grovelling "reasonableness" is with a kick in the teeth. Already Superior Court Judge Robert Barber showed the way the strikebreakers will go when he issued an ultimatum to the 110 workers in his jurisdiction: "If you intend to maintain employment in your present capacity, you are hereby ordered to report to work" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 2 June).

Striking SEIU militants must not be misled by the capitulation of their leaders before the altar of "public service." While certain services might be maintained in the interests of gaining public support for the strike, these should be decided upon by the strikers themselves through democratic discussion and vote and should certainly not include the unlimited offer of services "anywhere the Board feels it has an emergency" provided by Campbell! A lesson should also be learned from the behavior of the sheriff's deputies: they are the strikebreaking agents of the bosses' state. Like all cops, prison guards, etc., they should be driven out of the unions (in this case, the Operating Engineers). But despite occassional phrases for "workers power," the SEIU leaders have no intention of waging a militant class struggle against the bourgeois state. In fact they are firmly committed to its maintenance and consequently have no qualms about including the hired guns of the class enemy in the unions.

The struggle to win this strike means first of all a militant strike strategy based on class-struggle solidarity going beyond county lines. Besides shutting down AC transit, BART, the airport and docks, the strike should be extended to nearby counties such as Contra Costa, where workers face the same threats of attacks on wages due to "austerity." Mass mobilizations of all striking unions should be called, and a joint strike committee elected from the ranks to hold the leaders to the commitment that no striking union will return to work before all settle. The strike must be linked up with the joint Teamster and ILWU warehouse strike.

In addition, the strike must be turned into a *political* offensive against the union-busters. As in San Francisco, Alameda County rulers are using ballot propositions to set middle-class voters against the workers and smash union gains. Two Oakland propositions for the June 8 ballot attack firemen; these must be rejected! Remove them from the ballot! In addition, the strike should win the unconditional right to strike for all public workers. It must call for expanded welfare and unemployment benefits along with massive jobs programs. For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay! Down with the county's plans to spend $100 million on new jails and courthouses! Militants must demand: cops out of the unions, for militant defense of the picket lines, reopen the investigation of the Emeryville police and jail the murderers of Tyrone Guyton!

The SEIU leaders, no matter how verbally militant, will never accede to these demands. A class-struggle leadership must be built in Alameda County unions to carry the struggle forward in the interests of all workers. ■

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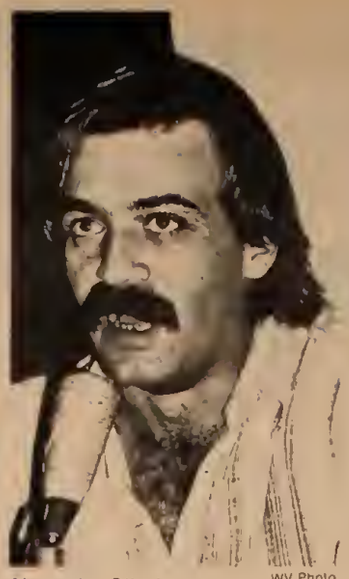

Alexandre Oliveira WV Photo

At a well-attended forum in New York June 5, the former editor of the now-defunct Lisbon leftist daily *República*, Alexandre Oliveira, made a pitch for "people's power" and an alliance with "revolutionary officers" of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The event was many months out of date, with last year's "MFA-People's Alliance" posters prominently displayed and a political documentary film (*Viva Portugal*) that ended with the April 1975 elections. Oliveira's message was that despite setbacks all was not lost in Portugal, and the assembled liberals and radicals should contribute to *República*'s successor, the weekly *Gazeta da Semana*.

For the most part, the over-long film by three German TV journalists was an apology for the left wing of the MFA, which was largely purged following the coup by right-wing officers last November 25. *Viva Portugal* does, however, show one key event in dramatic and revealing depth: the attempted Spinolaist putsch of 11 March 1975. Scurrying from one side to the other as attacking paratroopers approached Light Artillery Regiment No. 1 (RAL-1, later RALIS) on the outskirts of the capital, Portuguese television reporters captured the incredible confusion surrounding this botched coup (and most of the other key events of the last two years dominated by murky in-fighting within the officer corps). At one point the paras' second in command, asked what was going on, replies, "Well, quite frankly I don't know."

After the paratroop commander decides to call off the attack there are dramatic scenes of fraternization between the soldiers of the two sides. But the politically most significant episode was the negotiation that produced the truce. Left-wing RAL-1 officer Dinis de Almeida traces the chain of command and finally convinces the paratroop leader that everything can be resolved by appealing to their superiors, COPCON (Continental Operations Command) chief General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and the president, Francisco da Costa Gomes.

From the April 1974 "Revolution of the Carnations" forward, even the most left of the "socialist officers" in Portugal did not break from the military hierarchy. On March 11 the paratroop commander capitulated to Almeida because Carvalho was in the saddle; eight months later, on November 25 it was Almeida who bowed to the reactionaries, because Carvalho deserted his followers to side with Costa Gomes. The army was not split on class lines, winning the soldiers to the leadership of the workers, but instead according to the divisions within the officer corps.

This is a key fact in explaining the ease with which a few hundred commandos were able to mop up all the "red regiments" in Lisbon in the space of a few hours.

Only in the discussion session following the film did the real political questions come out, through the intervention of supporters of the Spartacist League. *Workers Vanguard* editor Ian Norden challenged Oliveira to defend the takeover of *República* by its printers in 1975. While stating the SL's defense of the printers against government repression, he pointed out that this attempt to silence the newspaper's Socialist editor came down to censorship by the bourgeois state. Norden then asked:

> "How do you defend, both in *República* and now in the *Gazeta*, support to former General Carvalho, who is an officer of the bourgeois army and has never broken with the bourgeois army, and whom you are now supporting for president in Portugal" [Army chief of staff Ramalho] Eanes is the candidate of the 25th of November, and you are supporting the man who led to the 25th of November."

Oliveira avoided the question of Carvalho and denied the *República* workers relied on the military. They were, he said, "building a revolutionary legality and... it was not imposed by the Revolutionary Council or anybody at all." Claiming that all the workers asked of the government was to let them publish a newspaper and decide its policies, and to "defend the people's power movement," Oliveira argued: "This is part of the connection between the revolutionary officers, the revolutionary soldiers and the people...." He had no explanation, however, for the ease with which the generals' "Revolutionary Council" closed down *República* last December (its military editor resigned and the paper was returned to its owners).

A few minutes later a second Spartacist supporter took up the same theme. "Isn't it true," he asked, "that Carvalho's troops were used to break the TAP strike [in September 1974], and also isn't it true that during the November 25 barracks revolt he appeared on TV with Costa Gomes who was calling for repression?... Isn't it true that support for the left military set the stage for November 25 because the soldiers did not break with their bourgeois officers...and thus set the stage for Eanes' coming to power?"

The moderator sought to distort the question by "summarizing": "Essentially he is asking, 'is it not true that' various forces supported Otelo, whom the Spartacist League apparently is opposed to," and at another point tried to stop Oliveira from replying (which he refused to do). But the former *República* editor's first words spoke volumes about the illusions of the "people's power movement" in Carvalho and the other "revolutionary officers": "Otelo must not be condemned forever because of breaking the TAP strike." When a militant in the crowd replied, "But after Chile how can you continue to have confidence in the military?", Oliveira responded: "I have no confidence in the military.... It's concrete confidence in this and that, in this man and the other man, in the officers of the RALIS, in the officers of the COPCON." Which only proves the point. ■

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pour toute correspondance
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Free Anti-Apartheid Fighters!

SWAPO Militants Sentenced to Death

The South African apartheid government has condemned two black militants to death under the notorious catch-all Terrorism Act. Hendrik Shikungo and Aaron Muchimba, members of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) were sentenced on May 12 after being convicted of participation in "terroristic activities." Two female members of the nationalist organization were jailed for seven and five years respectively.

The trial was linked with the assassination last August of quisling South African appointed Ovamboland chief minister Filemon Elifas. Shikongo was charged with transporting three men who allegedly killed Elifas. The other defendants were charged with activities such as contributing funds that aided SWAPO's fight for independence of Southwest Africa (Namibia). Most of this blatantly political trial dealt with the nature and goals of SWAPO rather than with any specific charges.

These sentences represent the first time the capital punishment provisions of the draconian Terrorism Act have been imposed. Clearly, the Pretoria regime is attempting to set an example to all militants fighting its racist oppression of non-whites and the extension of its nefarious "bantustan" schemes to the former German colony. Left and labor militants must demand the immediate and unconditional release of Shikongo, Muchimba, their co-defendants and all imprisoned opponents of white supremacist rule in southern Africa.

Telegrams of protest can be sent to the South African Embassy at 3051 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

The Dark Side of the Mo

South Korean Anti-Communi

Bad times breed false prophets. The depression-wracked U.S., lacking even a minimally politically conscious workers movement, is an especially fertile breeding ground for reactionary cultism. The proliferation of nut-fringe revivalist fads and "consciousness-raising" rackets--Scientology and Hare Krishna, "Jesus freaks" and transcendental meditators--is the product of despair.

In past months, New York City has been invaded by legions of fervent young "moonies"--followers of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, the South Korean messianic charlatan and right-wing zealot. White-uniformed "moonies" descended upon Manhattan business districts sweeping up the streets in their "Make America Beautiful" publicity stunt. Posters were plastered throughout the city. The whole operation was aimed at producing a large turnout for Moon's "Bicentennial God Bless America" extravaganza at Yankee Stadium on June 1. Moon's organizers hoped that as many as 200,000 would turn out for the gala occasion.

But despite the all-out publicity push for the event, which reportedly cost the self-styled "Universal Father" a million dollars, the crowd of perhaps 25,000 did not even match the turnout at Moon's first major New York event, a Madison Square Garden rally in September 1974. Moon's grandiose effort to boost the respectability of his "Unification Church" and broaden the audience for his pulpit-pounding brand of anti-communist revivalism was far from an unqualified success.

The glassy-eyed "moonies" sang patriotic songs in unison, cheered as if on cue and waved little American flags. But several thousand of the spectators expressed their opinions by booing, shouting and whistling from the moment Moon began his tirade. The field was bombarded with programs, balloons and other decorations. Some contributed to the carnival atmosphere by exploding firecrackers and smoke bombs. Outside the stadium assorted "holy rollers" protested Moon's claim to be the new messiah.

The self-proclaimed "Lord of the Second Advent" was introduced by his top American shill, Neal Salonen. Downplaying the cultist pitch, Salonen rhapsodized, "I guess brass bands are just about as American as apple pie" and "Let's have a cheer for god and America." As he ascended to the podium, the "messiah" from Korea was hailed not by his usual titles but as "a humanitarian," "one in a long line of immigrants who have made this country great."

In long, bellowed bursts of Korean interspersed with translation, Moon delivered a harangue entitled "God's Hope for America" which lauded the U.S. as god's chosen imperialism:

> "Of all the immigrants, the righteous men of God were to find their proper place as leaders in America. All the different races and nationalities of the world harmonized upon this land to create God-centered families, churches and the nation of America.... In a short 200 years, God raised this nation to be the mightiest nation on earth."

Moon's insistence that his doctrine of "Godism" is an "ecumenical" form of Christianity "uniting the cultures of the East and the West," like his Bicentennial hoopla, is intended to dissociate this business-suited "messiah" from the more exotic gurus, yogis, shamans and prophets who regularly

e Moonies

an "Messiah" Preaches nism at Yankee Stadium

David Burnett/Gamma-Liaison

Rightist cult leader Sun Myung Moon

Bert Miller

Moonie promoting god and country on the streets of New York.

carve out earthly paradises from the wallets of light-minded, petty-bourgeois faddists. The Unification Church has made a point of trying to win favorable attention from right-wing bourgeois politicians.

Through front groups like the Freedom Leadership Foundation and American Youth for a Just Peace, Moon campaigned for support for the imperialist Vietnam war. He financed a media blitz and organized rallies, pray-ins, fasts and all-night vigils to back Nixon after the Watergate scandal. For his efforts, the celestial pimp was accorded a private audience with the presidential crook in early 1974.

Moon courts the rich, famous and powerful. Kicking off a four-month tour in 1973, he held an exclusive dinner at the Waldorf Astoria, addressing what was described as "a prosperous looking crowd which was liberally sprinkled with U.S. military uniforms" (*Time*, 15 October 1973). Last November he sponsored an "International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences" in which 350 prominent academics participated.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation conducts extensive lobbying activities on Capitol Hill, cultivating support for increased aid to the South Korean regime of butcher Park Chung Hee. With the help of Representative Richard Ichord, former chairman of the Internal Security Committee, Moon recently addressed a group of congressmen in the House Caucus Room. He quickly demonstrated that, religious mumbo-jumbo aside, his world view was not so dissimilar to that of the assembled politicians:

> "After the victory of World War II, God expected America to further strengthen her leadership of the allies and to safeguard and manage the defeated countries and their protectorates. If America had clearly learned God's desire, she would never have yielded anything to the Soviet Union, the chief of the Satanic world. .. On the contrary, however, America knowingly or unknowingly gave up many helpless nations in Asia, permitted to Communists to claim Eastern Europe as satellites, and allowed Korea and Germany to be divided
>
> "Furthermore, when America retreated from commitments to safeguard free nations such as Vietnam and allowed them to be victimized, America's credibility fell to an all-time low."

Moon functions like an unofficial envoy of the Park regime, which in the post-Vietnam era certainly shares his concern that U.S. imperialism maintain its "commitments" to "helpless nations" in Asia. Two of his closest aides are former military attachés in the South Korean embassy. A *New York Times* reporter (25 May) documented rumors that Unification Church officials were able to transmit money and private messages through diplomatic channels. Moon is intimately linked with various of Park's "cultural" and "educational" propaganda outlets. The Church's International Federation for Victory Over Communism runs a political indoctrination center for South Korean government employees.

The Unification Church stands squarely in the Asian tradition—strong in both South Korea and Japan, where Moon claims hundreds of thousands of adherents—of mass politico-religious sects thriving on anti-Communism and often sponsored by the most extreme chauvinist wing of the bourgeoisie. Moon himself is a millionaire industrialist paying starvation wages to the Church members who work in his Korean plants, manufacturing weapons, handicrafts, paints and pharmaceuticals. While clergymen critical of the Park dictatorship are imprisoned, Moon held a World Rally for Korean Freedom in June 1975 at which reportedly over a million people pledged willingness to die in battle against North Korea.

In Japan Moon's activities are supported by the notorious ultra-rightist Yoshio Kodama, the power broker implicated in the Lockheed scandal. An article in the Presbyterian magazine *A.D.* (May 1974) on former Presbyterian minister Moon notes that "Substantial sums may come from right-wing Japanese industrialists and groups that are eager to re-establish the economic power Japan once held over Korea and who consider Moon 'their man'."

In Japan the demi-monde of religious fanaticism, bourgeois revanchism and criminality cohabited by Moon's henchmen and Kodama may well be the breeding ground for a fascist movement. But in the American context, the Unification Church will not become a successful fascist movement, despite its poisonously reactionary doctrines and fanatical petty-bourgeois following. A Korean-speaking "messiah" will not get far with the social base of the Ku Klux Klan. The wellsprings of American

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WV Photo

Cops protect racists as Klan/Nazi-organized mob attacks blacks in south Chicago Sunday.

Daley's Cops: No Protection Against Nazi Violence

Racist Assaults Escalate in Chicago

CHICAGO, June 7 Yesterday 500 white racists, openly organized by the Nazis (National Socialist White People's Party) and the Ku Klux Klan, rioted in the racial border areas of southwest Chicago. The initial purpose of the joint Nazi/KKK mobilization was to prevent a scheduled march into white ethnic (largely Lithuanian) Marquette Park by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement. A church-organized pacifist group, the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement was protesting the failure to enforce open housing and a recent wave of attacks on blacks in white neighborhoods of the city.

When the black civil rights protest march was wisely called off, the Nazi Klan-organized racists ran wild. Armed with baseball bats and chains, they attacked black motorists at random. Small groups invaded the neighboring West Englewood ghetto, throwing rocks and bottles at any black person they saw. Six blacks, including a pregnant woman and two children, were sent to the hospital by the racist marauders.

The police, for their part, not only did little to stop the Nazis and Klansmen, they even protected them. When a group of blacks gathered on the ghetto side of the Western Avenue borderline, the cops moved quickly to cordon them off. The white rioters on the other side of the street were allowed to lob rocks and bottles into the police-contained black crowd.

The cops also permitted the mob to attack black motorists until the racists attacked the wrong man. After his windshield had been smashed by a baseball bat, a black probation officer, James Holdman, pulled out his gun and fired over the rioters' heads. *Then* the cops moved in, to prevent one of the racist scum from being shot.

Yesterday's white riot is the culmination of ever bolder Nazi and Klan activity in Chicago and a series of seemingly unrelated racist attacks in past weeks. The bourgeois media have played up these incidents to a point that race violence now dominates the local news. A vague but pervasive sense of racial tension in the city poses the need for an aggressive anti-racist drive by Chicago's powerful and integrated trade-union movement.

Racists Terrorize, Cops Stand By

The first victim of the wave of racist attacks over the last month was Robert Ellington, a recently laid-off black railroad worker, who on May 15 was stabbed 22 times by three racist thugs while sitting in a parked car in a white neighborhood. His assailants shouted, "Nigger.... We'll teach you not to come around here anymore" (*Chicago Defender*, 22 May). The police have not found the attackers, but nonetheless categorically assert that there is no connection between the Ellington assault and the recently increased Klan activity.

Later in the month a group of black students holding a high school picnic in a suburban forest preserve were assaulted by a white motorcycle gang. The attack was well planned and involved residents of the area as well as the bikers. Unorganized and unarmed, the students fled by foot and car; several were injured. The police showed up late, but still in time to arrest two of the black students for speeding! There has been no police investigation of the incident.

These attacks have coincided with escalating KKK and Nazi activity. A few weeks ago the Klan held a public meeting in the Holiday Inn in south Chicago and posters bearing the words "Nigger Beware" with the design of a skull-and-crossbones and swastika have been appearing throughout neighborhoods in the city's southwest side. One such poster was pasted on the union hall of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 (International Harvester). UAW Local 6 was responsible for organizing a defense guard last year to protect the home of a black union member, C. B. Dennis, from racist firebombing and other vandalism.

Around the time of the Ellington assault, Nick Comito, a white homeowner in the racially mixed Austin area, was shot in the face and blinded by some black youth attempting to rob him. The big business press blew up the Comito shooting, claiming a non-political criminal act was an example of black racist violence. Fearing that the Comito shooting could become the trigger for a race riot, Chicago's black establishment launched a major campaign for conscience money. Rev. Jesse Jackson and black businessman George Johnson raised $20,000 for Comito.

The response of the black bourgeois politicians to this wave of racist attacks comes down to "more cops." The only ghetto organizational response to the white violence has been the South Side Coalition, initiated by the Urban

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Warehouse Strike...

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scales and longer probationary periods for "B" men. The institution of such a system in the ILWU's longshore division by International president Harry Bridges in 1959 led to disastrous erosion of job conditions and a permanent division in the ranks. Any proposal to incorporate such a pernicious second-class status is a proposal to break the strength of the union and must be unconditionally opposed.

Despite the bureaucratic sabotage there has been much evidence from the ranks of basic trade-union solidarity and consciousness. Workers at several warehouses prior to the strike were refusing to handle struck products from Nestlé's, an ILWU shop now approaching its third month on strike. Warehouse strike lines are being honored by members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at production warehouses despite the official circular "allowing" them to enter. But the industry is dominated by small, widely scattered warehouses, and centralized militant strike coordination is absolutely essential for success. Both unions must pledge in advance at mass meetings that there will be no return to work until both have settled, and a joint, democratically elected strike committee is needed to coordinate the strike and hold the bureaucrats to this pledge.

Such a strike committee could also tear up the tops' sellout proposal and organize a real fight for what is needed, including a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs (15 percent of Local 6 members are out of work), abolition of all probation periods (which undermine union conditions), an end to mandatory overtime, unrestricted right to strike, free 24-hour child care at company expense and large catch-up wage increases with parity between the ILWU and Teamsters. These are some of the demands published by the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in ILWU Local 6. The Caucus has also demanded a militant strike through a mass strike rally to unite the ranks, coordination between stewards of the two unions and a joint, democratically elected strike committee.

Meanwhile the separate strike by 15 Western Teamsters Conference locals against Associated Freight Lines continues amidst unabated company violence. Loss of this strike by the IBT could undermine the national over-the-road contract, since Associated provoked the strike precisely in order to break the Master Freight Agreement and has been underlining its determination with armed guards escorting scab trucks (Ringsby Trucking, now owned by one of the area's largest firms, is paying MFA rates but refusing to sign the agreement pending the outcome of the Associated strike.)

Following the mysterious fire which destroyed Associated's San Francisco warehouse, the owner has filed a $75 million suit against the Teamsters. Despite the admitted lack of evidence linking the strike to the fire (the warehouse had been shut down and was heavily guarded), an intensive federal investigation has been launched, no doubt providing a handy focus for the surveillance against union militants which FBI agents had already been carrying out prior to the fire.

Associated has been reportedly demanding of its competitors that they discipline any drivers that show solidarity with the Associated strike, and several firings have occurred, although none have been made to stick as yet. Rank-and-file IBT and ILWU driver and warehouse militants have led several walkouts at locations where scab Associated trucks have tried to make deliveries. But again, Teamster and ILWU leaderships have failed to organize and systematize such solidarity throughout the affected area, thus leaving the best militants to face victimization alone. Organized "hot-cargo" solidarity action by all Teamster trucking and ILWU longshore operations could bring a swift finish to Associated's plots! The warehouse and Associated strikes must be linked up through a joint West Coast warehouse transport strike, which would include reopening the rotten ILWU longshore contract to combat deregistration-layoffs scheduled for July 1.

The divisive tactics of the IBT and ILWU bureaucracies point to the need for an oppositional class-struggle leadership throughout both unions. It is clear that the "inspiration" of the strikebreaking Communist Party, whose views are well represented on the leading bodies of ILWU Local 6, is actively counterposed to this task. Well-known supporters of CP views such as business agent Joe Figueiredo and Abba Ramos were listed as among the central policy makers in the strike bulletin which authorized scabbing by other unions. It was business agent Ramos who ordered handling of Nestlé's products at Thrifty's warehouse recently, despite militant protestations from the ranks. In Joe Figueiredo's jurisdiction in San Francisco, a *WV* reporter discovered that workers in one warehouse not on strike were crossing the picket lines of another house at the same location! Needless to say, the CP's *People's World* has not uttered one word of criticism of the bureaucracy's divisive strike tactics, since *PW* supporters are some of the chief hatchet men for the sellout leadership! IBT and ILWU militants need to sweep aside their treacherous business-unionist and Stalinist misleaders and build a new leadership committed to vigorously waging the class struggle through to victory. ■

Down With the Francoist Monarchy—for a Workers Republic!

Free All Class-War Prisoners in Spain!

Realidades

"Justice"—a bitter cry for freedom written in the blood of a worker slain by police at Vitoria, March 1976.

During his current "Bi-Centennial" visit to the United States, King Juan Carlos of Spain is issuing cynical pronouncements of "authentic democracy" in order to hide the blood-drenched reality of the Francoist dictatorship. The king's proclamation of a "new Spain" is a sham, designed to loosen the pursestrings of the U.S. Congress which is set to review the $1.2 billion treaty agreement with Madrid later this month.

The Francoist king—educated and installed by the hangman who ordered the execution of 200,000 Spanish workers and peasants even *after* the end of the Civil War—claims that the monarchy "has committed itself...to be an open institution" which "protects the whole people and each and every one of its citizens, guaranteeing through the laws... the rule of justice." Meanwhile anti-working-class repression in Spain has sharply intensified.

In the major cities the hated *"grises"*—the grey-coated special riot police—every week launch brutal attacks against workers' strikes and demonstrations for democratic rights. In March, during a general strike at Vitoria in the Basque region the *"grises"* opened fire on a crowd of 3,000 steel workers and their families leaving a meeting in a church; in the bloodbath four workers were killed and over 100 were wounded. An anguished comrade of one of the slain strikers wrote on the street with the still-fresh blood of the victim a single word, *Justicia*, expressing the powerful urge for freedom of the masses locked in the police state of Francoism for almost 40 years.

Freedom and justice will not prevail in Spain until Juan Carlos and his butchers are swept away by a victorious working-class revolution, replacing the bloody dictatorship of capital with a workers republic!

In addition to draconian suppression of demonstrations, there have almost daily arrests of militants of left-wing parties throughout the country. Early last month, the Barcelona police issued a press release claiming that it had broken up the district committee of the illegal Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España [PORE—Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain] in the zone of Bajo Llobregat, and "arrested its members" (*Noticiero Universal*, 10 May). Those arrested were Karmele Guinea Anasagasti, Jordi Parés Queralt, Juan José Borras, Josep Lluis Moner Tomás, Josep Maria Corbella Rosset and Lluis Bengoa Maldonado.

A leaflet issued in Paris on 18 May by the LIRQI (International League Reconstructing the Fourth International), with which the PORE is connected, reported that the arrested militants were brutally tortured in order to extort phony "confessions," and held incommunicado for five days, which is illegal even under Francoist law. The victims are now being held in the Model Prison in Barcelona and, in the case of Guinea Anasagasti, in the Trinitad Prison for women.

Another announcement by the office of the chief of police a few days later (*Noticiero Universal*, 13 May) reported that following a fire on May 4 they had found a print shop and archives of the Organización Comunista de España-Bandera Roja (OCE-BR—Communist Organization of Spain-Red Flag). Following this raid, three people were arrested and charged with membership in the OCE-BR: they are José María Gil Martínez, José Vicente Martínez Barceló and Montserrat Alemany Cortés.

The Spartacist League has sharp political differences with Bandera Roja, which has not broken with popular frontism (a policy which led the majority of its members last year to rejoin the reformist Communist Party, from which the group had split a decade earlier), as well as with the ostensibly Trotskyist PORE, particularly concerning the dubious leader of its international tendency, Michel Varga, and its method of "reconstructing" the Fourth International through such patently fraudulent bombast as the published claim by a PORE leader that it is now "the second largest political force in the country" and in a position to lead the Spanish masses in a revolution. Nevertheless, we urgently demand that these class-war prisoners be immediately freed, along with all other victims of Francoist repression!

Free Guinea Anasagasti, Parés Queralt, Borras, Corbella Rosset and Bengoa Maldonado!

Free Gil Martínez, Martínez Barceló and Alemany Cortés!

–For immediate dissolution of the paramilitary and political police! For people's tribunals to try the Francoist butchers!

–Down with the U.S.-Spain pact and NATO! Expel imperialist military bases from Spain!

– For a constituent assembly! For a workers government and a socialist federation of the Iberian peninsula in a socialist united states of Europe!

—Toward the rebirth of the Fourth International!

TDC...

(continued from page 4)

Lins, the choice of the Hoffa faction, against Fitzsimmons!

Richard Fitzsimmons is deservedly hated by the Local 299 membership as a flunkey for his father, the author of the sellout Master Freight Agreement the ranks overwhelmingly voted down. However, TDC's support for Wendel and Lins is in the worst tradition of lesser-evil bureaucratic combinationism. While they squabble with Fitzsimmons forces for control over Local offices, the Hoffa bureaucrats demonstrated graphically during the recent contract struggle that they solidly supported the class-collaborationist policies of the current IBT leadership.

Because it was the only organized force in the Local to oppose the contract sellout, TDC has experienced a surge of popularity. In recent balloting for delegates to the upcoming IBT convention, 10 out of the 15 elected were TDC members or supporters. Prominent TDC leader Camarata topped the balloting.

Yet Teamsters for a Decent Contract is clearly intent on channeling the militancy of the ranks back into support for a section of the bureaucracy. TDC's own economist program omits any mention of racial oppression or even the need to halt the Teamster raid on the Farm Workers. Its reliance on pressuring the IBT bureaucracy and its failure to prepare Teamsters for injunctions proved decisive in the defeat of the Detroit wildcat. Rather than explaining why Hoffa-style business unionism is a dead end, TDC has consistently capitulated to the illusions and parochialism of Hoffa supporters, attempting to put together a bloc of ambitious anti-Fitzsimmons local bureaucrats in the union. Teamster militants must reject TDC as well as the sellout Fitzsimmons bureaucracy, and fight to build a genuine class-struggle opposition. ■

Sectarianism Mars NYC Demonstration

Free Gary Tyler!

On June 5 the Committee to Free Gary Tyler held a demonstration and rally in Brooklyn to protest the outrageous frame-up of the 17-year-old black youth who has been convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to death by an all-white jury in Louisiana despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence. Although Tyler, who was scheduled to die in the electric chair on May 5, has been granted a stay of execution by the Louisiana Supreme Court, he remains a death row prisoner whose life is in grave danger. It is the duty of socialists, labor militants and all those concerned with the protection of democratic rights to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Gary Tyler and the abolition of the barbarous death penalty.

WV Photo

Rubin Carter speaking at June 5 rally for Gary Tyler at Borough Hall, Brooklyn.

At the demonstration, which drew about 100 people, a spokesman for the Committee to Free Gary Tyler (which is supported in New York by the reformist International Socialists) called for as broad a defense effort as possible. However, the Committee has weakened its own efforts by its sectarianism and political exclusion. Thus, not one ostensibly revolutionary organization had been invited to address the rally. The speakers, including Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, who called for evolution, not revolution, feminist singer Bev Grant and Rev. William Douglas Kirkpatrick, who also sang, avoided political discussion almost entirely.

At the urging of the "Hurricane" Carter Defense Committee the Tyler Committee had initially invited the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), an anti-sectarian class-struggle legal defense organization which stands in accordance with the aims of the Spartacist League, to endorse it and to speak at the rally. But the PDC explained that while it supports a campaign to free Gary Tyler, it could not in principle endorse the Tyler Committee slogan "Ban the Klan." Such a slogan, the PDC explained, amounts to a call for the same bourgeois courts and police which framed Tyler to protect blacks from the racist terrorism of the KKK. This can only build illusions in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state. The PDC, on the contrary, places absolutely no confidence in the bourgeois state and insists that working people and oppressed minorities can rely only on their own forces for defense. Rather than "Ban the Klan," the PDC raises the slogan "For Labor/Black Defense."

WV Photo

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent in Brooklyn march to free Gary Tyler.

In a phone conversation with the PDC, a representative of the New York chapter of the Free Gary Tyler Committee stated that it *did not like the slogan either*, but had been told to use it by the New Orleans leadership. Despite repeated assurances by the Tyler Committee that the PDC could speak at the rally without formally endorsing the Committee, on the night before the rally the PDC was suddenly notified that it would *not* be allowed a speaker the following day unless it endorsed the Committee and the "Ban the Klan" slogan. The PDC, of course, refused to renounce its class-struggle principles. Although deprived of speaking rights, it marched in the demonstration under its own slogans: "For Labor, Black Defense Against Racist Cop/Klan Terror," "Free Gary Tyler" and "Free All Class-War Prisoners."

The political exclusion of organizations which have clearly demonstrated their support for the defense of Gary Tyler undercuts the effectiveness of a campaign to free him and thereby further imperils Gary Tyler's life. The abandonment of a class-struggle perspective in favor of a plea that cops protect blacks against Klansmen when many cops in fact *are* Klansmen serves only to ensure that there will be more Gary Tylers in the future.

The time has come for leftists and class-struggle militants of all tendencies to revive the old trade-union solidarity slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all!" Only by so doing can we build the kind of united, broad-based, class defense that is urgently needed by the exploited and oppressed.

—FREE GARY TYLER NOW!
DROP THE CHARGES!

Phone Workers Walk Out Against Downgrades

SHUT DOWN OHIO BELL!

CLEVELAND, June 6 — As of today, an estimated 11,000 phone workers in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) are on strike across Ohio. The strike began in Cleveland on May 29 and by June 1 included installers, repairmen, inside craftsmen and operators. During the last several days the strike spread to Canton, Youngstown and Toledo as well as other cities and towns. Although Ohio Bell and CWA figures differ, union officials estimate 18,000 will have joined the strike by Monday.

The strike is in response to Ohio Bell's opening the first of a chain of retail telephone stores where customers select and purchase phones. The stores are staffed by service representatives who not only display the phones but are expected to assemble them. According to the CWA contract, the phone assembly is the work of installers or repairmen, who receive $58 per week more than the service representatives. Initially, Ohio Bell promised to use installers in their new stores. However, now Bell claims that the stores are not covered in the contract. The first store opened in East Cleveland in mid-May, and the Cleveland area's 7,000 CWA members passed a strike authorization vote on May 23.

It is now two weeks since the vote and nine days since the strike began. Local union spokesmen tell *WV* that the strike is 90 percent effective. However, pickets at one Cleveland Bell office reported that there were 73 union members scabbing out of a workforce of 400. Bell workers complained that despite the enthusiasm of the ranks, the strike is poorly organized and union officials are not providing leadership. At a rally attended by 500 phone workers at Ohio Bell's headquarters on June 2 no elected union representatives were in evidence.

There was also no sound system nor union literature and signs. The only speaker restricted himself to general appeals for solidarity and to "keep the faith." Militants at the rally complained about the lack of information available to CWA members, and during the speech workers called out "We need union leaders," and "Where's the International?"

Local union officials initially excused their inactivity by asserting that they could not legally appear publicly as leaders of the "unauthorized work stoppage." They also complained that the strike will not be officially sanctioned until it receives the approval of the International. CWA International president Glen Watts continues to stall, hoping no doubt that the strike will grind to a halt in the meantime.

The passivity and narrow legalism of the local union officials only plays into the hands of the International. Rather than waiting around passively for its support, a militant local leadership would have organized strike meetings and set up militant picketing from the first day. The picket lines organized were, at least at first, strictly "informational" and have not succeeded in keeping management from continuing operations. Mass picketing would be necessary to shut down the phone company as a relatively small number of scabs and company personnel can carry on many essential services. Moreover, while Teamsters are honoring picket lines, union leaders have made no effort to call out the CWA employees of Western Electric, which manufactures phone equipment. While "legally" a separate corporation, Western is in fact a subsidiary of Bell, closely integrated into phone operations. In order to guard against the treachery of their "leaders," union militants must fight for democratically elected strike committees.

The scheme to set up special phone equipment stores manned by low-paid service representatives has been in the offing for some time. There are plans to implement this in most other locales and it has already been done in several areas. Clearly Ohio is a major test case for both the company and the union. Furthermore, it appears that Ohio Bell is attempting to get out of paying cost-of-living raises due in August and will undoubtedly proceed to drop them if it is successful here. A solid statewide strike is necessary to turn back this attempt to eliminate the jobs of installers and break the contract. Ohio Bell workers must stay out until this demand is won and not return to work under bogus schemes like offers for arbitration!

The slashing of phone workers' jobs is by no means limited to Ohio. Layoffs were recently announced throughout the Michigan Bell system, while a new directory assistance program being introduced into the Bay Area is slashing the jobs of operators. Under the cynical, pro-capitalist regime of Watts, and before him Joe Beirne, "management rights," including the company's "right" to a "fair" profit and the "right" to raise its phone rates, have been held virtually sacred. Eliminating jobs is but another means to bolster company profits.

The CWA tops have refused to mobilize the membership against these layoffs. Clearly this class-collaborationist strategy must be rejected. In the Bay Area, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), an opposition grouping within the CWA, called for a Bay Area-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in response to layoffs. Phone workers around the country faced with layoffs and downgrading must take up this demand as a focus for a fight for jobs. ■

Rubber Strike...

(continued from page 12)

divisions are free to do as they will (i.e., to stab each other in the back)!

At midnight on May 15, as *WV* reporters were talking with General Tire workers here, a union bureaucrat told the workers to respect a picket line if strikers from other plants appeared. (He added that since such picketing would constitute an illegal "secondary boycott," the company would "take care of it.") But the pickets failed to show. Four days later, five URW strikers from other Akron plants picketed the noon shift change at the scab plant, but General workers reported as usual. Crossing a picket line is an attack on all workers and must not be permitted! Militant rubber strikers must defy Bommarito and shut down General Tire with mass picketing!

The General Tire situation may well repeat itself as other URW tire companies which are presently working, such as Armstrong and Kelly-Springfield (a Goodyear subsidiary), have contracts which expire during the next few weeks. The URW must call out *all* its tire plants *now*!

Bommarito Against Strike Benefits

As if toleration of extensive scabbing were not enough of a defeatist policy, Bommarito has aggressively deprived the Big Four workers of any strike benefits. A financially weak union, the URW's strike fund of $5.5 million was exhausted within three weeks. An additional $1.35 million transferred from other union funds was quickly used up, and the strikers are now without any benefits.

The International Executive Board had called a special convention on May 27 in Chicago, a safe distance from the strike center, with the announced purpose of voting a dues supplement to replenish the fund. Incredibly, even if approved, this money was not slated for use in the current strike. But as it turned out the executive board advised against a dues increase and this was endorsed by the convention. Only the Canadian delegates, probably reflecting a higher level of union consciousness, spoke for more money for the strike fund.

The dues supplement to beef up the strike fund had been planned several months ago, with the support of the Bommarito regime. However, in the meantime there was apparent resistance from some of the smaller non-tire locals, where wages are generally less than in the Big Four. The parochial backwardness of these locals fed into the International's defeatist attitude toward the current strike, and the dues supplement was nixed.

Not only did the Bommarito bureaucracy do a turnabout on the dues supplement, it openly rejected a UAW offer for an interest-free loan to renew the strike benefits. The UAW should grant the money outright to the rubber strikers, particularly since its secretary-treasurer, Emil Mazey, claims the auto union is in the "best financial position in its history" (*Akron Beacon Journal*, 27 May).

Bommarito is trying to peddle his anti-strike-benefit policy with a lot of pseudo-militant rhetoric: strikes are not won by money but by heart, he sputters. The resolution on the strike adopted at the special URW convention states: "That strike benefits or lack thereof shall never be a decisive factor in a URW strike." No rubber worker should be taken in by this double-talk. Bommarito figures that by increasing the financial strain on the strikers he can soften them up for a bad contract.

Shut Down Auto!

In contrast to the three-day Teamster walkout this April, the seven-week-old national rubber strike is not treated as important news by the bourgeois media (or even by much of the left press). This is because the rubber strike can affect the U.S. economy *only* by curtailing auto production, and this is *not* happening.

The auto companies had built up large tire stocks anticipating the strike. These are daily replenished by non-union tire companies like Michelin, non-union plants of the Big Four like Firestone's southern operations, non-striking URW companies like General Tire and extensive scabbing in the struck plants themselves. Bommarito's attrition strategy, dangerous from the outset, threatens disaster for the union. A victory for the hard-pressed rubber workers requires a solidarity strike by the UAW. In addition, Teamster drivers and warehousemen must refuse to handle tires.

The obvious and overwhelming need for joint action between the rubber and auto unions is not limited to the current strike. Tire production, the heart of the URW, is a component part of the auto industry. An isolated tire strike can never have serious economic leverage. URW tire and UAW auto contracts should have a common deadline and coordinated negotiations.

–Smash scabbing through mass picketing! Call out all URW tire plants now!

For a solidarity strike in auto! Teamsters: Hot-cargo tires! ■

Guardian Gala...

(continued from page 3)

imperialism" is the main justification used by Peking to cover its treacherous alliance with U.S. imperialism. To take just one example: Peking nominally calls for a "national-democratic" (as opposed to a socialist) revolution in Iran to achieve the "first stage" of "national independence"; yet China supports the butcher Shah precisely because this reactionary autocrat..."defends national independence" from the threat of "Soviet social-imperialism"!

In "reply" Silber pointed out that the "thesis" of capitalist restoration in the USSR leads to the reactionary conclusion that the "main blow" should be struck not at U.S. imperialism but at the USSR. But Silber "forgot" to add that this "thesis" forms the sole rationale advanced by the Chinese to explain their foreign policy!

Unwilling to openly confront the Chinese line, Silber hemmed and hawed that there were no "trick answers" to "sum up" this "most controversial question," this "very profound and serious question" of the "class character of the Soviet Union." Pleading agnosticism Silber concluded by declaring that although the USSR has gone "down the road to capitalism" the "process" of restoration has not been completed.

Specter of Trotskyism Haunts Maoists

Speaking from the floor, a Spartacist League spokesman nailed Silber for his evasions covering up the counterrevolutionary role of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. The SL speaker challenged Silber:

> "Why is the *Guardian* only embarrassed by China's betrayal in Angola, when, at the time of the 1973 coup in Chile, China closed the doors of its Santiago Embassy to militants seeking asylum? Since then, why has China given financial and military aid to the junta? China, no less than the Moscow Stalinists, supported Allende's so-called 'peaceful road to socialism,' just as Mao engineered the 'peaceful road' to bloodbath in Indonesia in 1965
>
> "Why has the *Guardian* remained silent about Mao's support to the bloody Ethiopian junta as it marches in genocidal war against the Eritrean people struggling for self-determination? Why has the *Guardian* remained silent about Mao's support to the butcher Shah of Iran? At the very moment the Shah was exterminating the guerrillas in Oman China called for Iran 'to strengthen its defenses in view of the prevailing situation in the region,' and that's a quote from *Hsinhua*.
>
> "Why has the *Guardian* supported the Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), which has opposed proletarian revolution in Portugal and has advocated an alliance with German imperialism against the USSR? Could it be that examination of these questions would require a Trotskyist critique of Stalinist betrayals as has been put forward only by the Spartacist League in this country!"

Unable to answer the charges of the SL speaker, Silber attempted to brazen it out: "In that litany of things that you ran down— and I don't recall all of them [!] – there are a number of points that are true, there are a number that are half true, there are a number that are completely untrue." What untruths? Declares Silber, "One that's untrue, incidentally, is the charge that the *Guardian* supports the PCP-ML."

Permit us to recall that the *Guardian* (1 October 1975) uncritically reported the PCP-ML statements mentioned by the SL speaker, while adding that "this newspaper has many reservations" about the rival Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Party of the Proletariat. In fact, the *Guardian* (11 June 1975) itself hailed the *generalissimos* of the MFA as "dedicated revolutionaries" allegedly "leading the country in the direction of revolutionary social change"!

Fig Leaf Falls

Silber dropped his fig leaf, however, when he attempted to deny the treachery of the Chinese in Chile at the time of the coup: "You have no evidence to show that the Chinese Embassy in Santiago closed its doors to Chilean refugees." Let Silber attempt to deny this account of leading Chilean Maoist spokesman Robinson Rojas' encounter with the Chinese embassy published in an Argentine newspaper only days after the coup:

> "A few days after the overthrow of Salvador Allende, and when the Moneda [the presidential palace in Santiago] was still smouldering, the journalist Robinson Rojas, a Chilean who had been an editor of the New China News Agency (*Hsinhua*) in Peking and later correspondent in Santiago, arrived at the gate of the People's China embassy on Pedro de Valdivia Avenue and attempted to enter with the intention of asking for asylum. The Chinese officials, who knew him personally, rejected him, leaving him on the street. The *carbineros* [national police] on guard only watched. Rojas had to look for other asylum, as did other Chileans of the Unidad Popular who at first appealed to the Peking embassy."
>
> – *La Opinion*, 21 November 1973

In fact, Silber himself all but admitted that the Chinese Embassy did not shelter hounded militants in this life-and-death situation. Countered Silber: "The Chinese have said on any number of occasions that indeed they used the automobiles in the Chinese embassy to transport refugees in Santiago on the day of the coup to a variety of embassies in the city, that they gave refuge in that fashion." Some refuge! Of the "variety of embassies" in Santiago only the American and the Chinese were not surrounded by government troops waiting to snare militants (see the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*).

For Communist Unity Against Imperialism!

It was the internationalist perspective raised by the SL speaker which finally provoked Silber to openly defend betrayals by the Stalinist bureaucracies in the name of "building socialism in one country":

> "But the real question involved is not so much who did what, who did this, who did that, but, as you say, a generalization from it. We support – let's make it clear very firmly – the fact that socialism must be built in the present world along national lines. And we have to recognize, in supporting that, that the foreign policy of a socialist country may not at all times be exactly the same as the international line of a revolutionary movement."

The *Guardian* may "respectfully differ" with the "colossal errors" in foreign policy committed by the bureaucratic elite ruling over the masses in China, but these seasoned Stalinists support "building socialism in one country" which forms the basis for counterrevolutionary "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Only Trotskyism upholds the call for international communist unity against imperialism and the unconditional defense of all the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states. Genuine proletarian internationalism requires an intransigent struggle for the political revolution to sweep away the parasitic ruling bureaucracies from Havana to Hanoi and to establish proletarian democracy expressed through soviets and replace the narrowly nationalistic policies of the competing Stalinists by the world-revolutionary program of the international working class. ■

Moonies...

(continued from page 7)

fascism are not only anti-Communism but also white racism and national chauvinism. Thus despite an operation strikingly reminiscent of the Young Life movement of ultra-reactionary industrialist H.L. Hunt in the late 1950's, Moon's mass appeal in the U.S. is limited primarily to cult-crazed dropouts.

The temporary flurry stirred up by the "moonies" has prompted some liberals to seek to contest the Unification Church's status as a religion and bring in the Justice Department, IRS and immigration authorities to suppress it. As Marxist atheists, we leave it to the competing brands of religious obscurantism to debate one another's doctrinary credentials. We vigorously oppose tax exemptions and all other forms of backhanded government support to any church. The bourgeoisie's chauvinist laws—such as the vicious witchhunting statutes requiring registration of "agents of a foreign power"—are a far more serious danger to democratic rights than are the "moonies." While misguided liberals cry for the government to apply these laws against Moon, left militants and immigrant workers understand that the weapons of bourgeois state repression can never be invoked to "serve the people."

Moon's paeans of praise for imperialism's holy war against Communism in Vietnam, and his prating about peace and justice in the service of the concentration-camp regime of Korea's dictator Park, are certainly nauseating and dangerous. But the respectable, "established" religions—from imperialist warmongers such as Cardinal Spellman in the U.S. to the Emperor-worshipping Shintoists in Japan—are far more influential props of reaction. The "moonies" are essentially a passing craze. Nativist American fascistic movements are infinitely more dangerous potential rallying points for the forces of darkness which Moon's movement aspires to organize than is this self-proclaimed new "messiah." ■

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Racist Assaults...

(continued from page 7)

Eagle and right-wing black nationalist Willy Curtis. In turn, the only "action" of the South Side Coalition against the racist mobs is radio patrol cars which inform the police of any trouble. The "cops and Jesus" strategy of Jackson, the Urban League and other "black capitalist" leaders can only embolden the racists and disarm the endangered masses.

For Labor/Black Defense!

Not far from the center of the Nazi Klan activity is U.S. Steel's Southworks plant with a labor force of 8,000, about one-third black. At a recent meeting of United Steelworkers Local 65, the issue of escalated racist violence in south Chicago was the subject of union discussion. Joe Kransdorf of the Rank and File Unity Caucus, which is supported by the reformist Communist Party, put forward a motion calling for more police protection for black people, action by the state legislature outlawing the KKK and Nazis, and a union contribution to the Robert Ellington Benefit Fund.

In the discussion a member of the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, supported by the centrist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), amended Kransdorf's motion to call for labor defense squads. On the main issue of racist mobilization in the U.S.—busing—the RSL has come out on the side of the reactionaries in opposing court-ordered school integration. Seeking to cover this capitulation to white racism and acutely sensitive to Spartacist criticism, the RSL has picked up the SL slogan of integrated labor defense.

But labor/black defense should not be presented as an amendment to a motion calling upon the capitalist state to suppress the racists! Workers self-defense is fundamentally counterposed to reliance on the bosses' government. As it turned out, the Local 65 lame-duck right-wing president Mirocha buried the issue altogether with a motion condemning "all" racism, black as well as white!

Labor/black defense, mobilizing such racially mixed plants as Southworks, is indeed the answer to the Nazi/Klan offensive in south Chicago. A model for such action was the UAW Local 6 defense of a black member's home against racist nightriders. Likewise, an integrated force of several hundred steelworkers could quickly and efficiently eliminate the racist scum now rampaging through south Chicago. ■

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Italian Elections...

(continued from page 1)

willingness to sacrifice the interests of the workers in favor of respectability.

Domestically, the PCI pledges its support for an "effective executive" (i.e., freedom of action for the police) and promises to the monopolists that their profits will be guaranteed. In its election platform the word "nationalization" is striken from the vocabulary, and instead it calls for reinvesting profits in Italy. The PCI "recognizes not only the particular social function of the small and middle-sized companies, but also the freedom of initiative of all private enterprise." At a more general level, Berlinguer's proposals are more and more minimalist: from the "new model of development" to the "medium-term program," the PCI has now reduced its bid for the basis of a corridor coalition to a "legislative term agreement" outlining only a few limited reforms.

Internationally, the Communist Party has pledged its support to Italy's traditional foreign policy alliances and explicitly states it will not demand that the new government break with the anti-Communist Western military alliance NATO. This commitment is embodied in particular in the person of Nino Pasti, former deputy commander of NATO and ex-head of the Italian air force, who is a Communist candidate this year. Another PCI candidate is Altierro Spinelli, a member of the Common Market's policy-making commission. (Still others include businessmen and Catholic church notables.)

But the real guarantee to the ruling class by the Communist Party is its support for a coalition government of all "democratic," "constitutional" or "anti-fascist" parties. Such a popular-front need not be limited to the DC, or even necessarily include it (although that is the PCI's clear preference). In presenting the party's candidates, Berlinguer reportedly announced his willingness to join with the PRI, the Social Democrats (PSDI) and even the Liberals (PLI). A top PCI union leader, Lucio Lama of the Metal Workers, responded that if the workers parties should win a majority of the vote and the other parties reject a coalition, "the new majority, even if it is limited, would have to assume all government responsibilities" (quoted in *Inprecor*, 27 May). However, even in the unlikely event of a PCI/PSI coalition, it is clear from the above that the reformists will seek to make it into the gateway to a popular-front government. A vote for the PCI or PSI is thus a vote for class-collaborationist coalitionism, not working-class independence, and cannot be advocated by Trotskyists.

Democrazia Proletaria

Faced with the looming danger of the popular front on the horizon, Marxists should seek to run their own candidates against the leading bourgeois workers parties, demanding that the Communists and Socialists break with bourgeois coalitionism as a precondition for electoral support to their candidates. By way of contrast however, the Party of Proletarian Unity (PDUP), the centrist Vanguardia Operaia (AO—Workers Vanguard) and the centrist Lotta Continua (LC—Continuing Struggle) have formed an electoral bloc of all leftist opponents of the "historic compromise." Seeking to pressure the PCI/PSI bureaucracies to the left, the Democrazia Proletaria more or less consciously takes as its model the Portuguese "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR), formed in August 1975 on a program calling for "people's power" and support to the Communist Party-influenced "Fifth Government" of General Vasco Gonçalves.

In the tradition of the Spanish POUM in the 1930's, which criticized the popular front while entering it, the Italian centrists and left-reformists betray the desires of their militants to break with the class collaboration of the reformist PCI. Instead, the leading elements of the DP advocate a "government of the lefts" which deliberately leaves the door open to participation of radical bourgeois parties, such as in Allende's Popular Unity in Chile.

Thus the PDUP writes that the purpose of the Democrazia Proletaria is to "construct to the left of the PCI a political and electoral alternative which...plays a dialectical and unifying role in the predictable likelihood of a government of the lefts." Following the June 15 elections, the PDUP/AO combination has systematically succumbed to the strong pressure of the PCI in the unions and certain left-wing city councils (notably Milan). Moreover, earlier this year the right wing of the PDUP, the former *Manifesto* group led by Lucio Magri and Rossana Rossanda, vehemently tried to prevent the inclusion of Lotta Continua in the DP, due to the strong hostility of the Communist Party to LC.

However, giving in to pressure from the AO and their own left wing, PDUP leaders subsequently reversed themselves and offered to accept Lotta Continua under the most incredibly discriminatory conditions (only 15 percent of the candidates, little television time and no members of the LC leadership on the slate!) ...which were promptly accepted. Meanwhile, the PDUP and AO reserve for themselves the privilege of determining the program. All in all, the bizarre maneuvering around the DP slate was so pronounced that the PCI could denounce it with justification as both "ultra-parliamentarian" and an unprincipled bloc.

Berlinguer & Co. characterize PDUP as "a group constantly vacillating between presumptuous dogmatism ...and ill-defined libertarianism (*Unità*, 12 May). Toward Lotta Continua, which in the 15 June 1975 elections called for votes to the PCI, they are much harder, denouncing the LC's "short-sighted adventurism" and its "increasingly open role of provocation toward the entire democratic and workers movement."

Following its capitulationist policy toward the PCI in last year's voting, Lotta Continua made a partial left turn. However, this year it not only has entered the Democrazia Proletaria slate, but also joins the PDUP call for a "left government." The LC election platform states: "A government, even a very progressive left-wing one, *such as that which we are struggling for*, will never be able to change the nature of this state..." (our emphasis). This statement makes crystal clear that the LC explicitly accepts the parliamentary framework of the capitalist state, and the inclusion of bourgeois parties in a "left government." Consistent with these positions, Lotta Continua's propaganda lacks any call upon the PCI and PSI to break with the parties of the bourgeoisie.

The "Trotskyist" Arena

The common denominator among the several fake-Trotskyist groups in Italy is to verbally recognize the class-collaborationist character of a "left government," calling instead for a "government of the workers parties," while simultaneously capitulating to the popular front. In particular, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups), Italian section of the "United Secretariat," has emerged humiliated and politically disarmed from the maneuverist twists and turns and bureaucratic compromises (which it hailed as a victory) accompanying the sealing of an electoral agreement between LC and PDUP/AO. Having trampled on all programmatic considerations for a menial seat at the table of Lotta Continua, to whose candidates they offered full political support, the GCR was reduced to three candidates and no rights at all on the DP ticket!

This year the GCR will call for a vote for the DP, but in 1975 it called for a vote for the PDUP/AO coalition or *the PCI*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria (FMR—Revolutionary Marxist Faction), an offspring of Maitan now linked to the German Spartacusbund should come out for a "red vote" for the DP *and the PCI*. Likewise, the Gruppo Bolscevico-Leninista (GBL—Bolshevik-Leninist Group) announced last month that it would give "critical support" to the PCI against the DP unless Lotta Continua were included in the "far left" slate ("Bollettino Trotskista," undated). The FMR accuses the GCR of capitulating to the DP, but its own position (and that of the GBL) is even *more* capitulationist—to the PCI and its "historic compromise" with capitalism.

In contrast to the Pabloist GCR and its by-products, the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia (NSDI—Spartacist Nucleus of Italy), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) issued a position paper on the elections calling for a policy of working-class independence:

> "Given Lotta Continua's surreptitious entry into the Democrazia Proletaria slate thus laying the basis for an Italian FUR (a "left" support to the popular front) and given that no group running in the elections opposes an Italian popular front, the iSt cannot give critical support to any list of candidates in the Italian elections of 20-21 June."

The NSDI calls on the reformist misleaders of the working class to break with the bourgeoisie, and gives no support to the Italian FUR.

—No to the "historic compromise" or a "left government"—No to the popular front!

—No electoral support to the PCI, PSI or Democrazia Proletaria!

—For the construction of a Trotskyist party in Italy! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Joint, Elected ILWU/Teamster Strike Committee!

Ranks Must Take Control of California Warehouse Strike!

OAKLAND, June 7 – Approximately 18,000 warehousemen in northern California whose contracts expired June 1 went on strike Friday. The warehousemen are represented by a negotiating alliance between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Teamsters (IBT). The employers have mounted a vicious offensive, but the criminal divisiveness of the labor officialdom from the start of the strike bodes ill for the workers.

The recent defeat of the San Francisco city workers strike emboldened employers throughout the Bay Area. The tempo of court and police attacks on strikers has increased and the bosses have become more brazen in negotiations. The warehouse companies brag they have three weeks of stockpiled goods, while the Distributors Association has reportedly directed its members to keep their doors unlocked and to post "open for business as usual" signs.

The rival bureaucracies of the IBT and ILWU are determined that there will be no class solidarity in this strike. No effort has been made to unite the rank and file of the two unions, nor has there even been a joint meeting of stewards. Keeping a virtual blackout on information on the bargaining, the bureaucrats pulled the surprised ranks out on six hours' notice three days after the contract had expired. The initial hours of the walkout were marked by bureaucratic bungling surpassing even the recent conduct of S.F. Central Labor Council leaders.

Picket lines were established with considerable difficulty due to bureaucratic resistance to demands from militants to undertake basic strike preparations. The ILWU warehouse Local 6 leadership under Curtis McLain had not mobilized its stewards beforehand to provide instructions for the picket lines, or even supply picket signs! Local 6 suddenly issued a strike bulletin which casually informed the membership:

> "Houses should organize themselves to set up four (4) hour shifts for picket duty seven (7) days a week. Unless there are special problems, only a few pickets are needed at each entrance. Larger houses should help out smaller houses in the same area."

The same strike bulletin authorized crossing of picket lines by other unions:

> "For the present non-union office workers or members of other unions on the job are to be allowed to enter as long as *they do not touch our work*." [emphasis in original]

Thus it is not surprising that the walkout has been marked by terrible confusion and division. ILWU warehousemen at one location in Union City discovered they were on strike only when they saw Teamster members picketing next door! Many smaller houses were suffering from lack of union reinforcements to maintain 24-hour picketing. There were scattered reports of customers crossing picket lines. Workers told *WV* that they have been unable to get any answer on the ILWU "hot line" number, although the IBT special phone line was functioning.

Only half of the 18,000 workers whose contracts expired June 1 were pulled out on the first day of the strike. Such divisive tactics have been duplicated by the bureaucrats' decision not to strike those houses which accepted the union negotiators' inadequate package, although the membership has not approved the terms. This tactic and the rotten package itself appear to have been copied from the high-handed bureaucratic manipulation of the recent short-lived Teamster national freight strike. The bureaucrats' wage demand also closely parallels the IBT's Master Freight Agreement: $1.60 increase over three years, 70 cents in the first and 45 cents in each of the next two years. The union negotiators are focusing attention on their cost-of-living (c-o-l) demand, insisting that the employers drop their demand for a 12-cent cap (upper limit) on cost-of-living adjustments. But the IBT-ILWU proposal calls for c-o-l adjustments only in the first two years of the contract, and then only computed annually!

Meanwhile other vital issues have been buried, such as opposition to mandatory overtime. This issue reportedly may end up on some arbitrator's desk, indicating surrender in advance by the union. Even more ominous are reports that the negotiators may agree to a second-class category of warehousemen complete with lower wage

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Defy Taft-Hartley–For A UAW Solidarity Strike!

Rubber Workers Face Bitter Strike

AKRON, June 5 – As the strike of 70,000 United Rubber Workers (URW) members enters its eighth week, there are ominous signs that the tire companies are winning the slow war of attrition. When the strike began April 21 it was estimated that the tire supply of auto manufacturers would begin to run short in late May. However, auto production continues today with minimal inconvenience (spare tires have been eliminated), and Ford Motor Company announced that existing supplies would last until early July! By failing to call for solidarity action from the United Auto Workers (UAW) and Teamsters, URW president Peter Bommarito has virtually thrown away 45 days of the strike.

Though negotiations have remained deadlocked, the position of the Big Four rubber companies has improved noticeably. President Ford so far has refrained from invoking the Taft-Hartley Act to break the strike, but federal mediator James Scearce (who helped "negotiate" the Teamster contract) has summoned URW and Firestone representatives to Washington. Ford's decision not to invoke Taft-Hartley at this time simply indicates that the auto industry is not yet hurting, since *Business Week* (24 May) reports that Detroit will definitely demand a federal injunction when its tire supply runs out.

At the bargaining table the companies remain intransigent. Firestone, the URW "target company," offered a slightly altered cost-of-living (c-o-l) proposal which the union negotiators rejected as unacceptable. This new offer would yield only 17 cents an hour over the next three years, well below the present rate of inflation. Firestone's wage-cutting negotiating position should not, however, obscure the fact that the official union demands are themselves wholly inadequate for the needs of rubber workers. Bommarito's maximum demand would only win wage parity with the UAW, and his c-o-l formula (1 cent for each 0.3 point rise in the consumer price index) does not even keep up with inflation.

Scabbing Within the Union

Managerial and clerical workers are being used in many struck plants to maintain some production. A union spokesman in Akron, the heart of the industry, told *WV* that production is as high as 80 percent in some departments. Instead of mobilizing mass picketing to smash this strikebreaking, Bommarito appeals to Gerald Ford to prohibit scab tires. The URW chief wrote a letter to Secretary of Transportation William Coleman complaining that they were "a clear safety hazard to the consuming public." But the best way to eliminate these defective tires is for union pickets to educate the scabs as to the dangers of working where they don't belong.

Firestone plant in Akron, Ohio. WV Photo

The most treacherous blow to the strike has been the failure of General Tire's 2,700 Akron workers to walk out when their contract expired on May 15. This development came as a surprise to the International which, however, has done nothing to stop this scabbing. When a *WV* reporter at the URW special convention in Chicago asked Bommarito if the Local 9 (General Tire) action didn't undercut the strike, he shamefacedly replied that the URW is a "democratic" union in which the various

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Informations Ouvrieres

House-to-house fighting earlier this year left Beirut in ruins.

UPI

Leftist and Palestinian guerrillas with Syrian tank knocked out of action in Sidon.

Syrian Troops Out of Lebanon!

JUNE 13—Since the beginning of June, Syria has been engaged in a full-scale military intervention into the Lehanese civil war. It has reinforced the 15,000 Syrian or Syrian-controlled troops already in Lehanon with an additional 13,000 regulat soldiers and 400 tanks, most of which are Soviet-made T-54s.

Syrian troops had previously infiltrated Lebanon under the guise of Palestinian commandos (the Syrian-controlled as-Saiqa Palestinian guerrilla organization in Lebanon contains 7,000 men, and the 3,000-man Hittin Brigade of the Palestine Liberation Army is also pro-Syrian). However, on April 9 Syria massed 8,000 regular soldiers inside the Lebanese border, partially to bolster support for Elias Sarkis, its candidate in the Lebanese presidential elections. On May 27 Damascus consented to another six months' extension of the UN observer force on the Golan Heights, thereby freeing up units of the Third Armored Division, which are normally held in reserve for combat with Israeli forces on Golan, for the June invasion of Lebanon.

The June invasion, preceded by the Syrian-imposed election of Sarkis (see *WV* No. 112, 4 June), was undertaken with the approval of the United States and Israel. On May 26, U.S. special envoy to Lebanon L. Dean Brown (who formerly served in Vietnam, Cyprus and Jordan during the 1970 civil war there) stated that the U.S. had "made a mistake in discouraging Syria from sending troops into Beirut last month as a peace-making force in the civil war" (*New York Times*, 27 May 1976).

The attempt of Sarkis, elected by Syrian bayonets, to negotiate an agreement with the contending forces in the Lebanese civil war collapsed in late May over the question of the continuing presence of Syrian troops. Following this collapse, the civil war quickly escalated, with over 115 reported killed and 230 wounded on May 29. Coinciding with this escalation, Ahmen al-Maamari, a fanatical Muslim army commander, encircled and savagely shelled two isolated Christian towns in northern Lebanon—Andakat and Al Qobaya—threatening to wipe them out.

Both Fatah, the leading Palestinian group, and Druze patriarch Kamal Jumblat, a leader of the Lebanese Muslim forces, called on Major Maamari to cease this genocidal attack, but Maamari is a man who likes to be on the winning side. He has gone from being a supporter of Jumblat's ally, Lt. Ahmed al-Khatib, commander of the "Lebanese Arab Army," to being an enemy of Jumblat and a supporter of the Syrians. Since the Syrians are currently backing the Maronite Christians, Maamari's attack on these towns was a provocation to justify further Syrian military intervention.

In addition, on May 31 Syria sent 2,000 additional troops into northern Lehanon near the encircled towns and 4,000 along the Damascus and Beirut highway to reopen that road to the reactionary Maronite Phalange, which holds the coastal area north of Beirut. Jumblat, who only a week earlier had denounced French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's offer to dispatch combat troops to its former colony in the Levant, now appealed to Lebanon's former imperialist master: "I have asked for French diplomatic and political assistance to defend our independence." So much for Jumblat's self-proclaimed "socialist," "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" sentiments (which have been taken as good coin by wretched opportunists like the Healyites).

Of course, the Maronite reactionaries were overjoyed by Syrian reinforcements rushing to their aid. A joint statement issued by the incumbent president Suleiman Franjieh, Interior Minister and former president Camille Chamoun (who had called for the U.S. Marine invasion of Lebanon in 1958), Phalange chief Pierre Gemayel and the leader of the clerical-fascist Order of Maronite Monks, Charbel Rassis, said: "We appreciate what sister Syria is doing in Lebanon in spite of the difficulties it is facing in Lebanon and elsewhere" (*New York Times*, 6 June).

The Pentagon and the Kremlin

The Ford administration, having given Damascus the green light to invade Lebanon, responded to the invasinn by stating: "The Syrians have played a constructive role in Lebanon." For his part, the bloodthirsty Israeli prime minister, Yitzak Rabin, viciously remarked: "I am not shedding any tears over the military encounter between the Syrian Army and Arafat's terrorists."

Rabin's gloating at the sight of Arab killing Arab lays bare the genocidal and racist character of Zionism. But the Palestinian refugee camps that were yesterday blown up in the name of Zionism are today strafed and bombarded in the name of the "Arab Revolution."

The Ba'athist rulers in Damascus who demagogically denounced Sadat's "Sinai Agreement" with U.S. imperialism and Zionist Israel—putting themselves forward as uncompromising champions of the Palestinians' rights—are now hailed by Washington and Tel Aviv as they perpetrate the mass murder of Palestinian refugees and Lebanese Muslims. Arab nationalism, like Zionism and all forms of nationalism, translates into national chauvinism and ethnic genocide, even when both parties to the conflict speak Arabic.

The Syrian invasion of Lebanon is also another serious blow to Moscow's already badly damaged prestige in the Near East. Since Sadat abrogated the Soviet-Egyptian "friendship pact," the USSR has become increasingly dependent upon Syria and Iraq as its sole purported allies in the region. To the acute embarrassment of the Kremlin, the May 31 Syrian invasion of Lebanon took place on the eve of Soviet prime minister Alexei Kosygin's state visit to Damascus.

Since, as Stalin once remarked, paper will take anything that is written on it,

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Rightist Terror Stalks Argentina 6

While Kissinger Hobnobs with Junta, Thousands Tortured in Chilean Prisons

No Aid to Butcher Pinochet!

JUNE 14—Contrary to a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign in the American press, recent visits to Chile by U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger have not resulted in any easing whatever of the brutal repression begun 33 months ago when the Pinochet junta seized power. Instead, the junkets and pious pronouncements by top Washington policy makers are a deliberate ploy to prop up the isolated and economically floundering Chilean dictatorship.

Simon declared he would visit Chile "only if there was some demonstration of willingness to move in the civil rights area." Similarly, at the opening session of the Organization of American States (OAS) conference in Santiago last week, Kissinger remonstrated that "human rights violations" "impaired our relationship with Chile." He added that "human rights are the very essence of a meaningful life, and human dignity is the ultimate purpose of government." No doubt, the more than 30,000 leftists slaughtered by Pinochet's butchers would have had something to say to Kissinger's cynical soliloquy on a "meaningful life."

In honor of the Simon visit last month, the junta announced the release of 49 political prisoners, including Pedro Ramirez, former minister of mining under Allende's Popular Unity (UP) regime, and Anibal Palma, former UP minister of education. For Kissinger's benefit, Chilean police claimed to have released some 305 prisoners before and during the OAS meeting. But despite these token gestures, the reality remains grim for the 4,000 to 8,000 political prisoners in Chile.

Mass arrests continue unabated. Only six days after the announcement that 49 would be released in May, Hernan Montealegre, one of the principal civil liberties lawyers still practicing in Chile, was arrested without charges and sent to one of the junta's concentration camps. On May 18 one of the most damaging roundups since the coup was carried out by junta security forces. Among those arrested were Victor Diaz, deputy general secretary of the Communist Party (CP) at the time of the 1973 coup, former CP national secretaries Jorge Muñoz and Mario Zamorano, along with a dozen other top party leaders. Hundreds of arrests have been reported in the last few weeks.

At the OAS conference, five Chilean lawyers issued a lengthy report denouncing the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA), which acts as a law unto itself under Pinochet. With 4,000 civilian and military employees and an estimated 30,000 informers throughout the country, DINA has become the only reliable base of support for the junta chief. Presently in the hands of these sinister murderers is Edgardo Enriquez, a leader of the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), reportedly being held at the Monte Maravilla torture center after having been secretly turned over by the Argentine police on April 27.

The single "success" of the OAS in extracting guarantees from Pinochet concerning political prisoners was a vague promise to consider the possibility of an inspection by the UN Human Rights Commission, which has been turned away several times in the past. However, even this pro forma concession was rendered meaningless by a resolution presented by Chile and supported by other military dictatorships at the meeting, requiring any investigative committee to work through government representatives only!

Pinochet greeting Kissinger in Santiago last week. UPI

Torture Continues

Torture has become institutionalized in Pinochet's Chile, and its methods, according to a United Nations report released in February, "extend from cold methodical application of torture as a means of extracting information or of punishing and destroying political opponents to frequent manifestations of barbaric sadism by individual operators." Every released prisoner tells of the horrors of the torture centers. Hanging prisoners upside down and repeatedly slashing them with razors; burial in sand with only the head free, exposed to hot sun; women prisoners subjected to the most degrading forms of sexual abuse, including multiple rape; submerging prisoners in human excrement. Many of the more deranged atrocities are inspired or devised by former German Nazi officers now working with DINA, including Walter Rauff, who was the designer of the "gas wagon" used to annihilate Jews during World War II by spraying cyanide into a sealed compartment.

Gamma

Inside the National Stadium in Santiago. Thousands of Chileans were imprisoned and tortured there by the bloody Pinochet regime.

Even the OAS, so adept at covering up U.S. aggression and barbarous crimes of various Latin American tinpot dictators, felt compelled to issue a report this month accusing the junta of continuing "arbitrary jailings, persecutions and torture" despite baseless denials to "tranquilize or confuse" world opinion. It also stated that despite an official regulation giving prisoners the right to be brought to court within five days of arrest, practically everyone arrested is held incommunicado for a period and their arrests are routinely denied. One case cited was the murder of a lathe operator in Concepción who had been arrested on September 26 and later returned to his home badly beaten and incoherent. He was then rearrested and found the following day, his body riddled with bullets. The death certificate listed the cause of death as "acute anemia"...as a result of gunshot wounds (*New York Times*, 8 June).

No Aid to Chile Butchers!

With arrests and tortures undiminished, unemployment well over 20 percent and inflation still above 300 percent annually, Chile has not seemed a "good risk" for investors worried about becoming identified with the despised junta. So despite U.S. economist Milton Friedman's confident predictions of stable growth following a temporary "shock treatment" of severe austerity, the Chilean economy goes on sinking. Now the situation has gotten so desperate that U.S. leaders are worried that Pinochet may go down the drain.

Consequently, while mouthing pieties about "human rights," Kissinger & Co. have pumped massive military and economic aid to this gang of butchers. Witnesses at a Congressional subcommittee hearing this spring testified that the government provided $272 million to Chile in 1975 alone, more than *11 times* the $25 million ceiling imposed by Congress last year! The U.S. has also used its levers to secure international aid as well. In March, World Bank president and Vietnam mass butcher Robert McNamara pushed a $33 million loan through that institution, despite resistance from European members; and last week, 16 U.S. and Canadian banks, led by Morgan Guarantee, granted a $125 million loan to the Central Bank of Chile under State Department pressure.

Credits to the junta from the U.S. and from international organizations under its influence now total about $1.8 billion since 1973. Whether ostensibly economic or military, all such aid is directly political in character, providing funds to arm Pinochet's murderous troops and police, covering the staggering foreign debt (interest alone now equals 38 percent of import earnings) and otherwise bolstering the shaky regime. These emergency transfusions are strikingly similar to the loans rushed to the South African apartheid regime by a consortium of international banking institutions in 1961 to reverse the drain of foreign investment that followed the massacre of black protestors at Sharpeville.

The fanfare accompanying the recent reported release of only a tiny fraction of the left-wing prisoners in Chile is nothing but a cynical cover to legitimize U.S. bankrolling of the Pinochet police state. The international labor movement must denounce this fraud, demand freedom for all class-war prisoners in Chile, and fight to end all aid to the bloody junta. Working-class solidarity, including a labor boycott ("hot-cargoing") of all military cargo to Chile, is key to prying imprisoned militants from Pinochet's clutches.

The bloody seizure of power by the Pinochet junta represented a tremendous defeat for the Chilean proletariat, but the working class has not been atomized by the bonapartist military dictatorship. Under the leadership of a revolutionary Trotskyist party that can draw the lessons of the reformists' class collaboration—how their confidence in the "constitutionalist" officers and "progressive" bourgeoisie tied the workers' hands, blocking a mobilization against the counterrevolutionary putschists—the Chilean workers can truly avenge their fallen martyrs only by sweeping aside the bourgeois class rule that gave rise to the infamous torture chambers and concentration camps. ■

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Unions Must Mobilize Against Racist Offensive in Chicago!

Klan, Nazis Riot– Daley Arrests Black Protesters

Petelli/Chicago Tribune

Two-bit "Führer" Frank Collin heckles police in the door of the Chicago Nazis' headquarters last week.

Drop Charges Against M.L. King Jr. Movement!

CHICAGO, June 14—Assaults on blacks have increased sharply and spread throughout the city after a Nazi/Klan-incited riot exploded in the Southwest Side Marquette Park area last weekend (see *WV* No. 113, 11 June). White street gangs have been emboldened by the absence of any organized response to the fascist offensive, while the black establishment redoubles its efforts to keep the ghetto masses in line, placing all its chips on Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley and his cops. In turn, the bureaucracy of Chicago's powerful integrated labor movement has said and done nothing at all about the rising wave of racist violence.

Frank Collin, the Nazis' two-bit local *Führer*, reveled in the "success" of the Sunday riot. "The violence of June 6 has saved the neighborhood for years to come," he crowed. "It scared the Negroes" (quoted in *Chicago Daily News*, 8 June). Collin had good reason to be jubilant, for last week saw repeated incidents of terrorization of the black populace in Chicago. Among the reported incidents (*Chicago Defender*, 11 June):

- Tuesday night, black bus driver Clarence Wilson and his eight months pregnant wife were attacked by a mob while driving through a white South Side neighborhood.
- Wednesday night, 19-year-old Gary Smith was almost run over, then beaten in the head and his nose broken while waiting for a bus near the Republic Steel Mill on the far South Side.
- Another black youth, Robert King, was attacked and beaten by a gang in Marquette Park. He is hospitalized and listed in serious condition.
- In addition, at least six blacks have been attacked in mid-afternoon throughout the week at Foster Avenue Beach on the North Side. Some of the victims were beaten to unconsciousness and assaulted with broken bottles. The attackers were reportedly members of the TJO street gang, and Nazi posters have proliferated in this area recently.

The Cops React...By Arresting Civil Rights Marchers

Black "community leaders" have responded to the racist terror by trying to convince the authorities that they can clamp down on the ghetto masses so as not to "provoke" the fascists. The Nazi/Klan riot was a response to a planned (but subsequently cancelled) march for open housing by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, a small church-based pacifist group. The day after the racist riot a "coalition of community leaders" met at the Urban League headquarters and demanded a moratorium on all demonstrations in the area (including those planned by the King Movement) as well as more police protection. In short, these misleaders promised to take over from the Nazis the job of keeping blacks out of white neighborhoods, while covering for the occupation of ghetto areas by Daley's racist cops!

The Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, however, refused to go along with the moratorium and on Tuesday night led a handful of marchers toward Marquette Park. The cops stopped the demonstration and arrested the Movement's leaders, Rev. C.H. Turner and Rev. Edgar Jackson, for parading without a permit. Fred Rice, police commander of Englewood District (the ghetto area bordering on the Nazi/Klan stronghold in Marquette Park), made it absolutely clear that his main task was suppressing any black response to the fascists. Speaking after he arrested the civil rights marchers, Rice said:

> "the black community is up in arms.... we've got to defuse the situation, and it can't be one-sided. We've got to defuse it over here, too, or we're in for one hell of a summer."
> —*Chicago Sun-Times*, 9 June

Because of the arrests of Turner and Jackson, the King Movement marches became, for a few days, a symbol of defiance against the racist system. Marches later in the week attracted as many as 150 participants, although as could be expected the cops broke them up. Turner and Jackson, out on bail, were rearrested along with others, and this time the charges were escalated, including resisting arrest, mob action and incitement to riot! (In contrast, the few Nazi/Klan-incited rioters arrested last Sunday were booked on misdemeanor charges, disorderly conduct and drinking in public.) Chicago trade unions, left and black organizations must defend the King Movement and demand that charges against Turner, Jackson and the other civil rights marchers be dropped!

Our solidarity with the King Movement marchers against Daley's racist cops does not detract from our fundamental opposition to the Movement's pacifistic liberalism. Confronting the fascist scum through prayerful vigils disorients and disarms the ghetto masses no less than the Urban League's anti-demonstration moratorium or police commander Rice's efforts to "defuse the situation."

Liberals and Fake-Lefts Applaud "Anti-Fascist" Daley

A few days after the racist riot, Boss Daley announced his intention to shut the Nazis' "Rockwell Hall" headquarters "in the interest of what's decent." In fact, the Marquette Park office remains open. City attorneys also obtained a six-week court order restraining the Nazis from "urging the violation of the rights of blacks, where such action is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless actions" (*Chicago Tribune*, 10 June). The same day, Daley threw his support behind the "ethnic purity" Democratic presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter.

Daley's tokenistic response drew praise from the same liberals who for years have rightly denounced the mayor as the embodiment of the corrupt, brutal, racist political boss. Remember the beating of antiwar protesters at the 1968 Democratic convention and the murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark? The new admirers of the "anti-fascist" Daley evidently don't want to.

James Compton, head of the local Urban League (which recently reported that Chicago was the most segregated city in the U.S.), commended the mayor and called for outlawing the Nazis. This kowtowing simply enhances the authority of Daley and his cops as they prepare to crush any ghetto response to the fascists. The slap on the wrist meted out to the Nazis by the courts will be used as justification for a hundred times more brutal treatment of black militants who seek to defend themselves against the racist assaults.

Naturally, the reformist Communist Party is crawling along right behind the bourgeois liberals. Last week a delegation to Daley, headed by Mark Almsberg of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), demanded that the mayor and city council denounce the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, prosecute those responsible for racist terror and make reparations to the victims of racial violence. The YWLL delegation was curtly informed by the mayor's office that it was already "doing all" they demanded!

Not to be outdone in such legalistic class-collaborationist reformism is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). SWP congressional candidate Andrew Pulley called upon his Democratic and Republican opponents to join with him in building a "mass movement...to put pressure on the city government and mayor to address the culprits." In contrast to the Marxist policies of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), which calls on labor and the left to organize to suppress the fascist vermin, during recent years the SWP has aggressively defended a policy of "free speech for fascists." It would not be surprising, therefore, if Pulley should endorse the American Civil Liberties Union defense of the Nazis' "rights" against the actions of the Daley administration!

For Labor/Black Defense

The way to defeat the fascists in Chicago was presented by the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC) of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park) at a union meeting yesterday. The LSC presented a resolution that Local 6 call a demonstration within two weeks around the slogans, "Smash the Nazi racist terror" and "Enforce black rights to open housing with labor/black defense guards." The resolution also called on the union to contact all labor and minority organizations in Chicago to actively support this demonstration and to initiate coordination of city-wide labor/black defense against racist terror, and to demand that all charges against the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement be dropped.

Last year UAW Local 6 pointed the way forward for the entire workers movement by organizing militant labor/black defense against racist night-riders in suburban Broadview. It was this action which enabled black union member C.B. Dennis and his family to move into a predominantly white neighborhood. However, at this Sunday's union meeting, the Harvester local rejected that course of action, voting instead to rely on the bosses' police force against the current racist attacks in Chicago.

Responsibility for this rejection of labor/black defense rests squarely with former Local 6 president Norm Roth, a prominent spokesman for the Communist Party-supported Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD). When the LSC spokesman introduced his resolution, Cornelius Cobb, one of Roth's co-thinkers, presented in effect a counterresolution placing full confidence in Mayor Daley, his city council and cops to stop the racist assaults and outlaw the fascists. Roth seconded Cobb's motion and went even further, "commending" Daley for his good work against the Nazis.

Undeterred by the reactionary union bureaucracy and treacherous reformists like the CP, SWP, et al., class-conscious militants must continue to demand integrated working-class action against the Klan, Nazis and all other racist terrorists. ■

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Witchhunting and Watergating

In the post-war anti-Communist witchhunts, New Deal liberals learned that there was more to fear than fear itself. They learned to fear the Congressional investigation, the subpoena, the blacklist, which together spelled merciless FBI harassment, social ostracism and often financial ruin. They learned that being branded a "security risk" or "Communist-influenced" or a "premature anti-fascist"(!) could mean being driven from their professions, while their families were hounded at home and at school. It could even mean prison, and death. The execution of the Rosenbergs in June 1953 showed the lengths to which the witchhunters would go to mobilize opinion behind the anti-Soviet crusade.

The fear was not restricted to those actually investigated. It spread out in waves in the face of the anti-"red" hysteria. And the liberals responded with either a voracious appetite to join the hunt or a moral cowardice and paralysis of spirit appropriate to liberalism—an ideology whose time had come and gone a century before.

The witchhunt period is increasingly becoming a subject of fascination for a liberal press anxious to establish official villains and proclaim some of its own as heroes. Recent months have seen a renewed interest in the cases and issues that occupied the attention of the hunters, the hunted and the headlines. The Alger Hiss case is now being retried in the pages of the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Review of Books* as veteran anti-Communist Sidney Hook is joined by Smith College professor Allen Weinstein in attempting to rehabilitate the reputation of arch-fink Whittaker Chambers. The Rosenberg case has refused to die as the Rosenberg sons find increasing sympathy for their efforts to force a recxamination of the judicial murder of their parents. Recent rallies against government domestic spying have featured speakers from the "Hollywood Ten"—early "unfriendly witnesses" hauled before HUAC in the 1947 wave of purges.

UPI

HUAC members in 1948. From left, Rep. Richard Vail (R., Ill.); Chairman J. Parnell Thomas (R., N.J.); Rep. John McDowell (R., Pa.); Robert Stripling, chief counsel; Rep. Richard Nixon (R., Calif.).

REVIEW: *Scoundrel Time* by Lillian Hellman

Among the spate of new books and review articles dealing with what the liberals call the "McCarthy period," the one which is getting the widest attention is *Scoundrel Time*. Its author, playwright Lillian Hellman, seems the most likely candidate for liberal beatification. *Scoundrel Time*—certainly the least rewarding of Hellman's three volumes of memoirs (the earlier ones are *Pentimento* and *An Unfinished Woman*)—is a slim volume focused on Hellman's May 1952 appearance before HUAC.

In her letter to HUAC chairman John Wood, Hellman separated herself from the ugly parade of "friendly witnesses" in a now much-quoted statement of aesthetic and moral contempt for those who collaborated: "I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions." Hellman agreed to testify before HUAC about her own political activity but refused to testify about the activity of anyone else because it would "bring bad trouble" for them. For Murray Kempton, reviewing the memoir in the *New York Review of Books*, (10 June) it was "that one great moment... her summit. We can ask from her nothing more.... The important thing is never to forget that here is someone who knew how to act when there was nothing harder on earth than knowing how to act."

But for liberals the delineation of "conscience" is as murky as their perception of the line between social classes. Hellman's memoir indicting the cowardice of the intellectuals who inhabited the time for scoundrels confirms the general warning appropriate to the confessional genre: look out for what is omitted.

To the Watergate and Back

Maureen Howard, reviewing for the *New York Times* (25 April) is more laudatory and less perceptive than Kempton, but provides a clue to the present interest in the HUAC period: "She wants us to pay attention; we must remember our mistakes.... In the wake of Watergate, Lillian Hellman has made the necessary connection between 1952 and our recent disgrace." It is the Watergate connection which most engages liberals. What they seek is reassurance that Watergate, like the "McCarthy period," is "over." Hellman presents the liberals' dilemma:

> "It is not true that when the bell tolls it tolls for thee: if it were true we could not have elected, so few years later, Richard Nixon, a man who had been closely allied with McCarthy. It was no accident that Mr. Nixon brought with him a group of high-powered operators who made Cohn and Schine look like cute little rascals from grammar school. The names and faces had been changed: the stakes were higher, because the prize was the White House. And one year after a presidential scandal of a magnitude still unknown, we have almost forgotten them, too."
>
> *Scoundrel Time*, p. 152

With Nixon's resignation the Watergate period was stamped "closed." "Justice" was done and liberalism could almost feel smug once more. Similarly when McCarthy was politically impaled before the television cameras, and liberals were able to localize the red scare by naming it "McCarthyism" after its purest expression, they could slide out of responsibility for the "cold war" which was their creature. They could show how those who go "too far"—McCarthy, Nixon—are foiled. And liberal parliamentary structuralists could always concoct explanations which floated far above the inelegant realities of shattered lives: McCarthyism was a legislature gone beyond the fabled "checks and balances" controls, while Watergate of course was the executive branch running amok.

As always, for liberals going "too far" is defined as going after "innocent" people and not just Communists. The Watergate conspirators brought down the wrath of the bourgeois press by spying on the respectable liberals of the Democratic Party. This was a violation of the accepted rules of the game—rules that have always permitted the vicious persecution of leftists, labor leaders and black militants. As Noam Chomsky has noted in his introduction to the Cointelpro papers, that Black Panthers were legally murdered in their beds was a far more important atrocity than the Watergate burglary. Watergate was an "excess" and it is the "excesses" which the liberals can sanctimoniously decry without imperiling the routine repression and brutality which is the core of the capitalist state.

Moralizing and Myth-Making

What gives the American political scene its strange character is in large part the absence of a mass political expression of the working class. The peculiar absence of even a rudimentary sense of the connection between social reality and class struggle makes American politics particularly prone to being mythologized in terms of bourgeois reactionary villains and bourgeois progressive heroes.

The historical terrain of the bourgeois moralist is close to that of the 1950's western movie. The images are important. The end of "McCarthyism" is symbolized during the Army-McCarthy hearings when the "good lawyer from Boston" turns dramatically to the "bad Senator from Wisconsin" and asks: "Have you no sense of decency, sir?"

It is for her self-proclaimed apolitical decency that liberals now applaud Hellman. Compared to the finks—Elia Kazan, Clifford Odets and the many others who sang and lied their way into the hearts of HUAC in order to protect their cushy careers—Hellman deserves credit. But her wide-eyed naiveté rings false. "My belief in liberalism was mostly gone," Hellman writes. "I think I have substituted for it something private called, for want of something that should be more accurate, decency" (*Scoundrel Time*, p. 113).

It is this disavowal of politics which buttresses the myth of the political slaughter of the innocents. Thus Garry Wills, in his flattering introduction, describes Hellman's confrontation with HUAC: "She came to it armed with no ideological weapons, just with that personal code, with undefended decency." She attributes to her aristocratic Southern upbringing a sense of "Christian honor" not to be found among the "children of timid immigrants" who "make it so good that they are determined to keep it at any cost." Her now famous letter to HUAC lays claim to the "old-fashioned American tradition and there were certain homely things that were taught to me: to try to tell the truth, not to bear false witness, not to harm my neighbor, to be loyal to my country, and so on."

But although she explains her stand before HUAC by "these simple rules of human decency," life was not so simple, she was not so simple and it was all political. Murray Kempton, an anti-Communist who however remembers the period with less Stalinist mist in his eye, punctures her pious balloon. *Scoundrel Time* remarks: "Lives were being ruined and few hands were raised in help. Since when do you have to agree with people to defend them from injustice?" (p. 85) But it turns out that defense against injustice is not so much a matter of "simple decency" as it is a matter of class politics. Kempton recalls the case of James Kutcher:

> "We do not diminish the final admiration we feel owed to Dashiell Hammett when we wonder what he might have said to Miss Hellman on the night he came home from the meeting of the board of the Civil Rights Congress which voted to refuse its support to the cause of James Kutcher, a paraplegic veteran who had been discharged as a government clerical worker because he belonged to the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party. But then Hammett was a Communist and it was an article of the Party faith that Leon Trotsky, having worked for the Emperor of Japan since 1904, had then improved his social standing by taking employment with the Nazis in 1934. Thus any member of the Socialist Workers Party could be considered by extension to be no more than an agent of Hitler's ghost. Given that interpretation of history, Paul Robeson spoke from principle when a proposal to assist the Trotskyite Kutcher was raised at a public meeting of the Civil Rights Congress. Robeson drove it from the floor with a declaration to the effect that you don't ask Jews to help a Nazi or Negroes to help the KKK."
>
> —*New York Review of Books*, 10 June 1976

Hellman still insists she never knew the exact nature of Hammett's association with the CP. Whatever were his formal ties, he was sufficiently politically committed to go to prison as a trustee of the Civil Rights Congress. Hellman's appeal to apolitical "decency" is at bottom an alibi. The Stalinists and their fellow travelers had politics—politics which meant the sectarian refusal to defend Kutcher's civil rights, politics which helped to leave them defenseless before the red-baiting onslaught.

As the witchhunts continued the isolation of the Stalinists intensified. The purges of "reds" and militants from the labor movement broke the back of any potential resistance to the repression. The popular-front policies of the Stalinists in part set them up for their own victimization. In the service of the "war effort" they had made themselves programmatically indistinguishable from the Rooseveltian liberals—complete with jingoistic rhetoric and no-strike pledges. Politically self-located on the terrain of moralism ("all men of good will") which permitted the persecution of Communists but objected to the victimization of apolitical "innocents," their only recourse was to seek more frantically than ever to blend in with their liberal protective coloration.

The witchhunts were not morality plays, but political show-trials intimately linked to the reorientation of public opinion to facilitate the shifted imperialist aims of the American bourgeoisie following World War II. The alliance with the USSR and the corresponding popular-front ideology of liberals and Stalinists had served their purpose. As

the American "big daddy" set about restabilizing the shattered West European capitalist regimes, only the might of the Soviet Union appeared to stand in the way of U.S. imperialism's unchallenged domination of the globe. The "cold war" was on.

The policies of "McCarthyism" originated with the Truman administration. It was the Truman Doctrine, issued in March 1947, which most clearly articulated the aggressive anti-Communist foreign policy that had already been established. It was the liberals the ADA, the trade-union bureaucracy, the Democrats who whipped up the red scare. As the introduction to *Scoundrel Time* in fact notes, the loyalty oaths were instituted in 1947.

The Bankruptcy of Liberalism

All ideology, says Garry Wills in his introduction to *Scoundrel Time*, is "an escape from personal responsibility." Wills and Hellman can offer nothing more illuminating than an appeal to a timeless moral code for the individual abstracted from social struggle. Leon Trotsky might have been addressing them when he wrote:

> "Let us note in justice that the most sincere and at the same time the most limited petty-bourgeois moralists still live even today in the idealized memories of yesterday and hope for its return. They do not understand that morality is a function of the class struggle: that democratic morality corresponds to the epoch of liberal and progressive capitalism; that the sharpening of the class struggle in passing through its latest phase definitively and irrevocably destroyed this morality; that in its place came the morality of fascism on one side, on the other the morality of proletarian revolution."
>
> —"Their Morals and Ours"

Hellman and the liberals who have all but canonized her indeed "still live in the idealized memories of yesterday." This is the meaning of the recurrent nostalgia for the good old days of the popular front when all "decent people" were on the side of all-Americanism against the Nazis and other foes of "progress." Hellman's book takes a long and sentimental look at the early days of the Henry Wallace campaign, which tried to resuscitate the popular front around a new New Deal at home and more deals with Russia. But U.S. imperialism in 1948 had no more use for popular-front "progressives." Nowadays not even the slimiest liberal can see much of a way to slither forward to "progress." And the new champion of moralism and "Christian honor" is Jimmy Carter, the respectable racist.

The political world became essentially incomprehensible to Hellman when the era of Rooseveltian good feeling broke down. She ends *Scoundrel Time* with a confession/apology for her sympathies for Stalinist Russia. She is angry with the intellectuals who opposed McCarthy simply because of his "crude methods"; she, on the other hand, took sides, even if a bit too uncritically: "I, and many like me, took too long to see what was going on in the Soviet Union. But whatever our mistakes, I do not believe we did our country any harm. And I think they did" (p. 155). In other words, better a Stalinist sympathizer than a witchhunter.

But the Stalinists and bourgeois democrats cohabit the same moral universe, based at bottom on the acceptance of the status quo. The period of the patriotic "united front against fascism" was also the period of the Moscow Trials. Both the apologists for Stalin and the enemies of communism identified the Russian revolution with the Stalinist bureaucracy. The more secure the petty-bourgeois regime in the Kremlin, the more the Western liberal recognized a bureaucratic friend. The more glaring the crimes and betrayals, the more the liberal explained that Stalin was a man of utility and "practical" politics.

The onset of the frame-up Moscow Trials was initially greeted with selective blindness by "progressives." The *Nation* and the *New Republic* looked the other way as Yagoda dragged revolutionists through the mud and blood. The 3 May 1938 *New Masses* carried "a statement by American Progressives" which proclaimed that the Moscow Trials:

> "have by sheer weight of evidence established a clear presumption of guilt of the defendants... for twenty years the opponents of the Soviet Union have ..been forced to resort to covert means. They have disseminated reactionary propaganda and financial patronage to disaffected elements within the Soviet Union through special agents. Drastic attack must be met by drastic defense: it is in this light that we regard the trials.... We call on [American liberals] to support the efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers, and to rally support from the international fight against fascism—the principal menace to peace and democracy."
>
> —quoted in Stefan Kanfer, *A Journal of the Plague Years*

Among the prominent signers were Dorothy Parker, Irwin Shaw, Harold Clurman and a number of the "Hollywood Ten."

Stalin's purge trials were a watershed for "progressives." Some locked on; some cut and ran. But the underlying assumption remained the same: Stalinism equals Leninism. The sophisticated sycophants like Merleau-Ponty justified the mass terror as "historically necessary," identifying Stalin by false historical analogy with Robespierre instead of with Bonaparte. The queasy denounced Stalin's purge machine—and with it the supposed "amoralism" of Bolshevism. Both sides agreed there were only two "practical" alternatives: Stalinism or anti-communism.

Counterposed to these worshippers of the accomplished fact are the Trotskyists who project another road: the liberation of mankind through international proletarian revolution. The Trotskyists understood that the alternative to fascism in Germany or Francoism in Spain was not bourgeois democracy but socialist revolution; the answer to Stalin's purges in Russia was not liberal witchhunting but the struggle for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Hellman's political history is a living disproof of her claim that there is a morality of "simple decency" that floats above politics and history. The ground of her morality was and continues to be the quicksand of the popular front. It was politics that created the moral grid for Stalinists and anti-Communists alike. A false perception of the world that served capitalist ideology and the narrow interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy—that the world could be divided into the evil forces of fascism and the good forces of bourgeois democracy—created a fully false moral vision.

From the standpoint of class morality, liberals and fellow travelers of the Hellman genre are profoundly immoral. With consummate self-righteousness they rallied to the popular front, which served only the enemies of revolution and prolonged the dominion of the reactionary capitalist system. As Trotsky insisted, the sharpening of the class struggle irrevocably destroyed Hellman's morality: "in its place came the morality of fascism on one side, on the other the morality of proletarian revolution." The alternative to the time for scoundrels is not the refurbishing of bankrupt liberalism but the fight to replace the decomposing capitalist social order by the revolutionary rule of the working class. ■

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The Hollywood Ten

International News Photos

Some of those called before the HUAC "Hollywood Ten" hearings. From left, (front row) Lewis Milestone, Dalton Trumbo, John Howard Lawson, legal counsel Bartley Crum; (center row) Gordon Kahn, Irving Pichel, Edward Dmytryk and Robert Rossen; (top row) Waldo Salt, Richard Collins, Howard Koch, Albert Maltz, Herbert Biberman, Lester Cole, Ring Lardner, Jr. and attorney Martin Popper.

Attempts at ideological purification of "the arts" were far from a new phenomenon when Lillian Hellman defied HUAC in 1952. The first "investigative" witchhunt into the entertainment field began under the Roosevelt Administration in 1938 when Martin Dies' Committee dragged in the New Deal-sponsored Federal Theater Project. These precursors to tougher investigations became notorious for their philistinism. Thus Alabama Congressman Joseph Starnes zeroed in on a reference to Elizabethan playwright Christopher Marlowe: "You are quoting from this Marlowe. Is he a Communist?" (Eric Bentley, *Thirty Years of Treason*).

In 1947 HUAC undertook to investigate the Eisler brothers. Gerhardt Eisler was arrested and detained on Ellis Island. Hanns Eisler, a composer who worked with Bertolt Brecht, was grilled on the subversive content of his music in a manner that would soon become one of HUAC's hallmarks. Brecht himself was hauled before HUAC in a famous confrontation. In a prepared statement (which he was not permitted to read) the playwright noted that *undeutsch* (un-German) was "a word which I can hardly think of without Hitler's wolfish intonation" (Eric Bentley, *Thirty Years of Treason*, p. 221).

But the most famous investigation was HUAC's hunt in Hollywood. Of the many persecuted, the best remembered case is that of the "Hollywood Ten": Alvah Bessie, Herbert Biberman, Lester Cole, Edward Dmytryk, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Adrian Scott, and Dalton Trumbo. Ten contempt citations were brought by the committee and upheld by Congress, sending ten writers and directors to jail and creating the atmosphere of fear that was to last for decades in the film industry, with a blacklist technique that is still operative.

Why did HUAC descend upon Hollywood with such vengeance? HUAC saw Hollywood as an ideal ideological receptacle which, when subdued by rousting the "subversive" element, would provide a larger-than-life medium for disseminating anti-Soviet poison. Like all mass entertainment, as opposed to art, Hollywood movies—based on catering to already existing aesthetic and political tastes—would be an easy target to bend to the new political requirements. The particular quality of the Hollywood star system could generate enough publicity to capture the ear of vast sectors of the American public.

All three radio networks were present as the J. Parnell Thomas' investigation of "Communist infiltration" in the motion picture industry began on Monday morning, 20 October 1947. So were eleven newsreel and television cameras, over 100 news agencies from around the world and some 300 spectators, all jammed into the old House office building in Washington. The government attack began with testimony of witnesses friendly to HUAC. The first was Jack L. Warner of Warner Brothers, who had stood on the roof of his studio with his staff to watch the cops beat pickets in the bloody Conference of Studio Unions strike. Warner attacked "ideological termites" who burrow into American industries:

> "My brothers and I will be happy to subscribe to a pest removal fund. We are willing to establish such a fund to ship to Russia the people who don't like our American system of government and prefer the communistic system to ours."

Warner admitted making *Mission to Moscow* (1942), a pro-Soviet propaganda film made with State Department consent which put forward the Stalinist line on the Moscow Trials. But those, he noted, were different times.

During the rush to find Communist propaganda in the Hollywood film, a note of sense was struck by the only organ of real communist propaganda in the U.S., the *Militant* of the then-Trotskyist SWP. The Trotskyists saw that the witchhunt was the attempt to create the anti-Soviet sentiment necessary for imperialism and that Hollywood, far from being a bastion of independent artistic expression, was a camp follower of conventional bourgeois taste—New Deal clichés in the popular-front period, anti-Communist clichés in the period of the red scare:

> "One might ask what can the capitalist politicians possibly find wrong with the movies? Doesn't the silver screen serve its millionaire owners and Wall Street well enough? Doesn't it give a false enough picture of American people and their problems? If any European were to base his ideas on American movies, he would tell you that everybody in the US lives in huge and luxurious homes. There are no class divisions because poor girls always marry rich men. The Negroes are perfectly content—all they ever do is laugh and sing. In brief, such tripe is all that Hollywood peddles. And what can possibly be communistic in it? "The contempt the Un-American Committee has for the intelligence of the American people can be gauged by this charge that the movies are now chockfull of communistic propaganda. Ask yourself: 'What pictures with communist propaganda have I seen recently?' The answer is immediate, 'None!'"
>
> —*Militant*, 3 November 1947

UN Refugee Camps Raided

Rightist Terror Stalks Argentina

JUNE 14 — The alarming escalation of right-wing terror in Argentina in recent days underlines our repeated warnings that behind the March 23 "Gentlemen's Coup" in Buenos Aires lies a mortal threat to the working class. General Videla's "democratic" image is going up in smoke as foreign refugees and Argentine leftists are mercilessly hunted down, savagely tortured and assassinated by the junta and its AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) henchmen. Socialists, labor militants and defenders of democratic rights must urgently protest this bloodbath, which has cost well over 300 lives since the generals seized power two and a half months ago.

On June 9, a band of gunmen driving Ford Falcons (the automobiles used by the right-wing death squads and federal police) broke into the offices of a Catholic relief organization that aids foreign (particularly Chilean) refugees under the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). After ransacking the premises, the pistoleros walked off with names and addresses of approximately 8,000 refugees. A UNHCR representative protested to the junta that this theft puts the refugees' lives in imminent danger.

Two days later, 25 political refugees from rightist dictatorships —23 Chileans, one Paraguayan and one Uruguayan—were kidnapped from two refugee hotels in the capital area. Robbed of their money and documents

At Argentine Mission to UN

Demonstrate for Mario Muñoz!

On Friday, June 18, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz will sponsor a delegation to the Argentine Mission to the United Nations to protest the Videla junta's persecution of Argentine trade unionists and Chilean political refugees. The case of Mario Muñoz Salas —the Chilean miners' leader who escaped Pinochet's butchers in Chile only to find himself imperiled by a murderous manhunt in Argentina— has become symbolic of the plight of the countless left-wing political refugees in Argentina.

The delegation will include Dr. Philip Oke (U.N. representative of the Christian Peace Conference), Daniel Berrigan and Martin Sostre. It will meet with the Argentine ambassador to the U.N. to raise the case of Muñoz and insist that he and his family be granted safe conduct out of Argentina. This meeting will be followed by a press conference at the Plaza Hotel at 1:00 p.m.

As part of its international campaign of protest and pressure to secure the safety of Muñoz and his family, the Committee has enlisted the support of United Auto Workers (UAW) International president Leonard Woodcock, who this week sent a telegram to Videla which said:

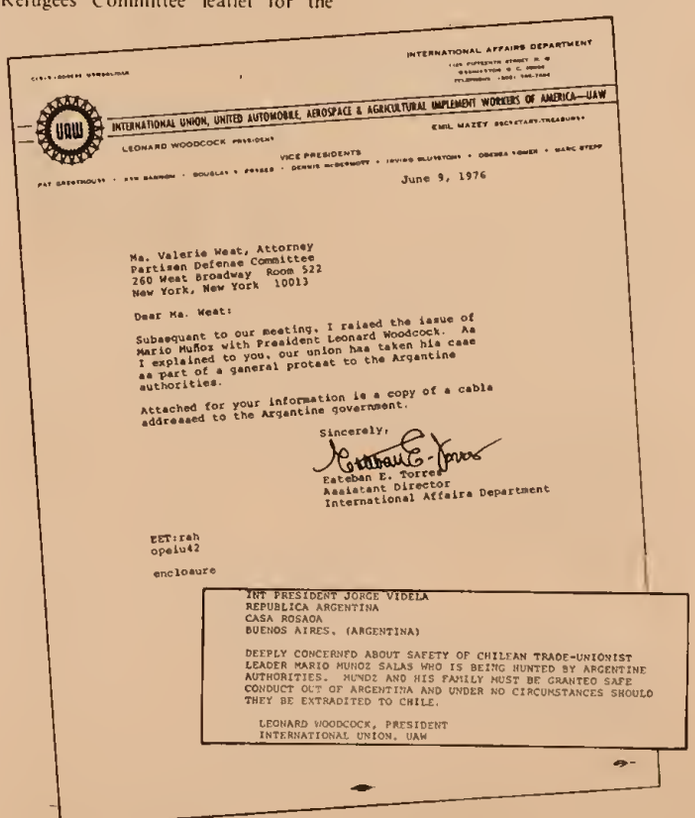
> "Deeply concerned about safety of Chilean trade-unionist leader Mario Munoz Salas who is being hunted by Argentine authorities. Munoz and his family must be granted safe conduct out of Argentina and under no circumstances should they be extradited to Chile."

Also reflecting the international interest in the Muñoz campaign, an article on page 2 of the 11 June *Le Monde* reprinted an appeal of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

At the June 10 general membership meeting of the New York chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), a resolution of support to the efforts to save Mario Muñoz was passed despite the dissenting votes of the majority of the chapter leadership. This motion overturned the original sectarian refusal of the New York chapter's executive board to endorse the campaign. NLG national president William Goodman and the NLG's Massachusetts, Yale University and Chicago chapters had already solidarized with the campaign, endorsement by the NLG national office is still pending.

Also last week a demonstration was held in the Bay Area by the Chilean Refugees Committee demanding that the OAS meetings in Santiago, Chile, condemn the junta repression. The Refugees Committee leaflet for the demonstration singled out the cases of Muñoz and MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez, who was recently turned over to Pinochet by the Argentine junta.

Other endorsements secured by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz during the past two weeks include: the Confederation of Iranian Students, Austria; Alfred Dallinger, Chairman, Private Employees Union*, Austria; Dominique Le Court, France; Paris Federation of the Socialist Party; Joshua Sohel, journalist; Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec; AFSCME Local 2068; AFSCME Local 2070; Peter Bonerz, actor and director; Lee Baxandall, author; Clergy and Laity Concerned, Cleveland chapter; Cliff Fried, President, AFSCME* Local 2070; Rev. Dewey Fagerburg, East Cleveland Congregational Peoples' Church*; Kent Gay Liberation Front, Kent, Ohio; Lutheran Global Justice Task Force; La Raza Organization, San Francisco State University*; Julio Mojica, Vice-President, District 65, Distributive Workers of America*; New Haven Political Prisoners Defense Committee; Fr. William J. O'Donnell; Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño, Bay Area committee; Joe Davidson, National President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers*; Frank P. Zeidler, Socialist Party USA*; Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, Sr. Minister, First Unitarian Church of Chicago*; Dorothy Ray Healey; Ramona Ripster, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California*; John R. Glenn, attorney; and Edward Gray, Assistant Regional Director, UAW* (NY/NJ region).



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA—UAW

LEONARD WOODCOCK PRESIDENT

EMIL MAZEY SECRETARY-TREASURER

VICE PRESIDENTS

June 9, 1976

Ms. Valerie West, Attorney
Partisan Defense Committee
260 West Broadway Room 522
New York, New York 10013

Dear Ms. West:

Subsequent to our meeting, I raised the issue of Mario Muñoz with President Leonard Woodcock. As I explained to you, our union has taken his case as part of a general protest to the Argentine authorities.

Attached for your information is a copy of a cable addressed to the Argentine government.

Sincerely,

Esteban E. Torres
Assistant Director
International Affairs Department

EET:rah
opeiu42
enclosure

INT PRESIDENT JORGE VIDELA
REPUBLICA ARGENTINA
CASA ROSADA
BUENOS AIRES, (ARGENTINA)

DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT SAFETY OF CHILEAN TRADE-UNIONIST LEADER MARIO MUNOZ SALAS WHO IS BEING HUNTED BY ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES. MUNOZ AND HIS FAMILY MUST BE GRANTED SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF ARGENTINA AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THEY BE EXTRADITED TO CHILE.

LEONARD WOODCOCK, PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UAW

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz is organizing a demonstration to picket the Argentine U.N. Mission in conjunction with the visit of the delegation at 11:30 a.m., Friday, June 18, at 44th Street, near First Avenue. The Committee calls on all labor, socialist and civil libertarian organizations and individuals concerned for the freedom and democratic rights of the victims of rightist terror to participate in the picket on the basis of the following demands:

Hands Off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Argentina and Chile!

Stop the Manhunt!

For more information, contact: Partisan Defense Committee (Muñoz), Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

*For identification purposes only

by the unidentified assailants, they were given 48 hours to leave the country. Witnesses reported that the abductors acted unhurriedly, apparently unconcerned that there was a police station only half a block away (*New York Times*, 12 June).

Earlier, the 3 June *Rouge*, newspaper of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, reported that according to the British Broadcasting Company correspondent in Buenos Aires, Mario Roberto Santucho, leader of the Argentine PRT ERP (Revolutionary Workers Party People's Revolutionary Army) had been arrested. Although this information has not been confirmed, the junta's policy of secrecy and rapid execution makes even the probability of Santucho's arrest a cause for grave concern.

Torture

Amnesty International estimates that altogether some 20,000 to 30,000 people have been arrested since the coup which ousted Isabel Perón in late March. Richard and Cristina Whitecross, British citizens who were recently released from the junta's prisons as a result of international pressure on the Argentine government, have vividly described what arrest means under the present military dictatorship:

> "The Argentine federal police have a ten-storey office building in central Buenos Aires, into which people literally disappear. This is the coordination centre, the 'co-ordina', to which newly arrested prisoners are taken and held incomunicado, lost to the world for a week, a month, or (not infrequently) for ever.
>
> "From the time you are taken to the co-ordina, you are a non-person: relatives and friends brave enough to enquire for you are turned away and advised to seek elsewhere. 'Have you tried the morgue?'...
>
> "The steel doors clang open every hour or two, but you are seldom spoken to by the guard. You are an unimportant, unknown animal, to be stared at every so often, fed two or three times a day, hustled down to the toilet, and kept safe until they are ready to take you for interrogation....
>
> "Then, anything can happen. Perhaps you will be knocked down, kicked, or beaten with rubber hoses, pushed into a corner for a day or so to think your own thoughts, a piece of human furniture to be moved backwards or forwards, lifted or dropped, sworn at by the steady stream of off-duty policemen, who double as agents of the Triple-A, and joked about by their women—typists, filing clerks and secretaries who go through their 9 to 5 routine to the accompaniment of screams and cries of terror.
>
> "Interrogation and torture takes place in any odd corner of the office that happens to be free; the window sash may be used to tie you to the formica-topped desk ('Just move the typewriter a bit'), and a polythene bag is all that's needed to suffocate you. A muslin hood and a glass of water conveniently produces a sensation of drowning; or you could be treated to a full-scale *submarino*, with four or five men holding your legs in the air with your head under water in the sink where they wash the office coffee cups.
>
> "All the time you are aware that this may be only a beginning, the softening up process. There may be midnight rides in the [trunk] of a car, mock executions...or real ones. There's also the *picana*, run off a 12-volt car battery or a hand cranked generator, this is a simple and widely used device to pass electric current through your body. The army uses it, the navy uses it, the air force and the police use it. Even the social welfare ministry and the metal

continued on page 11

FUNDS NEEDED!

Send urgently needed contributions for the defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz to:

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Box 633, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013

Make checks payable to "Partisan Defense Committee," earmark for "Muñoz Campaign."

150,000 Support Recall in Philadelphia

Oust Racist Rizzo!

Break with the Bosses' Parties— For a Labor Mayor!

PHILADELPHIA The revelation that the city of Philadelphia has gone bankrupt is shaking the administration of Mayor Frank Rizzo to its very foundations. Only a few months after being solidly re-elected on his record of having "held the line" on taxes and balancing the budget, Rizzo suddenly "discovered" a deficit of $80 million, as well as substantial deficits in school board operating funds and the city transit system. Now a citizens' initiative has gathered more than *150,000* signatures to put a proposition for Rizzo's recall on the ballot, an almost unprecedented action in a major U.S. city during recent decades.

In April, totally contradicting his campaign promises, Rizzo announced

W.R. Everly III

Philadelphia mayor Rizzo, former police commissioner, characterized himself as the "toughest cop in America."

that "Philadelphians are prepared to bite the bullet," and launched a massive austerity campaign. The Rizzo plan, recently approved by the city council, includes an immediate wage freeze for city employees (except cops!), layoffs of 500 to 1,000 municipal workers and 350 transit workers. The regressive city wage tax is being raised 30 percent, which will make it the highest in the nation, while property taxes are being raised a similar amount. Rizzo also plans to close Philadelphia General Hospital, the city's only municipal hospital, a large proportion of whose patients are poor and black. A major test for Rizzo's policy will come June 30 when the contracts of non-uniformed city employees and firefighters expire.

The revelations of municipal bankruptcy pumped life into the campaign by the Citizen's Committee to Recall Rizzo. This group announced on May 31 that, with two weeks remaining in its campaign, it had achieved the 146,000 signatures necessary under the city charter to institute a referendum to recall Rizzo. A newspaper-conducted poll revealed that as of May 15, some 57 percent of the city's population agreed that Rizzo should be ousted—a substantial change of popular sentiment in the six months since the November elections.

Cop Mayor

Frank Rizzo rose to power in Philadelphia politics as a tough "law-and-order" cop who would brook no nonsense from radicals and racial minorities. As a captain in a district in the West Philadelphia ghetto and later as police commissioner, Rizzo's overkill cop mobilizations and vicious brutality provoked the just hatred of the black community. Utilizing "preventative" law-enforcement tactics reminiscent of the Palmer raids of the 1920's, the police often arrested blacks and radicals the night before demonstrations and released them the next day. Thus upon hearing of Rap Brown's possible visit to the city, Police Commissioner Rizzo threatened:

> "If one of these outside agitators comes in, he'll be taken on and taken on quickly ... And he may be very sorry he came to Philadelphia."
>
> *Philadelphia Magazine*, July 1967

Examples of his atrocities are legion. In a pre-dawn raid in August 1966, Rizzo directed a virtual army of 1,100 cops to swoop down on four residences of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which resulted in the frame-up arrest of two militants for supposed possession of two and a half sticks of dynamite. Again in the summer of 1967, after a black youth was beaten by the (white) son of a ghetto storeowner Rizzo responded by putting the black community under virtual martial law. Five hundred helmeted police were sent into the area to patrol and harass black residents. The next week, in response to a small (40 people) rally called by the NAACP to protest the incident, 1,000 cops were stationed nearby. Soon afterward, Rizzo ruthlessly enforced a ban on public assembly of more than 12 people in the black community. In 1970 Rizzo personally commanded a massive raid on Black Panther Party headquarters, in which black militants were forced to parade nude in front of police and newsmen.

Two of Rizzo's fellow cops corner black youth in North Philadelphia during police riot in August 1964.

As mayor, Rizzo let the police go on a rampage in the ghettos, not only arresting at random but also acting as prosecutor, judge and executioner. In 1973 alone, 24 people were shot to death by the trigger-happy cops. Admired by the police on the force for steadfastly supporting their atrocities, the mayor shrugged off the terror with the comment, "sometimes you have to act before there is time to think."

Most recently, Rizzo called on the federal government to provide 15,000 troops to stifle two demonstrations called by radicals to coincide with the July 4 bicentennial celebration planned for Philadelphia. Trying to prove to his old constituency that he is still the tough cop who can smash leftists and blacks, Rizzo announced that if the government failed to send the troops, "the blood is on their hands, not mine" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 8 June).

"Nixon Was the Greatest President"

Rizzo's bonapartist instincts and contempt for bourgeois-democratic norms, however, are not reserved for blacks and leftists. Rizzo has conducted a running feud with his liberal (and not so liberal) opponents in the Democratic Party and with a section of the bourgeois press. In 1973 he was caught operating a 34-man special police squad to spy on his political enemies. With a number of his aides presently under indictment on corruption charges, the mayor responded to a court order compelling him to fire his deputy mayor on similar charges: "Mike Wallace will be deputy mayor as long as I'm the mayor.... They [the courts] will have to deal with me on that one." With his boundless contempt for legal procedures, it is not surprising that Rizzo feels a strong kinship for ex-president Nixon. In the face of Watergate, he persisted in calling Nixon "the greatest president we ever had."

But Rizzo is not only a racist cop. Rizzo has commanded wide appeal among small property-owners and layers of white workers. The local AFL-CIO executive council, representing 250,000 workers, supported him in the Democratic primary, and leaders of most of the key unions in the area supported him in November. On numerous occasions the labor fakers have come to Rizzo's aid in the mayor's battles with his political opponents. The day after Rizzo launched a $6 million libel suit against the *Inquirer* last March, the newspaper was closed down by a 250-man goon squad dispatched by the building trades unions. Construction union business agent Thomas Magrann asserted that the pickets were set up to protest the paper's anti-union coverage, but hardly anyone swallowed this baloney.

Despite union support, cop politician Rizzo, of course, has never been pro-labor. In 1973 he almost provoked a citywide general strike by his refusal to bargain with the teachers. However, like other demagogues, Rizzo has been able to cultivate popular appeal among backward layers of the masses by making ostentatious gestures at the appropriate moment. Thus, just prior to the Democratic primaries, he granted a 13 percent wage settlement to city workers while NYC politicos were ordering mass layoffs and a rigid wage freeze. Of course, these deals were essentially fraudulent, with Rizzo and his cronies carefully concealing the city's actual financial state until after the elections. The institution of Rizzo's austerity program, which will take back whatever gains city workers realized in the past, now threatens to disrupt the mayor's cozy romance with the racist and corrupt labor leaders.

The Recall Campaign

The campaign to recall Rizzo was initiated last January by the Citizen's

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Mass Protest Against CUNY Shutdown, Tuition

NEW YORK, June 13 Following the axing of a 129-year policy of free tuition at the City University of New York (CUNY) and the contemptuous "lockout" of nearly 300,000 students, faculty and campus workers late last month, 5,000 angry CUNY demonstrators surrounded City Hall on June 9. Chanting "Beame is a liar," the marchers denounced the massive budget cuts imposed on the city's higher education system and the duplicitous buck-passing by state and local politicians.

Many of the demonstrators marched on to a smaller rally at Union Square, tying up traffic en route, and then packed the Marc Ballroom for a strategy meeting led by bureaucrats from the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the major campus union, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The union brass suggested a number of tepid "protest actions": a 24-hour-a-day vigil at City Hall, circulation of a petition demanding that the state supply funds to reopen the temporarily bankrupt university, lobbying junkets to Albany, boycotting "anti-CUNY" banks, etc.

WV Photo

Five thousand CUNY students and faculty rallied near City Hall June 9 against budget cuts imposed by the city.

PSC President Irwin Polishook, who engineered last month's wretched contract—which included not a single penny in new wages or benefits, deferred $16 million in *already earned* salaries and increments until 1978 and omitted any form of job protection—was interrupted several times by shouts of "sellout." Although strong sentiment was expressed at the mass meeting for militant actions such as sit-ins and campus occupations, Polishook & Co. simply took down a laundry list of proposals and referred them to a subcommittee meeting on Friday. This body, largely composed of would-be "militants," predictably produced nothing more than plans for yet another protest rally.

Don't Ask Questions

Although the PSC leadership pays occasional lip service to defense of free tuition and open admissions and to demands for "full funding" to prevent campus closings and staff firings, it has thrown its weight behind the Landes bill in the state legislature, which embodies Governor Hugh Carey's program for further drastic slashes in student enrollment and campus jobs. While Polishook and his cohorts sanctioned this week's protest actions, their major effort went into organizing hundreds of PSC members to lobby state legislators to pass this disastrous bill.

During union caucuses in Albany, members who demanded to know the details of the legislative package which their leaders backed were pointedly told that all they needed to know for now was that the bill would reopen the campuses and provide money for staff salaries, which have gone unpaid since April 30. The measure, rushed through in an amended form on Friday, in fact provides a budget for next year of only $470 million, $48 million less than the current budget and $72 million less than this year's actual operating expenses. It incorporates the tuition plan passed by the NYC Board of Higher Education June 1, which will mean charges of $750 to $900 a year for those students who survive the campus closings and the addition of discriminatory entrance requirements that accompanied the abandonment of open admissions.

A memorandum distributed to key legislators last week spelled out the likely impact of the new wave of budget cuts: firing 2,000 out of 9,400 full-time faculty and 2,400 out of 12,100 full-time administrative and maintenance employees, and the reduction of enrollment by one fifth, i.e., the *elimination of more than 40,000 full-time students* (*New York Post*, 11 June).

Although CUNY students have sporadically demonstrated the potential for mass militant actions and strongly supported Wednesday's rally, the PSC tops have cynically turned their backs on the students and even on their own part-time and lower seniority members. Polishook did not lift a finger to oppose the firing of tutors and adjuncts or the destruction of the hard-won open admissions policy, and then championed a bill which legitimizes the imposition of tuition.

The union chief even had the audacity to wag his finger at state legislators who supported continuance of free tuition or "per pupil" state funding of CUNY equal to that of the state university (SUNY): "Each legislator has a personal agenda, and many would let the university die rather than yield on their conflicting positions. Some insist on tuition; others insist on no tuition; many of them say 'My position or nothing'" (*New York Times*, 6 June).

Handouts for Big Business, Budget Cuts for Working People

Like such big-time municipal labor fakers as AFT president Albert Shanker and AFSCME district council head Victor Gotbaum, Polishook lamely pleads for "equality of sacrifice" between the city's ravaged working-class populace and the austerity-minded capitalists who call the tune to which the politicians dance. The lie was given to this time-worn canard when, in the same week as the closing of 49 city day-care centers was announced, a state task force sprang a proposal for substantial tax cuts to make New York "more attractive" to businesses and their executives. While the masses are squeezed to the bone to boost corporate profits, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats continue to grovel for favors from the so-called "friend of labor" politicians who oversee the union-busting, budget-cutting offensive.

Yet rather than leading militant CUNY-wide actions aimed at mobilizing the city labor movement against the ruling-class attack, various would-be radicals in the PSC proved their mettle by taking pressure off the leadership with proposals for useless, diversionary activities. At the June 9 meeting in the Marc Ballroom, Polishook pushed vigils and petitions while left-talking elements argued for their own favorite gimmicks. A group called Faculty Action touted the Bicentennial March on Philadelphia initiated by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Supporters of the Progressive Labor (PL)-backed Committee Against Racism urged PSC participation in that group's march on the Democratic convention. The more sedate Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) supporters, in line with their consistent opposition to any actions that might offend the bourgeoisie's sense of propriety, advertised another of their never-ending conferences and urged votes for the Socialist Workers Party's reformist presidential campaign.

Break with the Democrats—Mobilize NYC Labor!

The symbiotic relationship between these fake radicals and the PSC leadership and its bourgeois-politico friends was demonstrated at the Friday meeting of the ad hoc coordinating committee, set up at their behest to plan "mass actions." The aspiring bureaucrats in control of the meeting reportedly explained that to publicly oppose the Landes bill would embarrass the union tops who had provided facilities for the meeting. With the exception of several CAR supporters and independents, the body, including YSA supporters, Faculty Action and representatives of the United Community Centers, voted to keep its opposition to the state's budget-slashing bill strictly internal. Its plans for protest actions like the June 14 demonstration at a Democratic Party fund-raising dinner are clearly not counterposed to the liberal pressure politics of Polishook but represent the same strategy in a slightly more militant form.

While phony militants compete for the role of loyal opposition to the PSC leadership, the parochial student "leftists" generally confine themselves to actions on a single campus that they consider their "turf" or, at best, to strictly university demonstrations that ignore the enormous social power of the working class. Last month's student strike at City College, for example, fell apart after the leadership of the Maoist El Comité/Frente Estudiantil Puertorriqueño and the left-liberal Emergency Committee demonstrated an inability to

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Lebanon . . .

(continued from page 1)

Kosygin and his Syrian hosts managed to cover over their differences with a joint communiqué blaming the Lebanese civil war exclusively on the imperialist powers. It is certainly true, as we have pointed out before, that the imperialists laid the basis for the communal war in Lebanon. But today it is Syrian soldiers with Russian weapons who are doing the work of the imperialist powers, taking the place of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the Marines.

Iraq and the Arab League

The Russian prime minister arrived in Damascus following a visit to his other Near East "ally," Iraq. Since Baghdad made its peace with the Shah of Iran (backed by the U.S. and China) on the basis of bloody suppression of the Kurds, the Iraqi colonels have turned their self-serving martial demagogy in another direction and massed troops on the Syrian border.

In Lebanon, the Syrian and Iraqi Ba'athists are on opposite sides of the barricades, the former currently supporting the Maronite Christians, the latter supporting the Muslims and the main Palestinian forces. Already in April, Baghdad cut off shipments of crude oil for the Syrian refinery at Homs (Assad is now promised supplies by Saudi Arabia) and escalated the long-

CORRECTIONS

The concluding paragraph of the article on the upcoming Italian elections, "No to the 'Historic Compromise' with Capitalism" (*WV* No. 113, 11 June), contains a call upon the "reformist misleaders of the working class to break with the bourgeoisie." While Marxists of course call upon the working class to break with the bourgeoisie, and the article elsewhere correctly demands that the mass reformist workers parties break with bourgeois coalitionism as a precondition to any electoral support, to call on the *reformists* to break with the *bourgeoisie* can be read as a demand that they cease to betray.

Revolutionaries do not seek to reform or pressure the bourgeois workers parties to the left, but rather to shatter these obstacles to proletarian revolution.

The demand that the mass reformist workers parties break with popular frontism and contest for power in their own name is not an electoralist slogan. On the contrary, it aims at a fundamental polarization along class lines *within* these parties, between their pro-capitalist tops and the proletarian base. It seeks not only to shatter the workers' illusions in their class-collaborationist misleaders, but the very parties themselves, in the process of constructing a revolutionary, Trotskyist party that can thereby gain the leadership of the proletarian and lead it to victory. ■

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standing battle over the use of Euphrates waters. Following the May 31 invasion, Iraq moved additional troops toward its Syrian border.

Thus, not only is the Palestinian cause being drowned in blood with Soviet weapons in the hands of Syrian troops; but even more Soviet military hardware is now being lined up on the Syria-Iraq border threatening a shoot-out between the USSR's two main Near East allies!

The Arab League, responding to the Syrian invasion at a meeting in Cairo, has decided to send a "token" peace-keeping force to Lebanon composed of Saudi, Sudanese, Syrian, Libyan, Algerian and Palestinian troops. However, to the great discomfort of the Palestinian nationalist leaders—who have based their entire strategy on obtaining support from various sheiks and colonels this force is so token that it is not scheduled to even show up in Beirut for at least another week! Damascus officials, meanwhile, have made it quite clear that there will be no major troop withdrawal on their part, and "Syria will continuously be exerting its efforts for its Lebanese brothers."

Syrian troops currently have Beirut under seige, the airport closed and the southern approach cut off. (Maronite forces control northern exits, while the eastern exit is the Damascus road, on which Syrian forces are but nine miles from the Lebanese capital.) There are also heavy concentrations of Syrian forces in the eastern Bekaa Valley and in northern Lebanon. Thus, except for the extreme south, Lebanon is essentially under Syrian military occupation.

Not Arab Nationalism, But Proletarian Internationalism!

No doubt Syrian nationalist demagogy is used to justify this invasion. Following World War I, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan were considered by Arab nationalists to be part of an integral territory of Greater Syria and it was only through the machinations of the imperialist victors that the Levant was carved up along its present borders. The Damascus Ba'athists aspire to maintain a reactionary-ruled client state in Lebanon in order to shore up their own none-too-stable bonapartist rule. Itself a complex matrix of religious, racial and national minorities, Syria fears that the sectarian civil war in Lebanon could easily spill over the border.

Today it is Syrian troops that fight to maintain the imperialist status quo in Lebanon, which can only culminate in more sectarian communal conflict and petty national wars. In the context of giving no support to either side in the Lebanese civil war, we call for Syrian troops out of Lebanon. With "leftist" Muslim leader Jumblat now seeking to internationalize the extremely fluid conflict, calling on imperialist France as well as the Arab states to intervene, the Muslim/Palestinian coalition cannot be regarded as waging a struggle to which the working class could give military support. However, with superior Syrian forces apparently determined to "discipline" (crush) the Palestinian commandos, armed clashes may occur in Beirut and elsewhere in which independent proletarian forces might form temporary military blocs with Palestinian and various Lebanese forces in the course of defending workers' quarters and refugee camps against a bloodbath.

With the "militant anti-Zionist" Assad (who came to power after blocking Syrian military aid to the embattled Palestinian commandos in Jordan during "Black September" of 1970) threatening a Lebanese "Black June," the bankruptcy of all wings of Arab nationalism is manifest. A genuine and democratic unification of the Near East will not come about through the intrigues and massacres by the colonels and sheiks and Zionists, but only when the victorious Arab and Hebrew proletariat overthrows the rotting capitalist system and forges a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Where's the Class Line in the *News Line*?

LONDON, May 6—"At first glance it looks like the *Daily Mirror*," writes the weekly London entertainment guide *Time Out*, comparing to the British equivalent of the New York *Daily News* and *National Enquirer* the Workers Revolutionary Party's latest desperate maneuver—a "popular" daily paper featuring big pictures, a "full racing card" and very little politics. The logo is indeed a deliberate imitation of that used by the sex-and-scandal British gutter press.

It looks like the *Daily Mirror* at second glance, too. The sympathetic article in *Time Out* notes, "Despite appearances, the *News Line* is closely associated with the Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party," commenting approvingly that most of the WRP's political views have been removed from the new publication. Most of the news is "straight" reportage: thus *News Line* reports without comment that General Carvalho is being run for Portuguese President, or that the Italian Communist Party has proposed a grand coalition.

The WRP's daily *Workers Press* folded in February (see *WV* No. 97, 20 February 1976). Evidently concluding that even the fake-mass *Workers Press* had been too political to gain a wide readership, the WRP has now staked its hopes on trying to compete with the bourgeois press on its own terms. The accent is on sensationalism: spy scares, government sex scandals, tidbits of "human interest."

Even the sports news in *News Line* is banal. The racing tips are mostly carefully hedged predictions 'on favourites—and the track record so far is not outstanding.

Once again the WRP's antics provide fuel for the opponents of Trotskyism. The introduction to an anti-Trotskyist polemic (by Stalinist Monty Johnstone) notes with glee that the WRP "had also bitterly attacked the [CP's *Morning*] *Star* for having changed its name from the *Daily Worker*—only themselves now to adopt one which has not the slightest hint of a connection with working-class traditions and aspirations."

Desperation

The WRP took the opportunity in the interim between dailies to retire general secretary Gerry Healy, renowned for his political banditry and organisational thuggery, whose place has now been taken by the equally notorious Michael Banda. The Healyites' organisational fortunes have continued to decline markedly, both in Britain and internationally. The WRP May Day march was claimed to have 2,000 participants, but *WV* observers counted at most 560, including a large number of children.

Perhaps in desperation, the Healyites have pushed their techniques of "mass recruitment" to bizarre lengths. For instance, the 1 May issue of the Healyite *Young Socialist* trumpets "200 Members Join Hull YS." And how did the

Hull Healyites "recruit" 200 new members to their Young Socialist branch? Simple. They just held a disco (dance with records) and "everyone who attended the disco was signed up as a YS member"! Another article on the same page further amplifies the recruitment technique. It explains with an apparently straight face that at a YS "football rally" recently a discussion was precipitated by the arrival of a group of youth wearing swastikas. "In the end," the article placidly concludes, "it was agreed that such signs could not be worn in a Young Socialists disco and they were taken off."

By all rights the British ostensibly Trotskyist organisations who mourned the demise of *Workers Press* should be hailing its rebirth as *News Line*. If the closing of *Workers Press* was a "loss" as the International Marxist Group's *Red Weekly* said, surely *News Line* is a "gain"? And if the Workers Socialist League (whose core was expelled from the WRP in 1974) was correct in calling the liquidation of *Workers Press* "A Blow to Trotskyism" then why is not *News Line* a "blow *for* Trotskyism"!

The WSL's assessment of *Workers Press* showed its failure to draw the proper balance sheet of Healyism, attacking only the organisational sectarianism of the WRP and not its opportunist political practice. The outstanding trait of the Healyite "method," the *pretense* at a mass base (a "base" built on discos and not Marxism) was strikingly revealed in the failure of its "mass paper," which never had any significant support in the working class. Moreover, the Healy tendency's degeneration into anti-Trotskyist political handitry occured many years *before* the expulsion of the WSL. The disorientation of the WSL, and its leanings towards rightist conciliation of the Labour Party, are shown in its insistence that the WRP should never have stood candidates against the Labour Party—at the same time as the WSL insists that the WRP had enough mass support among advanced workers to sustain a daily paper! You cannot have it both ways.

The liquidation of the *Workers Press* removed a barrier in the fight to create a Trotskyist Party in Britain. The *News Line* is a last wild gamble that will not succeed. The hoped-for advertising, which was supposed to provide the financial support for the new paper that would enable it to succeed where *Workers Press* could not, has not materialised, with only a handful of theatres and bookstores taking out classified ads. The modest fund drive goal of £4,000 a month was just barely reached in the first month, and the needed circulation of 30,000 copies a day will not be reached on newsstand sales. The new paper, having effectively liquidated such political face as the WRP has, will carry general secretary Banda and his gang of political bandits down to disaster. ■

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West Point Scandal: Mud on the Long Grey Line

Officers and Gentlemen—Enemies of the People

The current West Point cheating and hazing scandals have exposed the morally corrupt, brutal nature of how the "officers and gentlemen" who form the backbone of the U.S. armed forces are created. At least 164 West Point cadets have now been formally charged with cheating on exams. In response, the cadets have submitted over 258 names of others involved in cheating, seeking to thereby expose the hypocrisy of the army academy's selective enforcement of its rigid "honor code."

Hazing, torture and humiliation are routinely dished out to underclassmen at West Point and other military academies, and only the occasional "excess" receives much public attention. The recent case of West Pointer Steven Verr, who collapsed in tears after exhaustion and enforced starvation resulting from such hazing, is being publicized only because it coincides with the wider cheating scandal and reassessment of the Point's "honor code."

More horrible is the brutal death of Pvt. Lynn E. McClure, a mentally retarded Marine recruit who was clubbed senseless during a "training drill" while 70 other recruits watched. He died March 31 after three months of unconsciousness, having suffered severe brain damage. Such "excesses," however, particularly when directed against "mere" enlisted men, are generally seen as unfortunate accidents in the necessary process of creating "tough men."

The cheating scandal at West Point raises more complex issues. Hazing and general brutality are necessary for the bourgeois military in order to break down recruits' sense of individuality and impose blind obedience. However, the West Point "honor code," and other regulations which are so severe that it is impossible to survive without cheating, are designed to break the recruits' spirit. This provides the officer corps with an internal selection mechanism, designed to weed out not only incompetents but those with individual integrity as well.

Although the bourgeois press, politicians and army officials are now indulging in an orgy of moralizing over "integrity" in the armed forces, the true purpose of West Point's rigid regulations is carefully hidden. Why is it necessary to impose such inhuman discipline in order to learn basic engineering and how to march in formation? The ostensible purpose of military academies is to create well-trained and technically competent officers. Presumably cheating subverts this purpose, and certainly the same knowledge could be mastered in less severe conditions. But the real purpose of West Point and other academies is to develop an elite cadre of professional officers with a sense of caste loyalty, above the law and conventional bourgeois morality. Thus the unrelenting pressure and impossible "honor code" which necessitates collective cheating.

"Training" of West Point cadets. Pierre Boulat/Time

The West Point instructors have always known that the cadets cheat, and use this for discriminatory expulsion, victimization and patronage. The end product is meant to be a person whose overwhelming social loyalty is to the officer corps itself, and thus an element of moral corruption is desired. It is useful for a commanding officer to know that his subordinates cheated at the Point and that the service covered up for them. They will then be prepared to cover up for him...and for the monstrous crimes against humanity perpetrated by the imperialist war machine.

Training America's Pinochets

Everyone knows the cops are corrupt, lawless and brutal. However, the popular image of the professional army is different. The Chilean armed forces—before the bloody September 1973 coup exposed their true nature—were likewise widely believed to be honorable, "democracy-loving" institutions. In the United States and other imperialist countries, the army is unleashed primarily against foreigners, so that most Americans have not had the everyday Vietnamese experience of seeing "their boys" murdering, raping and torturing.

A Vietnamese peasant has a truer knowledge of the products of West Point than does the average U.S. citizen. The My Lai massacre showed what the West Point "gentlemen" are really capable of. Major General Samuel Koster, commander of the Americal Division, which included Lieutenant Calley's platoon, was deeply implicated in the subsequent cover-up. He was also the superintendent of West Point in 1968, until forced to resign by the public outrage over My Lai. Captain Arthur Lincoln, Verr's West Point lawyer who is currently giving interviews about corruption at the academy, was a former "interrogator" of prisoners in Vietnam.

The army officer corps feels itself to be above the law, above any democratic institutions, because it is. Liberal pipe-dreams about more civil liberties for cadets or "reforming" the army are only a smokescreen, obscuring the army's true purpose and nature. The army is the bourgeois state's last bastion of internal repression, not its front line, the justly despised cops, so this purpose is often not so apparent domestically. But the army's guns are there to be used by its masters, including against the U.S. population itself, as was amply demonstrated by the dispatch of the 82d Airborne Division to Detroit to impose martial law in the black ghetto during the 1967 riots.

The fundamental basis of capitalist society is exploitation for profit, not political democracy. It requires an armed force that will physically defend this inequality and exploitation come what may. Maintaining American imperialism requires a military force which is prepared to ruthlessly trample all laws, civil liberties or other trappings of bourgeois democracy, in order to maintain the profit system. The bourgeois officer corps *must* feel itself to be above the law, since its purpose is to maintain capitalism when its legal, democratic façade no longer holds.

While it has not yet been necessary for the American bourgeoisie to unleash the full weight of military repression internally, as happened in Chile and Argentina, it nevertheless must train and maintain its future Pinochets for that eventuality. The entire working class must realize that these crew-cut youths in their grey pocketless tunics are being trained as its ultimate and most ruthless enemies. No amount of reforms will change this officer corps; it must be smashed root and branch in the course of socialist revolution, or else these imperialist jackals will yet unleash a holocaust threatening all humanity. ■

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Warehouse ...

(continued from page 12)

given to continued scabbing. The simple lesson that a picket line means shutting down the entire plant and letting no one cross has been completely buried by these legalistic bureaucrats, who fear a united union mobilization more than the employers' offensive!

There have been numerous indications of determined, rank-and-file militancy throughout the strike. At one house a lone picket tried to prevent a truckload of scab cargo from being moved out, until he was subdued by two cops. Cops had to be mobilized the next day to get the truck back in. Pickets from another house caught up with a truckload of scab merchandise as it was parked in a gas station and picketed it in order to prevent further deliveries from being made. But despite the clear desire for militant picket lines, McClain & Co. have refused to mobilize the ranks for shutting the industry down tight.

Ranks' Discontent Met by Goon Attacks

McClain has reportedly been seeking help against the police from Democratic Party "friends" such as Assemblyman Leo Ryan and S.F. mayor George Moscone, predictably to no avail. There have been no joint membership meetings of the two unions—not even joint stewards' meetings—and last-minute strike preparations were left to the individual warehouses. Teamster locals have been no better than ILWU Local 6, with scabs being herded into many IBT houses as the bureaucrats stand idly by.

The Local 6 leaders have refused demands from the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the local, to hold elections for a joint strike committee of ILWU/IBT striking locals, and call a joint mass strike rally.

Instead, the plans of the bureaucracy, in addition to keeping the picket lines full of holes in the interests of legal purity, are centered on watering down the strike demands and sending houses back to work on the basis of inferior individual agreements. An open letter to the strikers signed by Louis Goldblatt for the ILWU and George Mock for the Teamsters whined about how the union was not being rewarded for its "reasonableness" on demands. Many individual houses have signed a union "Memorandum" containing terms based on the Teamster Master Freight Agreement ($1.60 over three years). Workers at these houses are kept out of the strike, thus creating a division in the ranks for terms which represent a deep cut in the original, membership-approved union position.

The terms of the Memorandum are so bad that one striking union, Teamster Local 853, has been rumored to have rejected them outright. Recognizing this as a challenge to the IBT International, which was largely responsible for pushing the MFA-patterned terms on the warehouse strikers, Local 853 leaders were allegedly boycotting this week's Teamster convention in Las Vegas.

The Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 has been the only group to spell out the real needs of the striking ranks of both unions:

> "It's clear the employers are out to squeeze us dry. We must meet their hard line with a hard line of our own. We need jobs for all through a shorter work week at no loss in pay; a one-year contract with a *big* wage boost plus 100 percent COLA [cost-of-living allowance]; the unrestricted right to strike; free 24-hour child care; and a pension equal to a month's wage with a full COLA."
>
> "Warehouse Militant," 7 June

Discontent over the way the strike is being handled surfaced at the only union meeting held so far since the strike began—a meeting for Local 6 stewards and house committeemen from throughout the Bay Area, attended by

about 200. On the picket lines the next day, outraged ILWU members told BT reporters that violence had been used against critics of the leadership at the meeting. Hecklers of union negotiator Goldblatt had demanded to know where reinforcements for the picket lines were. One striker, after vigorously complaining of weakness of the picket lines, was hustled out of the room by two goons. When Militant Caucus spokesman Bob Mandel, a member of the Local 6 General Executive Board, left his place at the speakers' line to investigate this undemocratic exclusion, he was "punched and stomped resulting in six stitches on his face and one of his teeth kicked out," according to a leaflet published by ILWU longshore Local 10 militants the next day (June 10).

This rampant goon-squad action in front of 200 striking stewards failed to silence the voice of militants seeking to strengthen the strike. Several supporters of the Militant Caucus spoke. The room fell into hushed silence as Mandel, bleeding from his injuries, rose to demand effective strike strategy through flying picket squads, and to call for dumping the rotten contract proposals being pushed by the leadership on independent houses. Local president McClain ruled out of order a Militant Caucus motion condemning violence in the union and defending workers democracy, using the flimsy excuse that this was already covered in the union constitution. This cop-out ruling was upheld by the body, with the result that no vote was taken on the goon-squad attack against Mandel. The leadership, however, was shaken by the unexpectedly heated criticism from the stewards of the way the strike was being conducted.

For Labor Solidarity!

The striking warehousemen need not face the employer offensive alone. Longshore Local 10 of the ILWU, along with Teamster driver locals, could play a key role in the strike by refusing to handle cargo going to or from any struck warehouse. This has been reflected in calls for solidarity coming from both the Militant Caucus and militants in the ILWU longshore division. A supporter of *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle opposition newsletter in Local 10, was responsible for initiating the Local 10 executive board resolution calling for hot-cargoing of struck products by Local 10 and for aid to the warehouse picket lines. Militants of both unions must now give life to this resolution; if left to the "leadership" of ILWU International president Harry Bridges, Curtis McClain and the bulk of the Local 10 executive board, it will do little more than collect dust in the files.

As one of the few union locals in the country with a significant reflection of CP views in its leadership, Local 6 of the ILWU has been the victim of disgustingly blatant Stalinist hatchet work in the service of bureaucratic conservatism. Prior to the current strike, business agent Ahba Ramos ordered militant workers at Thrifty's warehouse to handle scab products from Nestlés, a Local 6 shop which had been struck earlier. Ramos and another like-minded business agent, Joe Figueiredo, signed the union officials' strike bulletin calling for picket-line crossing by non-union and other union members. Chief steward and board of trustees member Joe Lindsay led the way on the picket lines last week against those who wanted to keep *all* the picket-line crossers out.

Meanwhile, in Local 10, well-known CP supporter Archie Brown has been instrumental in derailing attempts to strike against the rotten longshore contract, which now promises to result in layoff-deregistrations of full union members next month. Although CP supporters in Local 10 play more of a fake-oppositional role than in Local 6, Stalinist treachery in both locals demonstrates typical reformist adaptation to the trade-union bureaucracy.

The warehouse strike can only be won through an immediate mobilization of the union behind class-struggle policies, including solid picket lines at all houses, hot-cargoing of struck products by longshoremen and Teamster drivers, and close coordination between all striking unions. No local must return to work until all have settled! No reliance on bourgeois politicians to defend arrested strike militants—For a Bay Area-wide labor mobilization demanding all charges be dropped against the strikers! Condemn the goon-squad attack on Bob Mandel—Defend workers democracy! Dump the rotten contract proposals and call out all ILWU-IBT warehousemen together! ■

Argentina...

(continued from page 7)

> workers union used it during the rule of Isabel Perón."
>
> *Argentina Information* [London]. May 1976

At the time of the March coup, most of the imperialist press accepted official reassurances that the new government was committed to protecting human rights. Now some of the more "respectable" organs of bourgeois opinion are talking of "hardliners whose repression could well make [Chilean] General Pinochet look like a dove," and warning Videla to crack down on the death squads or "his prestige will crumble" (*Economist*, 12 June). Even the boot-licking Communist Party of Argentina has toned down its earlier commendation of the junta for "its respect for representative democracy, social justice, the reaffirmation of the state's role in controlling society, and the defense of the capacity for national decisiveness."

The Stalinists, guerrillaists and, above all, bourgeois Peronists bear the responsibility for allowing the murderous generals and admirals to take power unopposed. Today the menace of the junta is all too clear, and the Argentine masses are paying for the treachery and capitulation of their misleaders with their lives.

—Stop the rightist terror in Argentina!

—Smash the bloody junta through workers revolution!

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Rizzo...

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Committee to Recall Rizzo, dominated by the Americans for Democratic Action and the "Philadelphia Party," Charles Bowser's dissident Democrats.

Bowser's Recall Committee charges Rizzo with, among other things, fiscal irresponsibility, using the police department for political purposes and the closing of Philadelphia General Hospital. However, none of the charges goes beyond the confines of Democratic Party politics. Rizzo's real crimes, his racist and anti-working-class policies, go unchallenged. This is not surprising, considering the character of the Recall Committee.

Bowser, though himself a black and appealing in large measure to the support of black voters, refuses to support busing for school desegregation, a volatile issue in Philadelphia, asserting that the matter should be left up to the courts. In November's elections he endorsed taking measures to curb the municipal unions. Moreover, Bowser has been joined on the Recall Committee by the former top dog among Philadelphia Democrats, Peter Camiel, recently ousted by Rizzo as Democratic Party city chairman.

Marxists do not support campaigns to remove bourgeois politicians under all circumstances. Such campaigns may be nothing more than apolitical squabbles for positions of patronage and prestige. This is particularly true with American "machine" politics, notorious for their venality and pettiness, and lacking even the rudiments of class counterposition. Issues such as "financial irresponsibility" and "personal dishonesty," which are the focus of the Rizzo recall campaign, are not inherently suitable for the intervention of communists. Indeed, such issues can be seized upon by the extreme right in a mobilization against bourgeois democracy, as in the Stavisky riots in France in 1934.

For revolutionary socialists to support the ouster of a bourgeois politician, that removal must correspond to the interests of the working class, such as the preservation of bourgeois democratic rights and legality against bonapartist usurpation, or defense of trade-union gains. In the case of Philadelphia, beyond the ostensible issue of corruption, there is a real political polarization posed over the Rizzo recall issue. As the mayor put it in responding to the challenge:

> "It's a philosophical thing... I'm against busing, they're for busing. I'm for the death penalty, they're against the death penalty. They're for legalized prostitution, I'm against legalized prostitution."
>
> *Philadelphia Bulletin*, 1 April

The issues involved must also have a major impact on the masses. At its inception in January, the Rizzo recall campaign did not generate enough interest to polarize the city's population, and remained essentially a squabble within the Democratic Party. To have pushed the recall at that time would have simply meant spreading illusions in the Bowser wing of the Democratic Party. This was precisely the position of the Communist Party, which had supported Bowser in the November election.

However, with the dramatic revelation of the city's financial bankruptcy in April, the situation changed radically. For the first time, the movement to oust Rizzo gained mass support. Charges of financial incompetence and personal dishonesty were directly linked to the tax increases, wage freeze, layoffs and cutbacks in social services. Rizzo's base of support shrank noticeably, and is now limited to the most reactionary layers and racist elements. Even in South Philadelphia, an Italian-American section of the city which has been Rizzo's stronghold, sentiment in favor of recall is running at 40 percent. Under these conditions, recall—which has become a focal point for the just outrage of working people in general and racial minorities in particular—can be critically supported.

For a General Strike to Smash Cutbacks!

Philadelphia workers must not rely on the recall of Rizzo to prevent or restore the cutbacks. Not only is the recall procedure extremely long and cumbersome, but there is no reason to believe that one of Rizzo's Democratic or Republican opponents would not carry out the same fiscal austerity policies if elected. The influential *Philadelphia Inquirer*, long an opponent of the Rizzo regime, has openly endorsed the cutbacks, asserting that they are probably insufficient.

Rizzo's austerity program can only be answered by a citywide general strike, demanding: "No layoffs! Restore the cutbacks! Smash the wage freeze!" and "Oust Rizzo! For new elections!" The unions must also demand no tax increases, jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, and a sliding scale of wages (full cost-of-living protection) to maintain pay against inflation. In this manner hegemony in the anti-Rizzo movement can be wrested from bourgeois politicos like Bowser.

Rizzo's turn to austerity offers the opportunity to drive a wedge between the Democrats and the unions. *Now* is the time to forge an alliance between organized labor in Philadelphia and racial minorities, by launching a labor candidate for mayor. Union militants must reject their corrupt misleaders and fight for a workers party dedicated to smashing capitalism. Such a party would reject the politics of Rizzo and his labor lackeys and unflinchingly support democratic demands such as busing to achieve school integration, while counterposing the building of workers militias to any reliance on the cops, the hired guns of the bourgeoisie. Only such a party would offer a real alternative to the rotten politics of all stripes of apologists for capitalism. ■

CUNY...

(continued from page 8)

do more than conduct endless marches around campus and through the community and its unwillingness to broaden the leadership to include representatives of all campus organizations opposed to the cutbacks.

In contrast, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) built the struggle while demanding a democratic, united-front strike committee and raising a program linking the needs of students to the class struggle. The SYL argued that students should be organized to approach the Transit Workers and other city unions in an effort to mobilize labor solidarity. In contrast, the YSA confined itself to distributing campus election literature while PL and the RCP buried their politics to appeal to moldy "student power" sentiments. The failure of these reformist forces to present a strategy for winning the struggle leaves CUNY faculty, students and campus workers divided and demoralized. Only by joining together in city-wide labor/student mobilizations can free higher education, threatened social services and city workers' jobs be successfully defended. ■

Blow-Up in the Near East

Speaker: Joseph Drummond

Time: Fri. June 25, 7:30 pm
Buchanan YMCA
Geary, Buchanan Sts.

SAN FRANCISCO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend the Lines—Stop the Scabs!

Cops Break Warehouse Picket, Arrest Strikers

LATE NEWS BULLETIN!

JUNE 15—In the latest of the widespread police attacks against the cross-Bay warehouse strike, Tuesday afternoon Berkeley police punched through an ILWU Local 6 picket line to escort scabs into work at Automatic Plastic Molding. With virtually no warning, the cops waded into the militant line of 75 to 100 workers, wielding their clubs freely. At latest report, 12 union members were arrested.

The enraged pickets, including Teamster warehousemen, then marched on Berkeley city hall to denounce the attack. They announced plans to appear at the city council meeting tonight to demand that police strikebreaking be stopped at once. Berkeley cops have been escorting scabs through ILWU lines at Automatic Plastic Molding for over two months, and also staged a series of violent attacks against Molders union pickets during the recently concluded Bay Area foundry workers strike.

Among those arrested today are: Rochelle F. Towers, Anthony Wilkinson, Rogiele L. Vilchis, Patrick Rogers, Bruce Allen Hartford, Stanley Gow, John Paul Dow, Mitchel Miller, Winford Adams, Bobby James Burleson, and two others, as yet unidentified.

In addition, on Monday morning in Hayward, 35 local police and state Highway Patrol officers swept through a 50-man picket line of Teamsters (IBT) Local 853, which also included some ILWU Local 6 strikers. The purpose of the cops' attack was to escort a number of scab trucks from the Di Salvo Truck Lines through the picket lines. Five Teamsters were arrested in this attack, including the secretary-treasurer and a business agent of Local 853.

For a mass strike rally including all Bay Area transport unions—Elect a central IBT/ILWU strike committee! Mobilize the workers to defend mass picket lines—Stop the police scabherding! Drop the charges against the warehouse strike militants! Extend the strike—Bring out all Northern California IBT and ILWU warehouses—Enforce the ILWU Local 10 resolution to hot cargo struck products!

Arthur Frisch/S F Chronicle

Cops attack ILWU Local 6 striker outside Folger's Coffee Company warehouse in South San Francisco last week.

WV Photo

ILWU pickets outside Crown Zellerbach's South San Francisco warehouse.

OAKLAND, June 13—Going into its second week, the Bay Area-wide warehouse strike has heated up sharply as the vicious employer offensive makes itself felt and disgruntlement mounts in the ranks over the criminally sloppy handling of the strike by the leaders of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). The Teamsters union, representing about two thirds of the approximately 11,000 striking warehousemen, is also under pressure in the six-week-old Associated Freight Lines strike, in which the employer is trying to break the recently signed drivers' Master Freight Agreement (MFA).

Both unions are feeling the effects of the defeat of the recent San Francisco city workers strike and now face a barrage of massive police attacks and scabherding on a scale not seen in the Bay Area in decades. The class struggle is being escalated by the employers to a historically normal level of strikebreaking violence, but inured by decades of class collaboration, the union misleaders are thus far limiting the workers' response through subservience to bourgeois legality and cowardly conservatism.

At the beginning of the warehouse strike on June 4, three days after the major contract expirations, Local 6 issued a strike bulletin which allowed "non-union office workers or members of other unions" to cross picket lines "as long as *they do not touch our work*" (emphasis in original). Predictably, this weak-kneed formula for scabbing immediately provided an opening for management attacks by the Distributors Association. Supporters of Stalinist Communist Party views, well represented in the Local 6 leadership, have been prominent in attempting to maintain this strikebreaking policy despite the employer attacks.

Cop Rampage and Bureaucratic Sabotage

A large confrontation between strikers and police took place at Folger Coffee on June 9. Police were mobilized from Daly City, San Mateo, Colma and other Peninsula cities as well as the state Highway Patrol to protect scab trucks driven by supervisors as they attempted to leave the warehouse. An incredible pile-up of over 40 police cars collected, and nearly 80 cops moved in on the strikers. Twenty-eight pickets, including Local 6 president Curtis McClain, were arrested as they sat in the driveway in front of the trucks. According to a union bulletin, McClain told the cops, "we are peaceful and unarmed," just prior to a police charge in which pickets were clubbed, kicked and brutally handcuffed. The 28 were later released on bail. The entire labor movement of the Bay Area must be mobilized to defend McClain and all arrested warehouse militants. Drop the charges against the strikers!

Another series of confrontations have taken place at Golden Grain warehouse in San Leandro, where the company moved two box cars loaded by scabs out of the warehouse and pickets numbering up to 100 have attempted to keep office workers and supervisors from crossing the picket lines. Four pickets were arrested Wednesday, one of them severely beaten, and felony assault charges are being pressed by the cops against two of them. The next day, another picket line of about 100 workers was ready to stop scabs by any means necessary, and their militancy convinced the office workers not to cross. Nevertheless, Golden Grain chief steward and Local 6 board of trustees member Joe Lindsay repeated the official line that office workers and management can cross the lines "as long as they don't do our work and don't hire scabs"!

Lindsay and other union officials later worked out a deal in a meeting with management and the San Leandro mayor, city manager and city attorney. A Local 6 bulletin paraded as a "victory" the following terms at Golden Grain: "the six scabs presently in the plant were terminated immediately! No more scabs will be hired! All legitimate office workers, supervisory and managerial personnel will be given union-approved i.d. cards in order to gain access to company property!" With such "victories," direct union sanction is

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SUBJECT INDEX

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1976, from issue No. 90 (2 January) to the end-of-the-year issue No. 138 (24 December). During this time, *WV* was published weekly. This single index covers two volumes: No. 4 (2 January to 18 June) and No. 5 (25 June to 24 December).
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Imperialist-Led Forces on the Run in Angola, #93, 23 Jan. (1, 9)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 93, 23 January 1976, pages 1 and 9.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  AFSCME—See **Public Employees: General, New York City; San Francisco Politics.**

  means that articles on AFSCME can be found by going to the subject head **PUBLIC EMPLOYEES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **New York City** and by going to the subject head **SAN FRANCISCO POLITICS.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately, for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict and directly related countries and issues (e.g. Egypt, Lebanon) will be found under the major subject head: **NEAR EAST**
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Joan Little) will be found as subcategories under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases**, with the exception of the Merlo Muñoz defense, which is listed under **MUÑOZ CAMPAIGN.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

  C: Correction
  L: Letter
  S: Series
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